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CONTENTS

THE MEDIAEVAL MIMUS

PART II

I certainly did not suspect, when in an earlier part of this essay I promised to examine the literary records of the Dark Ages for traces of the mimi, that anyone would question the reasonableness of my search. But quite recently Edmund Faral has asserted that hunting in these records for Latin mimi is love's labor lost. He says

Périssable comme la joie des banquets et des fêtes qu'ils égayaient, l'œuvre des mimes s'est perdue. Du chant des poètes il n'est rien resté de plus que de l'adresse éphémère des saltimbanques. . . . . En fin de compte, il y a deux choses que, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il faut renoncer à savoir: c'est s'il y a une relation entre les poèmes latins que nous avons conservés et les œuvres des mimes; c'est ensuite, si cette relation existe, quelle elle est. On ne peut élever ici que de frêles conjectures. Si les mimes ont chanté, leurs chants ont été enfermés avec eux dans le tombeau, et ce qu'il en est resté dans la mémoire de leurs contemporains s'est éparpillé, déformé et perdu.[1]

I admit being frankly bored by *obiter dicta* such as these of Faral's. Neither he nor anyone else knows what a careful search will bring about until the material has been personally examined. I am as impatient as Faral, or any other student, of that unfortunate tendency in modern investigation: viz., to examine with brave display of erudition every stray bit of philological evidence that exists regarding the mimus, and then to jump to any conclusion which suits the irresponsible whim of the historian. For this evident

[1] Cf. *Les jongleurs en France au moyen-âge* (1910), 14, 16.

fault Faral rightly censures Paul von Winterfeld, and I agree with him. But not to examine whatever evidence we possess as to the existence of Latin mimi during the Dark Ages, and then to denominate them straight out the fathers of the mediaeval jongleurs (and Faral does this) is a highhanded proceeding.

How can Faral be so sure that the work of the mimi was as perishable as the gaiety of the banquets which they enlivened, unless he look about him to make sure? There is *a priori* no more reason why an eighth- or ninth-century chronicle should not catalogue the repertory of the mimus, than why a thirteenth-century Provençal novel should tell us so much about the activity of the jongleurs. If, that is, the mimi did sing the popular songs and tell the popular stories of their day, as the later jongleurs did, why then it seems to me almost imperative that we search the literary records of that day, almost sure that we shall come across their traces in these records.

To discover what the jongleur was doing in the Middle Ages, one has but to turn to *Flamenca*[1] and learn how he played on every conceivable musical instrument and had at his tongue's tip every popular song and story in Europe; but we can only theorize about what the mimus was doing in the Dark Ages in the way of song and story. Faral asserts that during the Dark Ages the mimus was doing what the jongleur did later, only that the former's repertoire was much smaller. And I say that Faral has no right to an opinion in the matter, because he confessedly places no reliance upon the literary records in his search for mimus, because he trusts implicitly in the historical records of the Dark Ages.

Now these historical records are unfortunately not only mute as to what songs and stories the Latin mimi brought into Europe, but they are untrustworthy sources as well for any specific knowledge regarding their exact activity. We have seen above and we shall see again below how little value can be accorded the indiscriminate lists of various classes of popular entertainers contained in the historical records Faral prizes so highly. The reasons for this untrustworthiness and the bibliography of the records themselves I have already sufficiently treated.[2] Let us, however, turn for a moment

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[1] Ed. Paul Meyer (1865), vss. 584 ff.

[2] *Modern Philology*, V, 436 ff., VII, 337 ff.; cf. also the excursus at the end of this study.

to the excellent list of old German glosses for "poet, singer, entertainer" made ten years ago by Schönbach,[1] as the most graphic way in which we can here illustrate the confusion which confronts that historian who, like Faral, would determine just what any one word such as scop or mimus meant at the first dawn of the Middle Ages.

We discover that Zimmer was doubtless right in his suggestion that scop meant not alone the dignified epic singer of antiquity but one who entertained his audience with quip and joke,[2] we find that mimus meant not alone the Roman vaudeville artist but minstrel in the widest sense of the word.[3]   How, when such is the state of the case, can Faral depose that descendants of the Latin vaudeville-performers were the ancestors of the jongleurs?   It is true that we *do* know more or less about the monkey-tricks of early mimi, as we do about those of the later jongleurs.   And in a certain way we can trace the tricks of the one back to those of the other,[4] for in *Flamenca* we find our old favorite turns of Empire days still in vogue:

> 603   L'us fai lo juec dels banastelz
> L'autre jugava de coutelz;
> L'us vai per sol e l'autre tomba,
> L'autre balet ab sa retomba;
> L'us passet sercle, l'autre sail;
> Neguns a son mestier non fail.

But it is not of the circus-performer or of the variety-actor that we are thinking when we speak of jongleur as the child of mimus; it is of the creative artist, the poet, the fashioner and preserver of literary themes and types.   Faral seems to forget this salient fact, or he would wilfully blind our eyes to it, for he does nothing toward narrowing and limiting his definition either of mimus or jongleur. On the contrary he deliberately enlarges it.

I object strenuously to this enlargement of the definition of jongleurs to mean "tous ceux qui faisaient profession de divertir les hommes,"[5]

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[1] *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, CXLII, Part VII, 61 ff.   I should have forgotten this reference had Mr. G. L. Hamilton not recalled it to me.

[2] Zimmer, *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII (1876), 287 f.; Schönbach, *op. cit.*, 64.

[3] Schönbach, *op. cit.*, 67.

[4] Although it is often by no means necessary to do so.   In their continual search for concrete sources, students are prone to forget what Crusius calls the homely Aristotelian truth, that the impulse to play and to imitate is among the most elemental stirrings of the human soul, and that this common impulse sometimes quite innocently creates similar types of vaudeville among peoples which have never come into close contact.

[5] Faral, *op. cit.*, 2.

*if it is to be at once used to prove that mediaeval spielmann and jongleur
derive straight from Latin mimus.*   Such enlargement simply clouds
the issue.   Remember, if you please, that when Faral says "les
jongleurs étaient bel et bien des mimes" his readers at once and
naturally imagine that Faral is claiming for the best of mediaeval
art, for music, song, and story, a Latin origin.   For these readers
are thinking of jongleurs as did Diez:[1] "tous ceux qui faisaient de
la poésie ou de la musique un métier."   They are not thinking, nor
do they care to think, of the jongleurs as including "la nombreuse
catégorie des saltimbanques, des acrobates et des faiseurs de tours."[2]

   I am not seeking the origin of the skill which permitted mediaeval
trapeze-performers to swing by their toes or by their teeth, which
taught balance on the slack-wire, which sent swords and stones and
fire down the living throat, which distorted the human frame into
strange shapes, which with a touch of the hand kept a circle of ten gilt
balls in the air without one falling to the ground.   Neither I, nor any
other reader of Faral, cares tuppence at the present juncture whether
all the monkey-tricks and the circus-art of the Middle Ages came
straight from imperial Rome, or from Sparta, or from Thebes.   What
we do care for at this moment is to tear the veil from the apparent
mystery which enshrouds the birth in early mediaeval Europe of
the vernacular and realistic art of that jongleur who sang songs and
told stories well worth listening to.   Now if we confuse *this* sort
of artist with every contemporary parasite and clown, or if we
believe *this* artist got all his great and living art from earlier genera-
tions of professional jesters and fools who "avaient infiniment
élargi le répertoire de leurs exercices primitifs, qu'ils l'avaient varié
et compliqué,"[3] then let us say simply that figs grow from thistles
and that bricks are made from straw.   It is an old artifice of the
schools, this one of which we find Faral guilty: he enlarges his
definition of jongleur, as do Reich and Winterfeld theirs of mimus,
until it includes everything they wish it to.   They then gravely
derive from their swollen concepts whatever they wish and with a
wave of the hand strut from the stage leaving behind them a puzzled

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[1] *Die Poesie der Troubadours*, 31.

[2] Faral, 2, n. 1; cf. also his recent book *Mimes français du xiiie siècle* (1910).

[3] Faral, 12.

audience. French has a word for such artifice which other languages than English have copied: legerdemain.

We have seen that mimus is used by critics of the literature of the Dark Ages to mean: (1) Dramatic Performance; (2) Vaudeville; (3) Actor or Entertainer.[1]

What then does Reich mean when he says that "everything dramatic in the world's literature that is not classic or imitated from classic models is mimus"?[2] What does Winterfeld mean when he asserts that "only through the continued existence of the mimus can we understand the development of the centuries"?[3]

In such statements they do not restrict the term "mimus"—and it is very important to realize this—to any one type of performance (such as drama, recited poem, or song), nor yet to any one type of performer. They make mimus betoken a certain literary attitude, they make it synonymous with *realism*. Reich calls almost "everything dramatic" mimus; Winterfeld says that the art of profane narration (*weltliche fabulierkunst*) and real life itself (*das lebendige leben*) are mimus. The latter would have us call mimus every realistic and living portrayal in prose and poetry during the Dark Ages. I protest.

It is not common-sense to make mimus in any age connote *biologia*. It is wrong to surrender bodily all the creative realistic literature of the Dark Ages to the commonplace crowd of second-rate vaudeville artists who may have swept northward from Italy during the migration period.[4] It is absurd to trace the life-giving roots of this creative literature to the purely conventional art of these people.

For vaudeville art is conventional. In the more than two thousand years that we have known of it, the canons of this art have

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[1] Cf. *Modern Philology*, VII, 329–32.

[2] Cf. *Der Mimus*, I (1903).

[3] References to Winterfeld in the pages which follow are to his essay "Der Mimus im Mittelalter," *Herrig's Archiv*, CXIV, 48–75, 293–324, unless another title is cited.

[4] Crusius remarks with much good sense: "I fancy that the authors and reciters of mimes during the empire did not claim to create works of any artistic far less of any literary merit. They furnished, as do our manufacturers of farces, salable stuff for a Roman season." Their audience was "the nobles who shouted themselves hoarse over the bear-mimes and the dog-shows, over the meaningless and sterile clatter of the circus and the vaudeville; the crowd of philistines, shopkeepers, and barbarians who seized the reins of government." Cf. Crusius, "Ueber das Phantastische im Mimus," *Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher* (1910), 101.

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been but seldom violated, few if any great creations have sprung
from it. During all the centuries of which we have record, the mimi
have been doing much the same thing in the same way. Their jokes
bloom perennial, the business of the old mimi may be seen today
on the stage of any variety-theater or in the circus-ring. It is
nothing short of wonderful, how little their repertory and tricks
have changed from the earliest known times when topical song,
suggestive dance, portrayal of types of low life, dialect-recital, boast-
ing, repartee, juggling, sleight of hand, buffoonery, and slap-stick
were the vogue.

But if it is wrong to surrender creative realistic literature to
the mimi, it is no better, I believe, to accord it bag and baggage to
the scop. Kögel, for example, says that with the rise of the Frankish
empire and the consequent downfall of the smaller courts the honor-
able state of the ancient poets had come into disrepute. He says
that the impoverished descendants of the old *scoffa* now led a vagrant
existence in German territory, had to reckon with the tastes of their
new audience, the commoner herd, and were thus compelled to
include farcical elements in their repertory. Thus, he explains, the
poet became often a merry-andrew (*joculator, scurra*); thus it was that
more vulgar narrative was fostered, that a great mass of fableaux and
short stories suddenly appears in the second half of the ninth century.[1]

I am thankful for Kögel's word "suddenly." For, if the creative
realistic writing of the late ninth and early tenth centuries had not
appeared "suddenly"; if it had come into being fearfully, painfully,
step by step—then I should be almost persuaded that it was due
to the gradual elevation of the repertory of the mimus, or the gradual
degeneration of the scop, or the gradual awakening from a long
sleep on the part of the monk. But there is nothing gradual about
it—this mediaeval renaissance.[2] The most superficial examination
of earlier records suffices to teach us that in the ninth century

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[1] Cf. *Pauls Grundriss*[2], II, 62, 129.

[2] In this term I do not of course include, as does Scherer, that earlier and abortive
"renaissance" which Charles the Great inaugurated, when on his return from the Italian
campaigns he tried to gather at his court the best of the Latin culture of the world. For
a profane literature divorced from theology did not at that time exist to any degree that
made itself a factor in future German writing. Cf. Hauréau, *Charlemagne et sa cour*
(1854), Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great* (1877), Poole, *Illustrations of the His-
tory of Mediaeval Thought* (1884), Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques* (1905).

realistic narrative literature came into existence at a single bound, just as at a later period the drama did. For this phenomenon nothing that we know of the opportunity confronting either mimus or scop, nothing we know about their ability to answer to a new opportunity in the ninth century, offers a sufficient explanation. If the impulse to new types of realistic narrative is to come, it presumably must come from without.[1] The mode or manner of this new variation in literature we know; but what is the cause of it?

To photograph life in art requires genius; it requires the immediate personal vision. One more thing is necessary before a realistic scene can take lasting form in a conscious literary product: viz., a diction suited to the purpose of the author. Of these two requisites for a living art, genius is of course the greater and the rarer. Shall we deny this visualizing power in the Dark Ages to the monk and the nun, as critics do, and accord it to the mimus or the scop? Shall we believe the vaudeville-artist could lay aside his slap-stick and write the tales of the monk of St. Gall[2] or tell Roswitha's legend of the founding of Gandersheim?[3] Not I.

[1] It means little to me when Hertz in his *Spielmannsbuch* (2 f.) derives the older German minstrels from three groups: scopas, mimi, and vagrant clerks; it means little that Schönbach (*op. cit.*, 62) agrees with him in the main. For neither of these scholars makes clear the time, the reason, or the occasion of such a merging, except to posit it as possible. In other words they dodge, wittingly or not, the main issue. For if three differing art-forms were ever united into a new art-form, then we may be sure some specific impulse was necessary to bring about so desirable a result. To call attention to the opportunity of such a mingling of varied elements, without assigning a definite and valid reason therefor, accomplishes nothing. In every age of which we have record there has been constant opportunity to marry divergent forms of artistic expression and as the legitimate child of such wedlock secure a new literary type. But only rarely, apparently, has this happened, because the proper occasion was lacking.

[2] Doubtless Notker Balbulus; see Zeumer, *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet* (1886), 97 f.; Zeppelin, *Wer ist der monachus sangallensis?* (1890).

[3] As the story is known to few if any of my readers, I give it here in a translation which leans heavily upon the German rendition of Winterfeld:

> Old people tell the story,   they who know the truth,
> How once long years ago   by the cloister a forest stood
> Buried in mountain-shadows   just as we are today.
> Deep in the midst of the woods   there lay a farm
> Where Lord Ludolf's herdsmen   were wont to search for pasture;
> In the hut of the tenant-farmer   they found a night of rest
> As they stretched the wearied body   on a lowly cot,
> When the time it was for guarding   their master's herds of swine.
> Now here it came to pass   that on two separate days
> Before the Feast of All Saints   —the hour of night was late—
> The swains saw many a light   flash in the forest dark.
> And as they looked at the vision   at its meaning they marveled long,
> For they beheld the luster   all of a glory strange

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But it should never be forgotten that prior to the tenth century at least cultured German poets felt themselves impelled to express most of their thoughts in a foreign medium, Latin—a medium which no one of them commanded freely, and for two reasons. First, before a wider dissemination of education than then existed there would be none who could attain the stylistic ease which characterized the writings of twelfth-century men of letters; second, in the ninth and tenth centuries simplicity and correctness were rarely striven for, bombast and a rhetoric of word-inflation were the goal.[1]

Now, I find no surer indication that it is not mimus or scop but monk to whom we owe the re-creation of realistic art in the ninth and tenth centuries than that it is just the monks and their

> That shone so bright and steady   through the grayness of the night,
> Slow and a-tremble they told it   to the tenant of the fee,
> Him they pointed the spot   which but now the light had illumined;
> And the wish was in his heart   to see if the story were true,
> So he joined himself to their group   out under the open sky
> And together they set the watch   through all the following night.
> No slumber lent its weight   to their unwavering eyelids
> Till they had seen again   the lights which glistened there
> On the self-same spot,   brighter than time before,
> At the very hour   which the former night had known.
> In the morning when the sun rose   its first beams
> Saw spread abroad   the quickening words of rumor,
> Tidings glad of the omen   and of its fortunate sign.
> Nor was the matter one   to keep from Ludolf the duke,
> Without delay the tale   entered his listening ears.
> And he made bold himself   to see on the night of the feast
> If to his anxious waiting   there might not return again
> The hoped-for symbol   shown in the sky above;
> And under the forest-roof   with many he stayed and watched.
> But now when night had veiled   the lands in her gray mist,
> All round about in a circle   there shone in the valley-glen,
> Where one time the cloister   should uprear its proud mass,
> Full many a clear light   twinkling in every place,
> Which in the radiant glory   of its bright beams
> Broke through the shade of the woods,   through the gloom of the night.
> At this from a single throat   they sang the praise of the Lord,
> Said with one accord   here was the sacred place
> To serve and honor Him   who had filled it with His glory.
> And thus with grateful heart   for all the mercy of God
> At the will of Ode his wife   Duke Ludolf halted not
> From that time forth   to fell the forest-trees,
> Uproot the thorns,   and clear the valley's dells.
> He changed the wilderness   where gnome and goblin dwelled
> To be a place of purity   where God's praise loudly echoed.
> Whatever things were needful   he gathered on the spot
> And laid the broad foundation   of the cloister in that place
> Which the sign had shown him   with its radiance clear.

[1] Cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 10 f.

work which furnished all the bases of the mediaeval renaissance. Notker, Froumund, Ekkehard, the author of *Ruodlieb* and of the *Ecbasis*, Roswitha—it is such spirits, struggling with an inept Latin, who gave direction to the glories of a later and vernacular literature; they were the torchbearers. Popular proverbs and tales, the *volkslieder* sung on the streets, the saws of the humblest minstrel, fables learned in distant lands—it was not the patter of Italian vaudeville-artists which brought them into literature and held them there forever; it was the toilsome, if loving, labor of these same monks.[1]

It was a great thing that these ecclesiastics did, uniting diverse elements that had hitherto been separate: finding expression for the humbler and more real elements of vernacular tradition in a Latin diction learned from long occupation with biblical-classical models. For this combination made in the monasteries during the ninth and tenth centuries established a new variation in literary forms which gave life and meaning to European literature.

Till that time there were at least three distinct streams of self-conscious and conventional art which ran parallel one to the other but which, so far as we know, never merged their identities:

1. *Alliterative mytho-epic ballads,* changing little through the centuries except as the people's belief in, and remembrance of, the older myths paled, and as new heroes came to replace the older ones. This type of "popular poetry" it is often believed was, if not created by, quite surely carried on and shaped by Germanic *scopas.*

2. *Vaudeville:* the lighter entertainment of every sort from mere juggling to farce which passed from age to age unscotched and it is often believed was brought into Europe by Roman *mimi,* and long continued there.

3. *Monastic copying of biblical and classical tradition,* which leaned entirely on the materials, emotions, and forms of the past and mani-

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[1] At this point it may be objected by my reader that I do not take sufficiently into account the poetic coherence and the artistic beauty of the humble models which these monks occasionally incorporated into work of their own. In answer let me say that I believe any effectiveness which popular German art of the Dark Ages had was not due to the spasmodic effort of unlettered, unalert, and unimaginative men dwelling in some isolated community. No, it was in a crowded center of culture, where stirred throngs gathered, that the throes of composition brought forth an enduring and popular art of profane narration. And for the time we are considering, such centers were presumably found only in the monasteries. Cf. *Modern Philology,* VI, 101 f.

fested practically no power of either observation or invention. This was the work of *monks*. It was at heart not Germanic or Roman; it was curiously unracial.

Now from the work of such monks as these no future can reasonably be expected. First as last such work will consist of the dull multiplication of known facts. So the critic has felt himself justified in dismissing all monks from his study of the living sources of mediaeval literature. The critic then turns to the scopas and the mimi: the former, he knows, continued a dignified line of literature marked by lofty epic idealism;[1] the latter, he knows, maintained an undignified line of expression marked by a vulgar but contagious realism. The critic but adds the two together and gains as his total the repertory and art of European mediaeval minstrelsy. Why not? In the left hand I have one apple, in the right hand one apple; I place the apples together; now how many apples have I?

It is as easy as that. That is in a sense just the truth. There were two things separate, the two things united; *but who united them?* Who was it that took the stereotyped facts and figures of Germanic poetry, the stereotyped themes and tricks of lighter entertainment, and for the first known time in European history combined the two in a way that achieved variations of permanent influence? To this question there can be but one answer; the answer is written large and clear in a hundred records. It was the monks.

Variations of permanent influence in literature can be achieved only by writers with exceptional opportunities. Such opportunities in the ninth and tenth centuries lay in monastic culture and environment; they did not lie—in the nature of things they could not lie at that time—outside them. The moment these monks brought their inventive power, their significant ideas to bear upon their writings in such a way as to adjust them to the demands of contemporary thought and feeling, that moment we have no longer *monastic copying of biblical and classical tradition,* ·we have permanent mutations in literary expression[2] which yield:

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[1] Although we should by no means believe this the only sort of literature cultivated by the scop; cf. *supra* p. 19.

[2] Cf. Hoskins, "Biological Analogy in Literary Criticism," *Modern Philology*, VI, 420; Manly, "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, April, 1907. I believe the main results of these two investigations stand firm despite Logeman's irony; cf. his "Biologie en de Studie van Taal en Letteren" (reprint from *Groot-Nederland*, March, 1910), 27 ff.

1. The novel—*Ruodlieb.*
2. The art-epic—*Waltharius.*
3. Legend quick with dialogue—Roswitha.
4. The short story—*Gesta Karoli* of Notker.
5. The beast-epic—*Ecbasis Captivi.*
6. Fableau and lyric—Cambridge MS.
7. Historical poems—*Ludwigslied,*

and a swelling list of satires and parodies, of hymns and sacred ballads even, which have laid aside their traditional adherence to an older art and breathe the life of their day.[1]

Let us consider, by way of illustration, what the sequence and the church hymn did for profane poetry:

Occasionally, even in Carolingian poetry, we are surprised by a minstrel's quip (Uodalricus), by a vernacular debate-poem showing through learned Latin guise (the conflictus sometimes ascribed to Alcuin), by cloistral adaptation of jesting tale and fable,[2] or best of all by some drinking-round like that of the Abbot of Angers. But it is safe enough to say that no matter how witty the treatment of the theme is in such cases, the poems themselves have practically

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[1] It is little edifying to note how Kögel unconsciously agrees with Winterfeld in ascribing to the wandering minstrels (*die Fahrenden*) whatever note of simplicity or realism he discovers in tenth-century poetry. The poet of *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, No. x) "knows how to relate his theme simply and graphically . . . . and shows contact with the minstrels"; the author of *De Heinrico* (*Denkmäler*, No. xviii) "is a cleric; but he has learned from the art of the minstrels and knows how to express himself concisely"; likewise did the poet of *Kleriker und Nonne*, Kögel thinks, have his theme from a minstrel. This is the old stupid formula: dull, verbose, incoherent=monk; witty, simple, graphic=minstrel. Will someone please tell me why?

This formula has been proven wrong a great many times, never perhaps more strikingly than in the case of *Waltharius*, which I feel has been definitely shown to be, not a Latin rewriting of alliterative heroic songs, but the artistic and largely original work of a monk, Ekkehard I [composed *ca.* 930], whose source was a mere tale; cf. Wilhelm Meyer, "Der Dichter des Waltharius," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XLIII, 113 ff; Strecker, "Probleme in der Waltharius-Forschung," *Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher* (1899), 573 ff., 629 ff. The most recent attempt to revive Jacob Grimm's "Visigothic epic of Walter of Spain" is ingenious but unconvincing; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *L'épopée castillane* trad. de Mérimée (1910), 18 ff.

[2] Ker's statement is succinct (*Dark Ages*, 199): "No literary work in the Dark Ages can be compared for the extent and far-reaching results of its influence with the development of popular Latin verse. The hymns went farther and affected a larger number of people's minds than anything else in literature. They gave the impulse to fresh experiment which was so much needed by scholarly persons; provided new rules and a new ideal of expression for the unscholarly. Those who had no mind to sit down and compose an epithalamium in hexameters or a birthday epistle in elegiacs might still write poetry in Latin—unclassical Latin, indeed, but not dull, not ungentle—a language capable of melody in verse and impressiveness in diction."

none of the lightness, grace, skill in versification, and suggestiveness which modern art demands and attains. We are almost sure to find Carolingian poetry far distant from modern ideas, close on the one hand to classical tradition, on the other to the Bible. Theodulf, poet-laureate to the Palace, sums up the matter neatly when he sings

> Te modo Virgilium, te modo Naso loquax:
> In quorum dictis quanquam sint frivola multa,
> Plurima sub falso tegmine vera latent,

except that to Vergil and Ovid other classical models should be added, and the Bible as trusted source of all poetizing needed no comment by Theodulf.

Nor, apparently, was the matter much improved in the poems of tenth-century authors who neglected the opportunity furnished them by the sequence and the hymn. For such songs as the *O admirabile Veneris idolum*, the *Jam dulcis amica venito*, the *alba*, and the *Ode to a Nightingale* lack each one that modern breath which is soon to move in poetry. The first two are lyrical survivals of the past and —effective as they are—no nearer the present manner than the *Vigils of Venus;* the last two are as unbending and stiff as early ecclesiasticism itself. But the Cambridge MS alone is sufficient evidence of the fact that, because of the framework given profane poets by the sequence and the hymn, because of the application of a new Latin to humble vernacular narratives of various kinds, by the end of the tenth century the history of modern poetry is begun. For this MS contains at least one beautiful lyric, the *Levis exsurgit zephyrus*, which is as "unmediaeval" as any modern poem; several extremely clever fableaux, two of them gaining inimitable parody from their employment of the sequence-form,[1] others using the broad effectiveness of a five-syllabled popular line; and one or more songs which are as if made for tavern-entertainment, like the *Johannes abba parvulus*. Other evidences such as the ballad of the wicked dancers of Kölbigk, the love-message in *Ruodlieb*, and songs and hints of songs I have here no space to mention[2]—these things inform

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[1] The leich is a direct descendant of the sequence, dactyls and all, but with rhyme added; cf. Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 334.

[2] For further study of the material here spoken of, see *Modern Philology*, V, 423 ff.; VI, 3 ff., 137 ff., 340 ff.

us clearly that the monks and the monastic schools had given Europe the four prerequisites for a body of splendid "modern" poetry:

1. The artist with imagination and training.
2. The desire to portray real life in art.
3. Models which the unscholarly could amplify.
4. An audience eager for the author's work.

And yet—and yet Winterfeld contends that only through the continued existence of the mimus may we understand the development of the centuries. Why, where is now his mimus vanished? Surely, if, when the culture of the ninth century cherished in the monastic schools was lighting the way to the modern art of profane narration, there existed a solitary descendant of the old Italian vaudeville-performer in Germany; then just so surely do we know what this mimus was doing. He was mouthing, dancing, squawking, playing on some strange instrument, eating fire, swallowing a sword, engaging in lascivious pantomine with an unclothed mima, juggling with gilt balls, playing the stupid, bragging absurdly, taking off his audience, pounding somebody's head with a make-believe club, balancing a table on his chin, or doing some other thing equally as delightful, some thing for which we moderns seem much in his debt—witness our joy in present-day circuses and "continuous performances." But I feel quite sure this mimus of the Dark Ages was sublimely unconscious he would ever be called upon to father the mediaeval jongleur and spielmann.

Nor can we avoid the issue by believing the minstrel of the ninth century to be not the old Italian vaudeville-performer, but a metamorphosis of him. At times I suspect Wilhelm Scherer. When he says that "der spielmann ist eine metamorphose des römischen mimus"[1] I want to know when the change took place, why it took place, who established it, how it happened, what was the result. And of this Scherer says not one word.[2]

[1] *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung im xi. und xii. Jahrhundert,* 11; *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*[10], 60.

[2] I am reminded by Scherer's oracular phrase of a classroom dialogue overheard by me some years ago:
Professor: The German empire is a schoolmaster's dream.
Student: But I thought it the creation of Bismarck.
Professor: Bismarck was a schoolmaster.
Now I had thought that Roman mimus was Roman mimus, and am no less surprised to discover him "metamorphosed" by a wave of the hand into German spielmann than was another poor student to discover that his Iron Chancellor had become a pedagogue.

The point is the following: In the ninth and tenth centuries such a modification appears in European literature that we have begun to leave the Dark Ages behind and are coming to the threshold of the modern world.   This is indeed a metamorphosis.

We can ascribe the change to causes unknown to us and make up a picture to please our idle whim, or we can seek and find the reason for the change in certain definitely known facts.   I prefer the latter course.

"Notker und Hrotsvit verdanken ihr bestes dem mimus," says Winterfeld.   I should put it differently and say that when these artists depart from an over-ornamented style and the traditional method which their day used for recording facts and themes, then they owed this "best" neither to a mime nor to any model of their own time, but to themselves.   It was possible to be one's self in prose and poetry before the year 1000, though it must be admitted the deed seems to have been hard of accomplishment.   The greatest service Ker has done the Latin authors of the Dark Ages is the emphasis of this important fact.   Here and there in the hisperic weaving of early Latin literature Ker has found threads of a color so bright, so near to the hues of everyday life, that there seems to be nothing "dark" or "mediaeval" about them.   Before Notker ever wrote his *Gesta Karoli*, Gregory of Tours had told of things "that might go straight into a ballad," Gregory the Great had provided great treasure of vivid legend in his *Dialogues*, Ermoldus had so pictured a siege of Barcelona that it was instinct with dramatic truth.

When we read Notker we know what we shall find—a struggling poet, narrow in view, awkward in performance, incoherent in statement.   He lacks a hundred things that modern art is heir to.   He does not care to, or he cannot, throw off the shackles of his day. But therefore to imagine that in some happy moment of self-forgetfulness he could not depart from his conventional pose and hold us by the simple force of realistic portrayal—unless he purloined his portrayal from a mime—that is to imagine the ninth century as wide and empty as the Hell of Wettin; that is to make of the great monastery of St. Gall a leaden ark.[1]

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[1] I wonder would Winterfeld have ascribed to a mime the verses of a monk writing in his cell (St. Gall MS, ninth century): "The woodland meadow incloses me, the song of

I. MIMUS AND SHORT NARRATIVE

Fable, fairy-tale, fableau, storiette

From the ninth century on there existed in Germany a great many fables and stories and droll tales which were widely disseminated and very popular. These short narratives are of two sorts: (1) those which are evidently German in origin and workmanship, so far as we may judge by their scenes and motives; (2) those which are perhaps of oriental lineage because they seem to derive from or be kin to themes in the older literature of the South and East.[1]

For the first sort no explanation is needed—they are quite simply the work of monks and clerks and minstrels who invented them or who gave them literary form. But for the second sort a problem is felt to exist. Oriental tales in Europe two centuries before the first crusade are felt to be an anachronism. Led astray, therefore, by the romantic suspicion that the ninth century was unlettered, untraveled, and uncreative—tormented by their inability to explain the presence of oriental tales and fables in Germany long before any well-known route of immigration is open—critics have succumbed. They have either assumed a more constant and direct line of transmission between East and West than other evidences seemed to warrant—such as one due to the Byzantine alliances of the Ottos—or they have clutched at the Italian mimus to stop the gap between, say, the Carolingian renaissance and the period of chivalry.

The Italian entertainer may be directly and indirectly responsible for a few of the tales and legends that were current in ninth-century Germany. We know that the great pageants (*circenses*) continued in Italy until late in the migration period at least, and Glock is right in assuming that "the shout which a famished multitude in

the blackbirds echoes in my ears as I sit at my parchment . . . . from the tree-summits the cuckoo in his gray cowl calls to me with clear voice. Oh, in truth, 'tis goodly writing here under the forest's roof!" (Kuno Meyer, *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, xi, 1 [1909] p. 81.)

Here we find a tonsured monk pausing a moment in his appointed task of multiplying sacred texts—dull business!—to speak simply of the world beneath his grated window. Formal diction based upon classical tradition and biblical imagery is left aside, and for a few human breaths *a man is writing as he feels*. No descendant of an Italian vaudeville-performer is in his mind or by him as he writes—we may be sure of this. And not every ninth-century monk was a Johannes Talpa of Beargarden (for the writings of which worthy cf. MS Bibl. nat., fonds ping. K. L.⁶, 12390 quater—or if this cannot be found, Anatole France, *L'île des pingouins*, Book III, chap. iv).

[1] Cf. Kögel *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.* I, ii, 192 ff. and the quotation there made from Wilamowitz' introduction to his *Hippolytos*.

ancient Rome joined to the one for bread then sounded forth not
less loud from the lips of immigrant Germans." But the more
interested the German in the mimus, the sooner would he learn his
trick from him. Even if the German had no realistic poetry before
he went to Rome, it would not be long before the rote of it was
learned and transplanted deep into the heart of Germany. Thus,
even if the original impulse in any instance came from without, it
would be, I think, as early as the fifth or sixth century[1] that German
poets and their audiences had long forgotten how certain very
popular themes came from a foreign source. History teaches us
constantly how short a span it takes for the naturalization of ex-
traneous material.

There is, however, no positive knowledge in our possession that
such oriental cognates as we find in the short narratives in Germany
from the ninth century on were ever appropriated by Italian mimes.
These narratives—fables, fairy-tales, fableaux, storiettes, and legends
—are, generally speaking, not the type of thing which the mimes
would use to amuse barbarian crowds. It must never be forgotten
that the mimus is made by Reich, Winterfeld, and Heyne the agent
of transmission solely to suit their convenience, and not because of
any evidence which they can discover. The mimus has been
"clutched at" as is a straw by one drowning.

I can explain to my thorough satisfaction the presence of any
shorter narrative in ninth-century Germany with never a thought of
mimus. Two great lines of direct connection between East and
West at this period are known: books and monasteries.

Anthologies, MSS of excerpts and exempla, collections of apo-
logues and facetiae and tales, the profaner parts of sacred legends and
saints' lives, stirring homilies and dramatic sermons, books like the
Vitae patrum[2]—here we have the broad and unfailing river of tradi-
tion which flowed from the past into the Dark Ages. The monks
knew of these things, but there the matter might have rested, had
it not been for the great institutions in which they dwelt.

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[1] The story of the withered arm of King Miro's mimus may be a case in point. The
occurrence (A.D. 589?) is told not by the mimus but of him and evidently by one who dis-
likes him, perhaps a Frankish minstrel; cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 402.

[2] Many another poem may have found its theme herein as did the satire on Little John
the Monk; cf. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XIV, 469; Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, 21; Allen, *Modern
Philology*, V, 468.

Reichenau, Fulda, Tegernsee, St. Gall, Gandersheim, and Weissenburg—these are but the greatest of the many places in which monk lived with lay-brother, clerk, and student. Now the monastery was not only the house of a religious order, not only a church. It was a school, a university, an inn, a house of refuge, a place of pilgrimage, a hospital, a conservatory of music, a library, a center of culture, and a social focus. So men of every sort came to pass through its walls, to remain a while within them. It housed sovereign and Jew, peddler and soldier, poet and minstrel, artisan and artist, the great man on embassy of state, the humble monk back from a far journey.

In the stir and bustle of this Temple of the Muses, in the sparks which inevitably come from the friction of awakened minds,[1] in imaginations quickened to the facts of life by such companionship with books of the past and men of the present—here should I seek the reason for what would seem to have been a new-fashioned literary realism, and not in the repertory of isolated bands of Italian vaudeville-artists. We need wait for such realism only until the poet comes. And such a one was Notker Balbulus.

Notker was the genius of St. Gall, and he lived in the ninth century. These two facts, it seems to me, explain the whole body of his literary effort. Being the genius of St. Gall, he outstripped all men of his day in writing sequences, he told in a droll way the tales of Eishere, of the Goblin and the Farrier, of the Bishop and the Jew, he wrote fables like the Three Brothers and the Goat, the Flea and the Podagra. All this shows that he saw life at times simply, allowed his Swabian humor to enter an occasional story and gild it, had an eye for the value of terse and dramatic treatment of popular themes, and was possessed of much sense and feeling.

[1] The story of the greatness of St. Gall is told in Ekkehard IV's *Casus S. Galli;* see Schubinger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens* (1858); Winterfeld, *Ilbergs Neue Jahrbücher,* V, 350 ff.; and Gautier, *La poésie liturgique.* It goes without saying that the aesthetic culture which characterized some of the courts of the more important episcopal prelates in the tenth century was the direct fruit of monastic culture. For the new expressions in art and literature which an awakened social activity found in the valley of the Loire toward the end of the tenth century, cf. Warren's suggestive sketch of society under Robert the Pious (987–1031) and the many sources of information which he cites (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. of America,* XVII, [1909], "Proceedings," xlviii ff.). It is not without a feeling of amazement that we learn of the existence at this time in French territory of five hundred abbeys and *ecclesiae collegiatae,* many of which were centers of the new light; cf. Lot, *Etudes sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du Xe siècle* (1903),427–42.

But living as he did in the ninth century, Notker was often prone to follow traditional methods in his writing—at such a moment the worst traits of the pedant and the cloister-schoolmaster shone forth from him; he was crude, unbending, artificial. He was unwittingly —poor monk!—paying toll to his age. So did Chaucer in stupid Melibeus.

Notker the ninth-century monk Winterfeld believes requires no explanation. Notker the genius of St. Gall—except for the sequences —Winterfeld calls mimus. He says:

The fable has ever been cousin-german to the mimus.[1] The main point, however, is that all the preachers and collectors of exempla are pupils of the mimus,[2] for they surely recognized the effective element in the mimus[3] and because they could not do away with his influence[4] they at least made use of it. It is a sign of Notker's greatness that he was the first artistic poet of the Middle Ages to weld together with instinctive sureness the mimus and artistic poetry.[5] But while Notker only borrows for his purpose the mimic novelette[6] Roswitha does the same thing with the drama.[7] Then came the time when the mimus[8] repaid Notker for making him again a literary possibility. The mimus[9] with his sure feeling for what was enduring in artistic poetry took possession of the sequence-form which artistic poetry had created.

It is possible that in my footnotes to this quotation of Winterfeld's I have not entirely got at his meaning—but I have at least shown how preposterous a list of things he attaches to the one concept mimus in a few sentences. I should rewrite his quotation as follows:

The fable has ever been a popular form of expression among illiterate peoples. Early mediaeval preachers found most effective to illustrate their points and hold the attention of their audience these fables and short popular tales, so they made use of them. Notker is the first real

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[1] Winterfeld here must mean by mimus "realistic poetry," unless he thinks fable and recited mimus related.

[2] Mimus here evidently=an Italian teller of stories.

[3] Mimus here=the Italian's repertory.

[4] The Italian teller of stories again.

[5] Mimus here = realism, realistic art, real life itself, as an antithesis to artistic writing.

[6] *Mimische novelle* here=the novelette whose theme Reich derives from mimic drama, like the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius.

[7] Roswitha does not. In one place she is said to have her theme from a heathen martyr mimus, in another place from the *Vitae patrum*.

[8] This time a minstrel who sang.

[9] A minstrel.

poet we know of who gave such popular tales artistic form. Roswitha did the same sort of thing in a legend or two, but never in her dramas. Once Notker had shown how the sequence (text and music) added unsuspected richness to the church-service, other poets adopted the same form when writing of profane matters.

In all of Notker as we know him, in anything that has ever been ascribed to him, we find no reference to, no reminiscence of, Italian vaudeville or entertainers. Once in a while—for all too short a moment—Swabian Notker succeeds in being simple, warm, true, or funny. That is all.

II. MIMUS AND LONG NARRATIVE

Ruodlieb

Ruodlieb is often called the first novel in European literature, and novel in a certain sense it is, for it gives us a picture of the social life of its time.[1] But so far as its structure is concerned it is no novel, but a collection of novelistic episodes loosely strung

[1] An ancient creed to which we unthinkingly subscribe is that courtly and artistic expression sprung from the life of a time later than that of this novel, from a new order of things which appeared in twelfth-century Europe. Cf. for instance Langlois, *Origines et source du Roman de la rose*, p. 2: "This courtly literature should be born in the twelfth century. At this epoch woman began to take rank in the society of northern France. She emerges from the isolation to which she has long been abandoned; she finds an environment in which she can exercise the sway of her charm, one which her finer and more delicate spirit inspires with new sentiments. A courtly intercourse is established between persons of the opposite sex."

I have no quarrel with Langlois's words, for it is true that a revolution in European poetry did follow the change in the social life of the people in the twelfth century. And yet what is there in the social life of the eleventh century, *as we generally understand it*, which would prepare us for the courtly element in *Ruodlieb*? Scherer says truly: "Loud laughter is already proscribed; a moderate merriment and gentle smiles are demanded of women by etiquette. Good breeding is denoted in the very manner of their bearing. The majesty of woman is felt at least aesthetically and expressed in a simile which often recurs in later German poetry: a woman in the flower of her youth is like the moon; a girl approaching is like the rising of the shining moon."

"And humane sentiment, the source of which lies always in a respect for women, makes itself felt repeatedly throughout the poem; the cruelty of the tenth century is gone. The judge shows himself merciful to the fallen but repentant woman. The victor in battle spares the conquered foe. Victory alone is honor enough; be a lion in the fight but a lamb in revenge; small honor attaches to him who avenges a suffered wrong; revenge in its truest sense is to subdue one's wrath. Men begin to grow modest and to use their power scrupulously; the king of Africa accepts but little of the gift which the conquered enemy offers him; our hero wins unwillingly at chess. Hospitality and benevolence are virtues highly to be praised. Widows and orphans receive the fullest tribute of sympathy, and it is a knightly duty to protect them. Tender affection for one's family, an intimate relationship between parents and children, these are the true signs of good people."

What truer testimony do we wish, to know that the conditions of the eleventh century are scarcely as we have dreamed them to be?

together on the name and not the personality of its hero—it is a mediaeval *Wilhelm Meister*.

With the courtly element in *Ruodlieb* I shall not deal. But I desire to emphasize it at the beginning, to show how much of the novel is based upon the real observation of its author, and therefore owes nothing to Winterfeld's omnipresent "mimus."

The problem of the popular element in *Ruodlieb*—of that part of it wherein the most incongrous novelistic materials are gathered but not welded together: fableau, storiette, legend—is no different from the problem involved in the preceding section, I. We find a monk like Notker or Ekkehard I at work incorporating in the best artistic form he could the humbler literature which the books and the oral tradition of his time gave him. The materials of the novel which Winterfeld would have revert to mimus are the following:

1. Three merchants murdered in a notorious inn.
2. The dog who unerringly recognizes a thief.
3. The trained bears.
4. The hero's skill with the harp.
5. The exchange of identity between young lovers.
6. The dance of this young couple.
7. The adultery of Red Pate and a young wife.

With 5 and 6 I need not pause, for Winterfeld's contention regarding them is too weak to require refutal.[1] No. 7 he derives straight from an adultery-mimus as played in Rome. The scene in *Ruodlieb* where Red Pate blusters and threatens to break in the door does not come, we are told, from either Plautus or Terence (cf. the scenes of Thraso in the *Eunuch*), "for in these sources, as in the Greek comedies from which they borrowed, the inviolability of the married woman is respected." But in the mimic drama it is just the married woman to whom the spruce seducer (*cultus adulter*) makes his advances. If the wife will but grant Red Pate her favors, he promises

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[1] No. 5 Winterfeld derives from mimus only because it has a remote analogy with a passage in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan und Isolde*, whose French sources are somewhat indebted to fableaux and Achilles Tatius, and with an episode in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (which Reich calls "an old mimus"). No. 6 (*ille velut falcho se gyrat, et haec ut hirundo*) Winterfeld believes to be a "mimic animal-dance" like those cited by Reich, Vol. I, 476 ff. Even if Ferdinand Wolf were right—and he is not—in presuming that in the tenth century beast-fables were given "mimic portrayal" in the cloisters (*Ueber die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche,* 238 f.), I can see no connection between the dance of our young couple and those of Roman *paegnion.*

her a fine, brisk lover: "I know the young sprig for you—one just tall enough, with yellow locks, slim and graceful, with red cheeks and bright eyes." This, we are told, is the typical walking juvenile of mimic story. The Red Pate, it seems, "is thus playing the added rôle of go-between (*cata carissa*, procuress) so common in dramatic and recited mimus. The shamelessness of the amorous dalliance indulged in also smacks of mimic repertory, so does the knot-hole (in mimic performances a broken wall) through which the old husband spies upon the matter."

I confess that these so-called resemblances between No. 7 and the Roman mimus tend to discourage me with Winterfeld. A knot-hole in *Ruodlieb* is no more a broken wall from Rome than is the crack in the partition through which Roswitha's maidens view Dulcitius. We cannot credit the "mimic drama" with all the eaves-dropping devices of modern drama and story: holes, cracks, hedges, practicable rocks, trees. And as to *cultus adulter, cata carissa*, the walking juvenile, and amorous dalliance—there is nothing discoverably "mimic" here. What the author of *Ruodlieb* had before him as source—if any source was there—is nothing more than one of the thousand *dorfgeschichten* of his day:

A dishonest soldier of fortune—the red hair is a symbol to the mediaeval mind—came storming and blustering up to the house where he had heard a young wife dwelt with an old husband. This poor rustic beauty, sullen over her mismated condition, gladly lent herself to the deception that the braggart was near kin to her, and when promised a fine young lover readily granted her person to the intruder. Red Pate carries matters shamelessly and finally murders the protesting husband. He and his paramour are brought to the scaffold, where the broken woman confesses all, is released on the intercession of her stepsons, and goes home to lead a life of expiation for her crime.

Why speak of Thraso and archmimus? The red-pate blusters and pretends to cousinship, that he may put his affair through with a high hand. Why speak of the inviolate marriage-bed of Greek comedy? The wife in *Ruodlieb* is quite in rôle with all the *mal mariées* of popular tradition in mediaeval Europe. Why assign the best portrayal of low life in Germany before Meier Helmbrecht to a "mimic" original? For no honest reason that I can discover.

I regret the length of my occupation with this single theme, but

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as it is I have barely escaped the temptation to show how favorite a
theme the seduction-remorse story was in mediaeval comedy and
fableau which by no manner of reasoning can be derived from Roman
mimus.   As for Winterfeld's contention regarding the four other
themes, it does not hold water.   The hero who is skilful with the
harp is in many a *spielmannsepos*—Rother, for instance.   The
trained bears and the intelligent dog are commonplaces in the
eleventh century, as in every other before or since.   They smack of
the wandering minstrels, it is true, but there is nothing in their
description which suggests that the descendants of Roman mimi
were abroad in Germany after the first millennium of the Christian
era.   The three merchants murdered in an inn is a story which
appears in many places, as Seiler has industriously shown.   Now
this is all as we should expect; it accords with what we know from
many a source outside of *Ruodlieb:*   viz., that humble and popular
forms of entertainment and story existed in Europe during the last
of the Dark Ages at least, for they were at that time set forth in
conscious and artistic poetry and prose.   But it does not mean that
all the types of Roman mimus and performers of mimus endured
across the migration period and gave the impulse for every sort of
modern realism.

I do not know from where the thousand themes came which
enriched the literature of the Middle Ages, nor need I know.   I
readily grant that some of them were ever on the way northward
from Rome.   The trained bears, I confess, may have had remote
ancestors in the *circenses* in Rome, so may their trainer.   But this
is not the question at issue.   The question is, was there a continuous
tradition in Germany from fourth century to eleventh[1] of Roman

[1] Winterfeld makes much of the fact that a passage from Sextus Amarcius (chap. i,
403–43) tells how the people from villages in the neighborhood and from the country-
roads stream in to hear a mimus sing to the accompaniment of a zither several Latin
songs, one of which deals with the subtle theory of Pythagoras.   He urges that this is
sufficient evidence that the whole interest of the villagers lay in the music.   True enough
—although he might have added that yokels find interest in anything out of the usual
run if it costs them nothing—and in this case the fine gentleman dining at the inn paid
for the mimus.   Nothing in Amarcius tells us that the bystanders stayed long to listen.
They may have crowded up expectant of magic or an obscene tale in German, and
dwindled away before their disappointment.

Winterfeld would account for the propagation of Latin songs in unbroken conti-
nuity from early migration times in Europe until the middle of the eleventh century by
saying that their musical settings won a constant welcome for them even in ages and at
places where people could not understand the texts.   This might, I suppose, account

mimic types and artists, but for whom mediaeval living poetry and prose would not have been born. And I say at this point, that so far as we may judge by the records already studied: no.

III. MIMUS AND ROSWITHA

Legend and Drama

As Winterfeld's edition of Roswitha's works[1] is the result of eleven years of labor, and as he allows no possible analogy to the mimus to escape him,[2] I shall content myself with studying the matter of her indebtedness to Italian vaudeville and performer along the lines which he has blazed.

The first legend in which Roswitha shows that she possesses humor, according to Winterfeld, is her *Gongolf*. It contains an episode which pictures a "three-haired" simpleton licking up the sand in his search for the lost spring:

185   Cumque lacum peteret   fundumque siti reprobaret,[3]
        Qui quondam validis   luxuriavit aquis,
        Usque solum stratus,   vacua spe non bene lusus,
        Coepit arenosa   lingere nempe loca,
190   Temptans, exiguam   posset si lambere guttam;
        Sed nec praesiccam   tinxerat hinc ligulam.

Now it is true that in *paegnion* the mimus was often bald, and equally true that our simpleton resembles the mimus in this one respect almost to a hair, but I should not care to base Roswitha's dependence upon Roman vaudeville on so scant a foundation. Winterfeld says that Roswitha's fool is the real type of mimic *stupidus*, and so he is, but only as a million other fools have been. There is no trait or act of this fellow which would identify him as a

for the perpetuation of a very few musical settings—though it is hard to believe even they could be carried across so many centuries of distress and change—but it could not account for such texts as those of the Cambridge MS, for instance, two of which this very minstrel of Amarcius sings.

No, Amarcius' *jocatur* is not the eleventh-century descendant of an Italian mimus, unless he is that *rara avis*, a white blackbird. He is a spielmann with a varied store of goods, like Der Marner, who had Latin songs of his own to sing for the asking; cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 400.

[1] *Hrotsvithae opera* (1902).

[2] "Und froh ist wenn er Regenwürmer findet," like the man of whom Faust speaks. It is such scholastic seriousness which gives much point to Wackernagel's "Die Hündchen von Bretzwil und von Bretten," *Kleinere Schriften*, I (1872), 423 ff. and to a French abbé's derivation of Napoleon from Apollo (Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*). .

[3] Strecker emends 185 to *sitire* (i.e., *arere*) *probavit*.

particular type of simpleton and make him definite blood-kin of the mimic fool.

Winterfeld goes on to say that this tale of the lost spring lives in Hessian territory today,[1] but "hardly without the co-operation of the mimes." I object to this phrase. It is decorative bye-work and should be expunged from the record. I can make the same statement with equal right of the Grimm legends which rest on an old basis, and my statement would mean as much as Winterfeld's— which is nothing at all. I can thread my leisurely way through Rabelais, say, and wherever I find a fool of the numskull order, one whose typically thick pate the great Frenchman so loved to belabor, I can say: "er ist der echte typus des mimischen stupidus," but that would not be proving any necessary connection between Rabelais's clown and Roman *paegnion.*

Roswitha took the theme for her *Basilius*-legend from the *Vitae patrum*, a book which contained a vast deal of narrative material which the Dark ages found entertaining, a book which long furnished, says Winterfeld, "mimes and story-tellers with subjects." A little farther on Winterfeld again uses the word mimus to characterize the author of a minstrel-leich (late tenth or early eleventh century) whose theme somewhat resembles that of Roswitha's legend, and which was therefore also presumably borrowed from the *Vitae.*

There is no argument here. The *Vitae patrum* had a great grist of good story-plots in it—minstrels borrowed them, so apparently once did Roswitha. One minstrel-leich is somewhat similar in tone to one of Roswitha's legends. Ergo, Roswitha's source is mimus. It does not seem possible that this is all the meat of Winterfeld's argument, but it is. I shall not even ask my reader what he thinks of such work.[2] So much for her legends in narrative form.

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[1] Wolf, *Hessische Sagen,* No. 208; Lyncker, *Deutsche Sagen und Sitten in hessischen Gauen gesammelt,* No. 121.

[2] At this point Winterfeld inserts a discussion of the similarity between the legend of Venantius Fortunatus dealing with Bishop Germanus (died 576) and a novelette of Apuleius. There is no reason why we should doubt Venantius' obligation in this matter, but why should a sixth-century Italian poet not have known his Apuleius? Surely this does not speak for a Roman mimus. "But," says Reich, "Apuleius got much of his material from mimi" (*Der Mimus,* I, 35; Reich's second volume, he announces, will deal with the indebtedness to mimus of satire, novel, story, and epistle). Even then, it was still from a literary source that Venantius got his theme and not from direct contact in the Merovingian realm with a mimus. But suppose Venantius did

Roswitha's so-called dramas are of course nothing but *legends in crude dialogue-form.* Terence, to whom she refers in a famous passage, meant only one thing to her: dramatic dialogue. To realize how little she understood Roman comedy, how far she missed its meaning and its art, one has but to read Roswitha's legends in dialogue-form. In what follows I shall refer to these productions as "dramas" to prevent misconception of my argument, but dramas they are not, nor dramatic sketches, and it is not the nature of their subjects which prevented their being acted by nuns, or, as one genial critic has suggested, by the mimi—mimi in the Harz Mountains!—but the nature of their substance. If *Sapientia* was ever staged, then were *Rollo and His Uncle* and *Sanford and Merton.* If my reader consider it a quibble to insist Roswitha's dialogues were not dramas, let me inform him that Winterfeld twice speaks of Roswitha and Shakespeare as one speaks of two members of the same family,[1] and once compares her with Goethe.

get the theme in this latter way, I should scarcely argue that what was the case with the last great writer of Silver Latinity in the sixth century was in any sense the case with a Gandersheim nun in the tenth.

[1] Scherer says: "She had the eye for stage-effects, for telling theatrical themes. Many a species of later drama finds in her its prototype. *Gallicanus*, for example, is a historical tragedy, *Dulcitius* verges upon farce, *Abraham* would seem to pave the way for *bourgeois* drama, *Callimachus* gives us a love-tragedy with the oddest similarity to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet.*" Such statements are most misleading, as we discover when we find for instance that the final scene in *Callimachus*, where the protagonist is only withheld from an unnatural crime upon the dead body of Drusiana by divine interposition, "reminds one of the grave-scene in Shakespeare's play"; when we discover what is the sequence of events in *Sapientia*, the doublet of *Dulcitius*. I choose this piece, because it illustrates to the best advantage the truth that Roswitha's so-called plays are only legends in dialogue. "Her dialogue is lively," says Scherer, "her speeches are never too long, she often knows how to build her scenes cleverly." When the emperor Hadrian asks the mother how old her children are, she propounds him a riddle in arithmetic which consumes at least ten minutes and is more difficult than its modern derivative: "How old is Ann?" It develops that Fides is 12, Spes 10, and Caritas 8. Then the "action" proceeds. Fides, who will not renounce her faith, is lashed till her flesh hangs in strips, but it doesn't matter; her breasts are cut off, but the blood doesn't flow; she is put into a kettle of flaming pitch, but somehow it doesn't hurt. Then the emperor grows weary and hews off her head. Likewise Spes, who will not renounce her hope. Likewise Caritas, who insists on preserving her charity at all hazards. Is this drama? Even if we relegate to "action off stage" the heating of the kettle which consumes three days and three nights and the overflowing of the kettle which kills five thousand people? No, it is legend such as we find persevering with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause until the fifteenth century at least. An early exemplar is the tale of the martyrdom of St. George (Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, No. xvii; Zarncke, *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft* [1874], 1 ff.; Scherer, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XIX, 104 ff.; Seemüller, "Studie zu den Ursprüngen der altdeutschen Historiographie," *Festgabe für Heinzel* [1898], 311 ff.) which, in the few fragments preserved to us, puts St. George through the following sample tests: He is bound, broken on the wheel, torn into ten pieces, but he goes

Callimachus Winterfeld dismisses with the phrase: "hier ist für den mimus nichts zu holen," but he dwells the longer with *Dulcitius*. In an earlier essay[1] I suggested that the pots-and-pans scene from this drama reminds the reader of a fableau (*schwank*), ignorant at the moment that Winterfeld discovered in it a remarkable analogy to the episode in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* where the queen of the elves, struck with blindness, like that of Dulcitius when he would visit the captive maidens, caresses the donkey-headed weaver. I still prefer my suggestion of a fableau as presumable source for Roswitha, and do not connect the scene with Titania on the one hand, or on the other with Apuleius' Golden Ass and so with the Roman mimic drama, as does Winterfeld, simply because Dulcitius is divinely overcome.

But not alone in this burlesque scene does Winterfeld seek an analogy for *Dulcitius* in the mimus. This and another martyr-legend in dialogue-form Winterfeld believes may revert to pagan martyr-mimes such as those mentioned by Reich[2] in connection with Genesius. I quote Winterfeld's statement:

Such a mimus, I think, Roswitha may well have known. If not this Genesius-mimus, then another one. Should she, however, have written her martyr-drama without such a prototype, then her dramatic genius appears only the greater. If no outward, direct connection with the martyr-mimus exists, then Roswitha has of herself created what before her and after her the mimus created. The material is, of course, not so constituted that we can decide from a single instance.

This statement is so disingenuous, so hides the points at issue, that it is difficult to believe an attempt has not been wilfully made to mislead us. There is no similarity whatever in theme, purpose, treatment, or appeal between Roswitha's dialogue-legends and the Genesius-mimus, or any other "christologic" mimus which Reich's unfettered imagination can shape from nebulae.

Roswitha was no "dramatic genius." If she had had even the

on preaching. He is pulverized, cremated, his ashes are thrown into a well, great boulders heaped upon it, but he goes on preaching. This legend of St. George, although it does remind us of the poem "And the barber went on shaving," I do not regard as a parody by a spielmann on a religious theme; I think it is a "dramatic legend"—if its author had read Terence as Roswitha did, he might have "dramatized" it; which, being translated, means only set it to dialogue.

[1] Cf. *Modern Philology*, III, 431.

[2] *Der Mimus*, I, 87 f., 566.

glimmerings of that creative ability with which Winterfeld and other critics invest her, she would have understood Terence and given us some sort of play.   She not only could not write a drama, she did not think of doing so.   She wanted to give vivacity and life to the old style of legend, and she succeeded a little.   What subject would be nearer her heart than the story of how God in his omnipotence overcame all the wiles of the devil and led trusting and tender maidens straight to him, without spot and without blemish?

The Genesius-mimus is exactly the kind of thing we might expect: ethnologia: character portrayal.   An archmimus in the very act of blaspheming against the Christian life and believers is convicted of God and becomes stout in his new faith.

If we could trace the slightest resemblance of theme or diction between Roswitha's work and the Genesius-mimus, as critics think they can between the latter and a fifteenth-century Genesius-mystery play,[1] then the question would assume a different aspect. But we cannot.

The material for her *Abraham* Roswitha derives in part from the *Vitae patrum*.   What we have said above regarding such borrowing need not be repeated.[2]   But it seems that in connection with just such an elopement as that of Roswitha's Maria, Jerome cites a living instance in his letters to Eustochius and Sabellianus.   He writes: "repertum est facinus, quod nec mimus fingere, nec scurra ludere, nec atellanus possit effari"—such impudence surpasses the fictions of the mimes.   Such themes of elopement and remorse were naturally warm favorites with the mimi.   It is interesting to note our nun calmly choosing from the whole repertory of legends at her disposal a story of this realistic kind.   But these facts bespeak no indebtedness on Roswitha's part to Roman mimus.   Nor does her obligation in *Paphnutius*, the other conversion-legend and doublet of *Abraham*, to the *Vitae patrum* establish any connection with mimus.[3]

[1] Edd. Mostert-Stengel; cf. von der Lage, *Studien zur Genesiuslegende* (1898 f.).

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

[3] Gottfried Keller uses the same legend in his "Legende von dem schlimmheiligen Vitalis," remarking that it seemed as though in this theme "not only the ecclesiastical story-teller's art is manifest, but also traces of an earlier, more profane manner of narration."   Winterfeld agrees that there is a good deal of worldly narrative-art in this legend, "or as we should say nowadays, a good bit of mimus, whether we were thinking at the time of dramatic mimus, or recited mimus, the story."   For the moment mimus is meaning to Winterfeld *weltliche fabulierkunst, novelle.*

Winterfeld now pauses to compare Roswitha with Goethe, who in his *Götz von Berlichingen* "instinctively started as she did with mimus." The chameleon-word mimus we find in this place, however, does not mean a legend from the *Vitae patrum*, nor yet a novelette from Apuleius, but the puppet-theater. Since there is no claim for the marionette-play made by Winterfeld in connection with Roswitha's dramas, we need happily not concern ourselves further with it at this moment.

But Winterfeld has in mind yet another analogy between Roswitha and mimus—by whom he means this time the Roman teller of a story. Roswitha prefixes to certain of her works *periochae (pronuntiationes fabulae)*, i.e., tables of contents of the ensuing drama or legend. Now the Roman mimus, like the later minstrels, found it convenient, in a time when there were no printed handbills, to instruct his audience in advance of the nature and theme of his story. It is a thing easily granted, that the producer in advertising his wares would gain effectiveness by sketching them beforehand, but so common a device as this has proved in all ages of simpler and directer art means nothing for Roswitha's knowledge of Roman mimus.

It is not far-fetched when from Roswitha's title to *Gallicanus* Winterfeld constructs the presumable way in which a mimus might act as "barker" (*marktschreier*) for it: "we are going to portray the marvelous history of Duke Gallicanus; Emperor Constantine promised him his daughter in marriage, etc." So might a minstrel have spoken in the Harz Mountains in the tenth century, true enough; so spoke the secondary mimus in Rome, waving his arms wildly to attract the attention of a careless crowd; so in our summer-evening calls through a megaphone the barker or capper for a tawdry show. But is this mimus or is it human nature? Both, Winterfeld would answer, for mimus means *das lebendige leben*.

His citation in this connection of the opening lines of the rhythm on Antichrist:

Quicunque cupitis audire   ex meo ore carmina,
De summo deo nunc audite   gloriosa famina
Et de adventu antichristi   in extremo tempore

is likewise without point, unless one may include within the pale

of mimus scores of the most incongruous *periochae* from many different centuries and lands.   Here is one such:

> Listen, my children, and you shall hear
> Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
> On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
> Hardly a man is now alive
> Who remembers that famous day and year.

This sort of *pronuntiatio fabulae* could of course be multiplied indefinitely, and yet who would trace its source to mimus?   Winterfeld would have done so, I believe, in all seriousness, for it is like the tables of contents in Roman mimic repertory.   I should prefer not to, nor would I trace the short pantomime in *Hamlet*, which Ophelia imagines "shows the content of the piece."[1]

And finally, in his study of Roswitha, Winterfeld asserts that she had chiefly portrayal in view, and that without much scenic apparatus "like her prototype the mimus."   Of course she had, though her character-portrayal is generally weak enough, and her dramas were not acted.   Quite as much of course the mimus likewise relied almost wholly upon character-delineation, and his productions were not acted.[2]   But equally in this connection every reading drama—Tennyson, Browning—must be modeled upon the Roman mimus, if the mere absence of much scenic apparatus and action be the deciding hall-mark.   Ah me!

IV.   MIMUS AND DIALOGUE POEMS

There are eight dialogue-poems which with more or less violence it is customary to group together under the name of eclogues.[3] I doubt the wisdom of such a title, for their sources, their subject-matter, and their appeal are so diverse that we cannot honestly feel them to belong to a single literary *genre* affected by learned Carolingian poets, even though they are chiefly written in leonine hexameters,[4] a meter at this time popular with writers of the diocese of Rheims.   These eight poems are:

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[1] Winterfeld, *op. cit.*, 319.

[2] Cf. *Modern Philology*, VII, 330 ff.

[3] Cf. Allen, *Modern Philology*, V, 440 ff.

[4] Cf. Wilhelm Meyer, *Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, I, 193 f.; Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen*, 39 f.; *Poetae aevi Karolini*, II, 711; Hamilton, *Modern Philology*, VII, 171.

1. Imitations of the manner of Vergil's eclogues: the poem of Naso (Bishop Modoin of Autun, *ca.* 805)[1] and the *ecloga Theoduli* (Gottschalk of Orbais, *ca.* 865).[2] The first of these pictures two shepherds who alternate in singing the praises of Charles the Great in true Vergilian manner and has a reflected, if dimmed, glory in its lines. The second is a most prosy contest between the pagan shepherd Pseustis and the Christian shepherdess Alithia as to the superiority of their separate faiths.

2. Three necrologies eulogizing the virtues of ecclesiastics: the *ecolga duarum sanctimonialium* appended to Radbert Paschasius' Life of Adalhard of Corbie (died 826; the founder of Corvey), in which Philis and Galathea mourn the death of husband and father.[3] Burchard of Reichenau's poem in praise of the abbot Witigowo (*ca.* 997).[4] The ecloga which Agius (Poeta Saxo?) appended to the *Life of Hadumod,* his sister, who died as abbess of Gandersheim in 874.[5] Of the three, Agius is the only one who achieves either pathos or poetry, when he subdues his own grief to comfort Hadumod's sorrowing nuns.

3. Two conflictus, one the contest between rose and lily by Sedulius Scottus (*ca.* 840), the other an anonymous struggle between summer and winter, sometimes attributed to Alcuin but presumably the dull school-task of one of his pupils. Both of these, I imagine, are reglossings of vernacular *streitgedichte*, the former allegorical in its symbolism, the latter pastoral (chorus of shepherds). They vacillate between a more correct diction modeled on learned sources like Vergil, the *disticha Catonis*, etc., and a rougher style which is apparently reminiscent of their popular source.[6]

4. Terence and the *delusor.*

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[1] Dümmler, *Poetae aevi Karolini,* I, 384; *Neues Archiv,* XI, 77; Gröber, *Grundriss,* II, 157.

[2] Osternacher, *Theoduli ecloga* (1902); Vollmer, *Monatsschrift für die kirchliche Praxis* (1904), 321 ff.

[3] Traube, *Poetae aevi Karolini,* III, 45; *O Roma nobilis* (1891), 14.

[4] Gröber, *Grundriss,* II, 167. Because of this "eclogue," as well as because of twelfth- and thirteenth-century conflictus (Gröber, *op. cit.,* 391), I do not understand how Winterfeld can say: "The age of the eclogue is closely limited. It begins with Charles the Great and lasts barely a hundred years."

[5] Traube, *Poetae aevi Karolini,* III, 369; Hüffer, *Korveier Studien,* I.

[6] Cf. Traube, "Perrona Scottorum," *Münchener Sitzungsberichte* (1900), 495.

With this material before him Winterfeld asserts that it was in
the eclogue-form alone that the artistic poetry of the Carolingian
renaissance found its way to the mimus, to real life itself. In all other
ways, he contends, the archaizing tendencies of this renaissance with
its pretentious copying of ancient literature retarded mimus (*das
lebendige leben*) because before Notker no poet, not even Walafrid
Strabo, dared be himself. For the moment, then, Winterfeld thinks
of mimus as realism.

Immediately, however, he turns to the mimes of Sophron, Theoc-
ritus, and Herodas. This sort of eclogue which they wrote, he
says, was one of the forms of mimic poetry, accepted and popular
for centuries because of its dramatic cast, its dialogue, and the
naturalness with which it portrayed life. It was a recited mimus
given by one person (often the poet himself[1]) and a definite type of
mimic literature.

Now this is true. But where in the list of eight eclogues of the
Carolingian and later times do we find such mimi as those of Herodas
or Theocritus? Modoin's and Gottschalk's poems we can in any
sense whatever call mimi only because they were limping imitations
of Vergilian eclogues, which in their turn were artificial (if beautiful)
imitations of the manner of Theocritus' idylls. Neither Modoin nor
Gottschalk ever wrote a real mimus, a recited poem, that is, which
although dressed up for a court-audience was yet derived from the
real life and characters of their own day. The only mimic thing in
the work of either of them is that they used the dead husks of a
dialogue-form and of the pastoral convention which had really had
life instilled into it a thousand years and more before them.

Now as to Terence and the *delusor*. It looks little like an eclogue,
for it is neither a vapid rewarming of the diction of Vergil, a retold
vernacular *streitgedicht*, nor yet a cry of praise for a dead ecclesiastic;
it is coarse, living, and filled with a note of rough bravado. I do
not agree with Winterfeld that this farce was ever acted, for there
is no proof on this point, despite what he would cite as stage-direc-
tions. And the source of it may be, as Rand thinks, occasioned by
Terence's own retorts to Lanuvinus.[2] But if I did believe with

[1] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXXIV, 207; Weil, *Journal des savants* (1891), 672.
[2] Cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, 404.

Winterfeld that different types of mimic performances survived in the Dark Ages in Europe, I should claim for this piece continuity with the Roman past and make it a main prop of my contention. For this is the first thing we have so far met in all our travels which would suggest in spirit and form Roman *paegnion;* if anywhere in Christian Europe there is an example of Roman slap-stick mime, here it is. Not in its original form, doubtless, any more than *Oxyrhynchus 413* is an original piece, but at least conceivably the derivative of an Italian original.

V. MIMUS AND HISTORICAL BALLAD

Widukind and Ekkehard tell us of the existence of many historical ballads of the ninth and tenth centuries.[1] In the former's history of the Saxons, for example, we are informed that in the year 915 Duke Henry of Saxony so annihilated the Franks "that the mimi chanted, Where is there a hell wide enough to hold so big a score of dead!"[2] Mimus here, of course, means a professional ballad-singer, and, since Lachmann at least, none has doubted that Widukind was referring to a phrase from a German historical folksong.

Another such *volkslied* from a previous generation is the song of the fight at Fontenoy (843)[3] composed by "Angilbert who fought in the front rank and escaped alive alone of all those with him in the van." Now Winterfeld calls this Angilbert mimus, and again a mimus in the sense of ballad-singer he was, unless he lied, for he wrote a ballad. Mimus in any other sense (juggler, entertainer, court-jester, singer fresh from Italy) he was not.

Another historical ballad which Winterfeld assigns to a mimus is the one celebrating Pepin's victory over the Avari,[4] written in the same style and the same meter as the Fontenoy song. This poem Winterfeld connects with a lost Latin ballad on the Iron Charles written by a Frankish minstrel (mimus), which is the basis for the story Notker tells us in the *Gesta Karoli*.[5] In one place at least the

[1] Cf. Kelle, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, I, 378 f.

[2] Widukindi, *Res gestae Saxonicae* ed. Waitz (1882); finished 968 A.D. with a short continuation a few years later. Ker (*Dark Ages*, 187) says: "Widukind had the national love of ballads. It is not difficult to find in his work traces of popular romance."

[3] *Poetae aevi Karolini*, II, 138; Meyer von Knonau, *Ueber Nithards vier Bücher Geschichten*, 138 f.

[4] *Poetae aevi Karolini*, I, 116.　　　　[5] Book I, chap. xvii.

monk changes the ballad, and Winterfeld tells us "it is high praise for the mimus that even a genius such as Notker can but spoil where he alters his original." Winterfeld's attempted reconstruction of the ballad is suggestive, but less convincing is his remark that it was always a profession known as mimi who composed ballads on the campaigns and fights in which they personally shared. Even the passage from Guy of Amiens (died 1076),[1]

> Histrio cor audax nimium quem nobilitabat,
> Incisor-ferri mimus cognomine dictus,

which relates to the Norman Taillefer, need not find general application for all contingencies and occasions of the three previous centuries.

It would not be important to note this, if it were not that Winterfeld attempts to generalize widely from the poems on Fontenoy and the Avari. Their meter, he says, was the one used for all sorts of themes in sacred and secular balladry from the Merovingian times;[2] it was at the same time one of the commonest in Roman comedy and beloved by the mass of the people. The mimi of the Merovingian epoch, he believes, had greater poetic talent than the whole Round-Table of Charles the Great. He asserts that they handed down their work in the period long before 800 from father to son, from teacher to pupil—presumably an oral tradition, as the character of the transmission shows. The later copies which were written down are not by the mimi but by the monks, or copies of such work written down from memory.

Deriving straight then from the mimi of Rome, existing as a professional class of minstrels throughout the Merovingian days, fighting and singing for their masters, Winterfeld pictures the authors of our historical ballads and other secular lays. We may believe this or not as we will—the evidence does not prove it.[3] All

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[1] Carmen de expeditione Wilhelmi; Michel, *Chroniques anglo-normandes*, III (1840); *Monumenta historica Britanniae*, I, 856; cf. also Wace, *Roman de Rou*, iii, 8035, quoted by Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 43.

[2] Wilhelm Meyer, *Der ludus de Antichristo*, 79.

[3] Winterfeld has a way of omitting evidence which does not make for his contention of southern mimi: e.g., the story of the Lombard minstrel (*joculator ex Langobardorum gente*) who led Charles the Great over Mount Cenis and as a reward asked all the land to which the sound of his horn could penetrate; cf. Chronicon Novaliciense (*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, VII, 73 ff.), written about 1050. Kögel thought to find traces of alliteration in the Latin prose translation of the chronicle; see also Schröder's "retranslation" in *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XXXVII, 127.

we do know is that poets of one sort and another have left us a few ringing songs in the shape of battle-lays and popular songs; and naturally enough the Latin word commonly employed for such poets was mimi.

VI. · MIMUS AND SATIRICAL SONGS

There is nothing in all the satirical poetry of Europe from the sixth century to the eleventh which hints at the existence of Italian mimi in this period. To be sure, Winterfeld cites and translates as the work of such mimi two satirical pieces: the tale of the abbot of Angers,[1] a rollicking drinking-song which deserves inclusion in the *kommersbuch*, and the quarrel in execrable rhythmic (rhymed?) prose of two Merovingian bishops, Importunus and Chrodebert.[2] The former is presumably of Charles the Great's time, the other about the year 665. We have no hint as to the author of either, he may have been a monk, a professional minstrel, or for that matter a man in any other walk of life. In so far, however, as he was known to the people of his time as author of such poetizing, he might be called mimus, for mimus was the Latin word in certain centuries for that sort of poet. Neither of them has any establishable connection with the Roman mimus; in fact, as both pieces seem to spring straight from the observance of contemporary occurrences, and to be the result of some animus on the part of those who wrote them, I should judge both to be the work of native authors who disliked most to see such abbots and bishops—the work of honest churchmen, perhaps.

The poet who lampooned the mimus—court-fool—of King Miro of Galicia in the sixth century was a Frankish minstrel, doubtless. He may or may not have had his training from Italy; there is no reason why he should have had or should not.[3] The author of the

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[1] Dümmler, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XXIII, 262, 265; Ebert, *ibid.*, XXIV, 147; Zarncke, *ibid.*, XXV, 25.

[2] Zeumer, *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi* (1886), 220; Paul Meyer, *Receuil des textes bas-latins*, 8. Krusch once called this "das wahrste Denkmal der Merowinger-zeit." It was for work like this that Gregory of Tours once reproved King Chilperich as severely as if he had murdered people instead of rhythm. Cf. *Historia Francorum*, Book VI, chap. xlvi: "confecitque duos libros quasi Sedulium meditatus, quorum versiculi debiles nullis pedibus subsistere possunt, in quibus, dum non intellegebat, pro longis sillabas breves posuit et pro breves longas statuebat; et alia opuscula vel ymnos sive missas, quae nulla ratione suscipi possunt"; Winterfeld, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XVLII, 73.

[3] Heyne, *Altdeutsch-lateinische Spielmannsgedichte des x. Jahrhunderts* (1900), xxiv; *Das altdeutsche Handwerk* (1908), 110; Reich, *Der Mimus*, I, 826; Allen, *Modern Philology*, VI, 402; from *Opera Gregorii Turonensis*, edd. Arndt-Krusch, II, 651.

quip about Uodalrih, the brother-in-law of Charles the Great, was a Frankish minstrel likewise, at least it is from a German song translated into the Latin prose of Notker that we hear of him.[1]

There is, further, no possible linking with Roman mimus of any of the other satirical quips and songs from early times: the mocking of Liubene's daughter, of the man from Chur, of timid count Hugo, of Little John the monk. Not only can a source in Roman mimus not be established for these pieces and for others slightly later in date,[2] but it would seem more reasonable to believe them the natural outcropping of the mood of the moment, of Swabian humor and sarcasm, or of equally effective French irony, than to refer them by indirection to Rome.

Now it is true, unfortunately true, that in his culture the mediaeval man belonged first of all to the church which was the *ecclesia catholica*,[3] after that to his cloister, and that there are in his writings but few traces of his racial character. But when a keen sense discovers lurking beneath the dull exterior of inept mediaeval Latin some trace of native art, of provincial art, why then must we exchange this treasured birthright for the pottage of an Italian mimus?

VII. MIMUS AND SACRED BALLADS

One can scarcely forbear smiling at the oracular statement with which Winterfeld begins his argument that Roman mimi and their descendants wrote sacred ballads. "The church and its teachers had denounced the mimus," he says, "but had failed to suppress him." There can be no doubt of this, for many records tell the story. But Winterfeld continues: "Thereupon the church did not make its peace with the mimus, but a part of the mimi made theirs with the church. Such a rhythmic poem as Chilperic wrote about St. Medardus would be inconceivable except for the mimus, for the mimus had begun as early as the Merovingian epoch to clothe biblical and legendary material in this rhythmic form."

As no further explanation is vouchsafed us in the matter, we

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[1] Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*[3], No. viii.

[2] For further discussion of all such available early songs and bibliography of them cf. *Modern Philology*, III, 437; V, 44 ff.; VI, 402.

[3] Cf. Winterfeld, *Stilfragen aus der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 12; Allen, *Modern Philology*, VI. 172 ff.

can only conclude that Winterfeld again refers to mimus as minstrel;
not Roman minstrel, but any realistic poet. What he achieves
thereby is problematical, unless he regards it as strange that all
biblical legends were not told in metrical form, and by monks. Of
the several legendary themes which he mentions, the most popular
ones were those dealing with Antichrist and the descent of Christ
into hell.[1] An example of the latter sort, an ABC-poem, speaks
of the court of a king and tells us of the audience there gathered at
Eastertide:

> Abbati juncti   simul et neophitae.
> Hymnorum sonus   modulantur clerici
> Ad aulam regis   et potentes personae;
> Procul exclusit   saeculares fabulas. . . .

abbots, those newly baptized, churchmen, influential laymen, sing
hymns in the court of the king who has forbidden secular stories for
the day; and in this aristocratic and pious company Winterfeld
believes "the mimus too sings of Christ's death, of his descent into
hell, and resurrection." But why mimus? Simply because the
poem has a popular theme such as a minstrel might choose.

Other sacred materials of a popular sort Winterfeld for like reason
ascribes to mimus: the poem on the destruction of Jerusalem which
is worked out realistically after the manner of Josephus, so that not
even the stench of the rotting corpses is left to our imagination;
the story of St. Placidas which is treated so sympathetically as to
be more effective than Herder's handling of the same theme in his
Wiedergefundener Sohn; the poem on Antichrist over which there
broods a mood like unto dark night at noonday, from whose lines
a true poet speaks. Why mimus?

Just because here and there in sacred balladry a vivid picture,
a real emotion, a direct and unvarnished diction appear; only because
no canting monk is speaking, but some earnest poet-preacher who
is talking better than his fellows in an early time. We shall never
know who such authors were, but they are mimi only if that word
denotes one of whatever walk of life, amateur or professional, who
happens to write an effective rhythm on some religious legend.

[1] Cf. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XLVII (1903), 89; *Neues Archiv*, XXV, 406; Dreves,
Analecta hymnica, II (1888), 91.

Surely in no other field of mediaeval writing should we be so surprised to see a song accorded the descendant of a Roman mimus, because of its realistic fervor, as in the field of sacred balladry. From the days of Augustine and Jerome at least to those of Bernard of Morlais the allurements and the rottenness of the world were depicted by poet-monks in a fashion more satirical and naturalistic than modern convention sanctions. There was that in the training and practice of monasticism which wrung the souls of strong men;[1] there was that in life as it was sometimes led in the Dark Ages which impelled clerks to an occasional materialism which sounds odd enough today. But that in all the sombre vision-literature, the dire prophecy, the grim poetry based upon Old Testament story and legend, there is not a ranker growth of materialism than actually exists—this fact may cause us to wonder, not the fact that there is any. It is to my mind no stranger that a Merovingian man of God should be a realist, than that a court-chaplain of the twelfth century should edit a codification of the *Rules of Love*, a book which enjoyed every whit of the authority of Cavendish on *Whist*, or that a Franciscan friar of the Renaissance should swear he had employed eighteen consecutive hours in copying Ovid's *De remedio amoris* and all "for the glorification of the Virgin Mary." We must take what we find without prejudice. The bishops Importunus and Chrodebert are living figures from an early age, even if their lineaments be somewhat distorted by the caricature in which we learn of them.

CONCLUSION

If we use the word mimus, as we should not, to mean any realistic and living portrayal in prose or poetry for one thousand years, then I believe that mimus is the source of mediaeval jongleur and spielmann, the fountain-head of Romance and Germanic literature.

If we use the word mimus, as we should, to mean such dramatic performances and actors, such vaudeville entertainers as existed in fifth-century Rome, then I believe the mediaeval mimi—minstrels and poets—had no connection with the southern mimus.

[1] Recall as a single example of such travail the poem *De monacho cruciatu* in Hagen, *Carmina medii aevi*, 178.

Such connection at least is nowhere visible in the poetry and prose of the European Dark Ages. And in all the chronicles and records from the writings of Jerome, Paulinus of Nola, and Salvianus of Marseilles down to the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury we may nowhere say surely what is meant by the loosely applied word mimus, unless the record particularly specify. Even then, as is the case with Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*, we are often less wise than when we began.

EXCURSUS

MIMUS AND ITS SYNONYMS IN SAXO GRAMMATICUS

In studying the records from the fifth to the sixteenth century which refer to mimus, and its synonyms *scurra, histrio, scenicus, joculator*, we are confronted by a constant difficulty. For we are never sure of what any of these words means, except when it refers in a loose way to a popular but despised race of entertainers "qui nil sciunt preter insanire." There are four reasons for this:

1. The church councils which for many centuries published decrees against the mimi and their fellows were handed down from one generation to another in transumpts which were often almost identical in their phrasing. Because of this, and because of their failure to gloss the word mimus except by accompanying it with a long list of words which referred to all sorts of entertainers and dissolute people, we cannot ever judge from one of these decrees just what the status or occupation of the mimus was at any given time.

2. The church penitentials, naturally enough, viewed the activity of mimi from an ethical and not from a cultural point of view. We cannot therefore read from such records a sane statement of how any particular age regarded its entertainers; witness the description of Thomas de Cabham, for example.

3. It is frequently not safe to derive conclusions regarding the way in which an age fostered mimi from the writings of some historian of that age. Cassiodorus [sixth century], Leidrad of Lyons [eighth], Notker Labeo [tenth], John of Salisbury [twelfth] are good examples of this fact, which can be proved equally well by a score of other writers. For these men in discussing the mimi and their activities had in mind what the mimi of classical antiquity had

been, and borrowed much of their description of the mimi from classical sources, instead of giving us a picture drawn from the state of affairs in their own day.

4. We are often misled, almost universally misled, if we translate mediaeval mentions of mimus, scurra, histrio, etc., as their etymology would tempt us to. Mimus, that is, as it appears in monkish and scholastic Latin during the Middle Ages, does not mean pantomime or mimic portrayer; scenicus has nothing to do with stage; histrio no longer means actor, etc.

It is, then, labor lost to build up theories regarding the continuance of drama, farce, the art of acting, transmission of various forms of novel, romance, lyric, fable, from any or all of the manifold records regarding mimi, as we yet have them. It is not impossible that new sources of knowledge may be discovered which will tell their tale so clearly that we can use them to construct a more definite picture of the traditions of literary form in the Dark Ages than we now have. But, pending such new discoveries, and for the four reasons above given, we should be exceedingly slow to accept the rather fanciful portrayals of mimi in Europe quoted in the preceding parts of my study.

Now quite a number of the men who wrote about the mimi and their fellows must have known what they were talking about. It would, therefore, seem a foregone conclusion that if there had been at any time previous to the twelfth century, say, well-defined classes of mimi practicing various forms of a settled and traditional art, the historians [or some of them—or one of them] would have gladly given information of these matters. But this point, which apparently requires no proof, is slow to be accepted by many students of the origins of mediaeval literature, chiefly, I think, because they do not believe that men in central and northern Europe during the early Middle Ages could have recreated different literary types, except upon the basis of an inherited transmission of these forms from the south. Many students, thus, like Chambers and Reich, have studied the records not as they are, but as they should be. They have learned not for purpose of wisdom, but for argument and dialectic. And so they have found that for which they were searching, which is, after all, not surprising, for I have never yet

seen a critic approach the monuments of the Dark Ages with a
fixed idea in mind without having his pre-conception almost instantly
confirmed. "Seek and ye shall find!" is a philological axiom.

I have often wondered why the Danish history of Saxo "the
lettered" has not been used to show what mimus meant to the
Germanic peoples at least[1] during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
For Saxo's references[2] have more value than any other ones I know,
and for two reasons. First, we understand from the *Gesta*, more
clearly than we do from any other chronicle I remember, the nature
of the person and the circumstance which call forth the appellation
mimus (scurra, histrio, scenicus, joculator); second, Saxo paints the
scenes in which these five words are used so graphically that we
cannot fail to catch his instant purpose. I append a short synopsis
of these passages, because I believe they aid materially in establishing
the fact that mimus at the beginning of the Middle Ages was a
term of such general meaning that students cannot use it or its
synonyms to directly further any theory which regards southern
entertainers as the source of modern prose and poetry.

I [Holder, 185]. Starkad betakes himself to Hakon, tyrant of
Denmark, because he is tired of the public wantonness of the dancers,
their idle clatter, their ringing of bells, at the fair in Upsala when
the city is crowded with strangers come to observe the season of
carnival which accompanies the sacrifices.[3] "Ad Haconem Danie
tyrannum se contulit quod apud Upsalam sacrificiorum tempore
constitutus, effeminatos corporum motus scenicosque mimorum
plausus ac mollia nolarum crepitacula fastidiret."

[1] Although this restriction of the meaning of the word is doubtless unnecessary, for
Saxo presumably employs the term mimus as other historians of his time did. The whole
character of his writing shows him to have possessed some of the best of the learning of his
day—there is small reason to think he had not acquired his training at a foreign university,
Paris perhaps, like his contemporary, Anders Suneson, and many other cultured Danes.
Why, then, argue that he spoke of mimus and the other words for entertainer except as
any historian of his age—the close of the twelfth century—would have done?

[2] *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, ed. Holder (1886), 81, 133, 185, 186, 195, 203.

[3] No account of the temple-feast at Upsala is given, but in Book XIV (Holder, 564 f.)
Saxo describes the religious rites at a heathen temple in Rügen. The following lines
picture the crowd and the carnival: "Semel quotannis, post lectas fruges, promiscua
tocius insule [i.e., Rügen] frequencia ante edem simulacre [Suanto-Vitus], litatis pecudum
hostiis, solenne epulum, religionis nomine celebrabat. . . . . His ita peractis, reliquum
diei plenis luxurie epulis exigentes, ipsas sacrificii dapes in usum conuiuii et gule nutri-
menta uertere, consecratas numini uictimas intemperancie sue seruire cogentes. In
quo epulo sobrietatem uiolare pium estimatum est, seruare nefas habitum."

To translate "scenicos mimorum" with Elton[1] by "of the mimes on the stage" is unwarrantable, unless we dissociate from our idea of stage all thought of actor, play, and playhouse. It is true that in much earlier Latin the noun scenica meant "loca lusibus publicis addicta, ut sunt circi, theatra, et ejusmodi," but here as in two other passages in Saxo the adjective scenicus can mean only "idle, empty, wanton, dissolute." Mimus in the passage above quoted denotes a dancer, a noise-maker, and a ringer of bells (or one dressed in clothes hung with bells).

II [Holder, 186]. Starkad went with Hakon and his fleet to Ireland, whose king, Hugleik, was never "generous to any respectable man, but spent all his bounty upon mimes and jugglers (*mimos ac ioculatores*). For so base a fellow was bound to keep friendly company with the base, and such a slough of vices to wheedle his partners in sin with pandering endearments (*blandimentorum lenocinio*). Still he had Geigad and Swipdag, who, by the singular luster of their warlike deeds, shone out among their unmanly companions (*effeminatorum consorcia*) like jewels embedded in ordure. When a battle began between Hugleik and Hakon, the hordes of mimes (*mimorum greges*), whose lightmindedness unsteadied their bodies, scurried off in panic. Starkad conquered, killing Hugleik and routing the Irish; and he had any of the actors (*quoscunque ex histrionibus*) beaten whom chance made prisoner; thinking it better to order a pack of buffoons (*scurrarum agmen*) to be ludicrously punished than to take their lives. Thus he visited with a disgraceful chastisement the baseborn throng of jugglers (*iocularis ministerii*)." I have purposely quoted the translation of Elton, because it employs the technical words indicating different professions: mime, juggler, actor, buffoon. But Elton has translated these terms into the passage, not out of it. Saxo calls the rabble of parasites which composes Hugleik's army mimi, joculatores, histriones, and scurrae, just as he denominates them "partners in sin," "panders," "vicious," "ordure," "lightminded," and "base"—to show what a herd of swine they were. Just as we use the names of certain of the most disgraceful professions today as a term of harsh reproach, with never a thought of the professions themselves, so they did in the twelfth century—so undoubtedly man has always done.

[1] Cf. Elton, *The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus* (1894), 228.

III [Holder, 203].   Starkad is sulking at the table of King Ingild,
son of Frode IV of Denmark.   Ingild's queen, to soothe him, bade
a piper (*tibicine de industria*) strike up.   But "the crestfallen per-
former learnt that it is in vain for buffoons to assail with their
tricks (frustra *scurrarum lusibus* attentari) a settled sternness.
Starkad flung the bone, which he had stripped in eating the meat,
in the face of the harlequin (*gesticulantis*) and drove the wind vio-
lently out of his puffed cheeks.   By this act he showed how his
austerity loathed the clatter of the stage (*scenicos plausus*).   This
reward, befitting an actor (*dignum histrione*), punished an unseemly
performance.   None could say whether the minstrel (*mimus*) piped
or wept the harder.   Then, to revile the actor (in *histrionis* suggilla-
cionem) more at length, Starkad composed a song."   Again, as in
the preceding quotation, professional names, mimus, scenicus, scurra,
histrio, and all to indicate what?   A piper.   Nowhere better than
here can we see how little the heaping-up of lists of class-names so
dear to mediaeval chronicles betokens a catalogue of different pro-
fessions.   A second time Elton's translation of "scenicos" by "stage"
instead of by "idle" or "wanton" is unconvincing.   The next
paragraph decides the matter.

IV [Holder, 81].   Odin has been told by Rostioph the Finn that
a son must be born to him by Rinda, daughter of the king of the
Ruthenians.   So the god disguises himself as a woman and pre-
tends to be something of a physician.   Rinda falls sick, and her
father consents to her being bound, as so bitter a drug is prescribed
for her by the deceitful Odin that she otherwise could not endure
its effects.   While she is unconscious Odin accomplishes his dis-
honest purpose.   Because of his assuming the garb of a woman
and because of his wanton practices many people adjudged him
unworthy to return from his ten years' exile and resume his rank,
since he had brought the foulest scandal on the name of the gods.
"Extitire tamen, qui ipsum recuperande dignitatis aditu indignum
censerent, quod *scenicis artibus* et muliebris officii suscepcione
teterrimum diui nominis opprobrium edidisset."   Even in this place
Elton adheres to his translation of "stage tricks" for "scenicis
artibus," but we may now disregard him, in so far at least as "stage"
means to us "pertaining to the boards of a playhouse."   The wan-

dering minstrels had many tricks in their trade—if Saxo's word means aught more than "idle" or "wanton," then it means simply such things as the minstrel did: i.e., dressing up as a woman, playing the quack-physician, perhaps even portraying with his *spilwib* some crude pantomime of lust.

V [Holder, 133]. Eric Mál-spaki (the Shrewd-Spoken), son of Ragnar the champion, by eating the black part of the magic snake-pottage prepared by his stepmother Kraka had become wise to an incredible degree. When he comes to war against the Danes he is approached by the scurrilous Grep, son of Westmar, a guardian of young Frode, and the inevitable flyting ensues. Says Grep to the mighty Eric:

> Thou art thought to be as full of quibbling as a cock of dirt;
> Thou stinkest heavy with filth, and reekest of nought but sin.
> There is no need to lengthen the plea against a buffoon,
> Whose strength is in an empty and voluble tongue.[1]

The fourth line explains succinctly why Grep calls the Swedish hero a scurra (buffoon)—he would make Eric appear *an empty braggart*.

VI [Holder, 195]. Helge the Norwegian, suitor for the hand of Helga the daughter of Frode IV of Denmark, has impetuously agreed to fight singlehanded Anganty of Zealand, a rival suitor, and his eight brothers. Impelled by his dread of the unequal combat Helge sends a messenger to Starkad in Upsala inviting him to the wedding of Frode's daughter, secretly hoping for the great hero's help. But Starkad is pleased to consider the invitation an insult and turning on Helge's messenger tells him "he must think Starkad like some buffoon or trencherman is accustomed to rush off to the reek of a distant kitchen for the sake of a richer diet" (se scurre uel parasiti more laucioris alimonie gracia ad aliene culine nidorem decurrere solitum existimauerit). Here scurra is used of one whose chief concern is the lining of his paunch—*a glutton*.

From the preceding passages of Saxo's history we see two things: first, mimus and its synonyms were used indiscriminately to indicate any sort of vulgar entertainer; second, these words more often

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[1] Vt gallus ceni, sic litis plenus haberis;
Sorde gravis putes, nec nisi crimen oles.
Aduersum scurram causam producere non est,
Qui vacua uocis mobilitate uiget.

connote simply idleness and baseness.   It is important to note that, so far as we may read from the writings of Saxo, there is often little if any difference in content and manner between court-poetry and the sort of poetry which critics have assigned to the mimi:

[Holder, 208]:   Pascit, ut porcum, petulans maritum,
                 Impudens scortum natibusque fidens
                 Gratis admissum tolerare penem
                         Crimini stupri.

[Holder, 140]:   Quando tuam limas admissa cote bipennem,
                 Nonne terit tremulas mentula quassa nates?—
                 "Ut cuivis natura pilos in corpore sevit,
                 Omnis nempe suo barba ferenda loco est.
                 Re Veneris homines artus agitare necesse est;
                 Motus quippe suos nam labor omnis habet.
                 Cum natis excipitur nate, vel cum subdita penem
                 Vulva capit, quid ad haec addere mas renuit?"

Such passages as these, which are by no means unique in Saxo, show clearly enough that the gulf between native Germanic singer and foreign mimus, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries at least, was one of the former's jealous making, rather than one which existed in fact.   The mimus was abjured, because he took away the court-poet's audience,[1] and the latter revenged himself by calling him utterly depraved and ever adverting to his foreign origin.   Who were these foreigners in the Germanic north?   Winterfeld would derive them straight from Rome, if he had remembered his Saxo; but there is no reason to go so far afield.   I imagine them simply graceless German ne'er-do-wells, *spielmänner* and *spielweiber*, detested by an old house-carle like Starkad, as were the cooking and luxury introduced in the eleventh century from Germany.   One of their nobler brothers from Saxony is the *cantor* who tried in vain to warn Kanute of a conspiracy against his life by singing the song of Grimhild's treachery to her brothers [Holder, 427].

<div align="right">PHILIP SCHUYLER ALLEN</div>

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[1] F. York Powell cites in this connection *Corpus poeticum boreale*, I, 255, 530; II, 275 f., 327.   The court-poet's pride in his achievements lingers in the legend of how the Danes gave the crown to Hiarn [Hjarrand the harper] because he wrote so beautiful an ode to dead Frode [Holder, 172].

THE SUITORS IN CHAUCER'S *PARLEMENT OF FOULES*

Ever since Professor John Koch of Berlin suggested the relation of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* to the betrothal and marriage of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia, his conclusions have been almost universally accepted.[1] They were felt to give a definite occasion and a fairly definite dating[2] to one of the most important of the minor poems. So fully have Professor Koch's conclusions been accepted that, in general, they have not been reviewed except in an entirely favorable manner.[3] Nor do I now propose to attempt any considerable alteration of such important results in Chaucer study. Yet a recent study of the subject has suggested a further consideration of some points in connection with the wooing of Anne. Especially do I wish to note the discovery of a suitor for her hand, hitherto unmentioned in any discussion of the poem.

[1] "Ein Beitrag zur Kritik Chaucers," *Englische Studien*, I, 288; the same (enlarged) with title, "On an Original Version of the Knight's Tale," *Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Soc., p. 408. — 2ND SER. NO. 18.

[2] It is true that Professor Koch first suggested, in the essay above noted, St. Valentine's Day, 1381, as the date of writing, after which he assumed 1380, in his translation of the *Minor Poems* (1880), and then 1382, in the *Chronology of Chaucer's Writings* (Chaucer Soc., p. 37). The last dates were on the basis of the allusion to the planet Venus in ll. 117 f.

[3] The fullest restatements of the facts have been made by Bilderbeck, in *Selections from Chaucer's Minor Poems* (1897), and Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, in *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Soc., 1907). The latter has used Theo. Lindner, *Geschichte des deutschen Reiches unter K. Wenzel* (1875), and C. Höfler, "Anna von Luxemburg," in *Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad., Phil.-Hist. Classe*, XX, in addition to Pelzel, *Lebensgeschichte des Königs Wenzeslaus* (1788), used by Koch. One or two points in Tatlock's treatment may be mentioned, lest they should seem to oppose my own statements in this article. "In June, 1380, commissioners were appointed to treat of a marriage between Richard and Anne, Wenceslas' sister," should read "between Richard and Katherine, daughter of Ludwig, recently emperor of the Romans" (Rymer's *Fœdera*, VII, 257). So also, "and December 20, Richard announced that he had chosen her," based on Höfler's somewhat rhetorical statement (129), should be "December 26," as to date, probably a misprint merely. The last part of the statement, however, seems to me to give a wrong idea of the progress of the negotiations. I have examined the whole series of documents in a paper called "A New Note on the Date of Chaucer's Knight's Tale," in *Studies in Language and Literature*, a volume commemorating Professor J. M. Hart's seventieth birthday. Here may be added only that, in the commission of December 26, Richard merely says, since he had directed the eyes of his consideration (*oculos nostræ considerationis*) toward the Lady Anne, it had pleased him to make beginning of a compact of matrimony (*placuit nobis . . . . Fœdus inire Conjugii Conjugalis*), and on this account he had appointed certain ambassadors to bring it to conclusion (*pro Negotii hujusmodi Conclusione*). Anne was to be received, not "on Michaelmas next," but about that time (*circa Festum Sancti Michaelis proximo futurum*) (Rymer, VII, 301).

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Regarding the suitors of Anne Professor Koch says:[1]

And at p. 110, he [Pelzel, whom he has just quoted in regard to Richard's proposal for her hand] relates that Anne was engaged as early as 1371 to a Prince of Bavaria; and in 1373, when she was seven years of age, to a Margrave of Misnia. . . . . In King Richard and the two German princes we may recognize [the] three eagles wooing the formel.

It is true Professor Koch does notice the strangeness of Chaucer's including the Prince of Bavaria, and he explains it by saying:[2]

People most likely had not a very clear notion as to the state of affairs in Germany. . . . . For, in fact, the Prince of Bavaria was no longer a competitor with King Richard, since his match had already been broken off for years.

Yet even this implies that Chaucer knew of the two German suitors and includes them both in his poem, without perhaps knowing that the first was no longer a rival.

Professor A. W. Ward, who accepts Professor Koch's identification of the suitors in his *Chaucer*, says:[3]

Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV and sister of King Wenceslas, had been successively betrothed to a Bavarian prince and to the Margrave of Meissen, before—after negotiations which, according to Froissart, lasted a year—her hand was given to the young King Richard II of England. This sufficiently explains the general scope of the *Assembly of Fowls*.

Professor Skeat quotes Professor Ward as above and adds a footnote as follows:[4]

The royal tercel is, then, Richard II; the formel eagle is Anne; the other two tercel eagles were her other two suitors.

Taken in connection with what is said in the text, this means the Bavarian prince and the Margrave of Meissen, to whom Anne had been at different times betrothed. In the Globe edition of *Chaucer* Mr. H. F. Heath puts the matter with even greater definiteness:[5]

Anne is represented in the poem by the formel (i.e., female) eagle and Richard by the royal eagle, while the two tercels (i.e., males) "of lower kind," who plead for her love, are the Prince of Bavaria and the Margrave of Misnia, to each of whom Anne had been contracted.

[1] *Essays on Chaucer*, 407–8.   [2] *Ibid.*, 408.

[3] "English Men of Letters" series, chap. ii, 57.

[4] *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, I, 75.

[5] *Introduction*, xxxix.

It is to this explicit identification of the suitors that I wish to call special attention.

It must have occurred to others than Professor Koch that it was a strange procedure on Chaucer's part to introduce, as a rival suitor of Richard, one whose betrothal had been broken off as early as 1373, at least seven, perhaps nine years, before the time of the poem.[1] Others may have wondered what reason we have to suppose that Chaucer even knew of such an engagement. Such news would surely not have had international circulation, nor would it have been freely communicated to those interested in this new match. At any rate Chaucer would scarcely have been likely to use this long-past betrothal, if there had been a more active suitor in the field. As such a suitor may now be presented with confidence, we may safely dismiss William of Baiern-Holland, who was Anne's betrothed from 1371 to 1373, as not likely to have been in Chaucer's mind. This leaves but one of the two suitors usually mentioned, the son of Friedrich of Thüringen, who himself became Friedrich of Meissen in 1381.

This Friedrich of Meissen is a more important personage. More-over, some significant details may be added to what has hitherto been connected with his betrothal. That betrothal had been arranged in 1373, as has been noted. That the match was considered a worthy one is clear from the terms Anne's father was willing to make. The sum of "10,000 Schock Groschen Prager Münze" was to be Anne's dower, and for it were pledged the two towns of Brüx and Laun, northwest of Prague.[2] We shall see that this latter provision

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[1] Seven years, that is, if the poem was begun as early as 1380, the earliest possible date to which it could be assigned, either from the reference to Venus (l. 117), or from the beginning of negotiations for a German princess. It is nine years if the poem belongs to the summer of 1382.

[2] Horn, *Lebens- und Helden-Geschichte ·Friedrichs des Streitbaren*, 80 f.: "Es hiess dieselbe nicht nach etlicher Vorgeben Helena, sondern Anna, ... und solte vermöge derselben die leibliche Beylegung über 8 Jahr oder 1381 erfolgen, auch der Keyserl. Tochter 10,000 Schock Groschen Prager Münze zur Heimsteuer mitgegeben, oder aber, wenn die Zahlung binnen einem Jahr nach dem Beylager nicht geschähe, davor Brüx Haus und Stadt nebst Stadt Luna [Laun] pfandweise eingeräumet werden." The reference to "Helena" instead of "Anne" is based on the fact that some of the chroniclers give the former name as that of the daughter married to Richard II of England. One even says that Anne died in 1379, and questions whether another may have replaced her in the marriage. Horn sets the matter at rest by giving the document of bethrothal at p. 647.

is of some importance in the sequel. This second betrothal of Anne "had been broken off," says Professor Koch, following Pelzel, "on account of Mayence."[1] The affair "of Mayence" to which Pelzel refers is the rivalry for the archbishopric of Mainz at the death of Archbishop John on April 4, 1373.[2] The rival claimants for the place were Adolf of Nassau and Bishop Ludwig of Bamberg, the latter uncle of Anne's betrothed and favored by her father, the emperor Charles IV. Adolf of Nassau obtained actual possession, and Ludwig, in spite of recognition by the pope and the emperor, had only pretensions to satisfy him.[3] In June, 1377, also, owing to the loss of their chief ally, the Thuringian house came to an agreement with its opponents, and the struggle between Ludwig and Adolf was at an end for the time.[4]

To follow this affair more fully, at the papal schism in 1378 Adolf of Nassau saw his opportunity. When Bishop Ludwig, supported by Wenceslaus, who had now succeeded his father, Charles IV, acted as Archbishop of Mainz in the Diet of 1379, Adolf at once became a Clementist, and received recognition of his claim to the archbishopric from the French pope.[5] But Mainz was too important to both Urban and Wenceslaus, and Adolf was found to be willing to return to the Urbanists, if the coveted archbishopric should be acknowledged by both pope and emperor. Urban saw the importance of a united Germany, and in January, 1381, Adolf was virtually recognized by Wenceslaus and the kingdom. Wenceslaus also looked after the disappointed Ludwig by making him archbishop of Magdeburg soon after.[6] There was no direct occasion, therefore, in the "affair of Mayence" for breaking the match with Anne. Pelzel must be in error in his statement of the breaking off of the betrothal for this reason. While rancor was engendered, perhaps, there is no evidence of a formal breaking of the engagement.

Meanwhile, the new alignment of the nations, resulting from the papal schism, had brought new complications. Pope Urban was using every endeavor to win over the largest following, and bind the nations to himself with the closest bonds. On his part, Clement

[1] *Essays on Chaucer*, p. 407.
[2] Lindner, I, 23.
[3] *Ibid.*, 63.
[4] *Ibid.*, 30, 63–64, 312–13.
[5] *Ibid.*, 103–4.
[6] *Ibid.*, 120–21, 133.

VII was doing his best to unite France and Germany.[1]   If, therefore, Urban did not suggest the marriage of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia, he used all his influence to further that match, and so make impossible any terms between Wenceslaus and France, the latter now fully supporting the schismatic pope.   As early as May 20, 1379, probably at the instigation of the papal nuncio, Cardinal Pileus de Prata, Wenceslaus had written to Richard proposing an alliance against schismatics.[2]   This was the beginning of that more intimate relation between England and Bohemia, which resulted in Anne's betrothal to the English king.

Such betrothal, and the marriage which followed, brought the virtual, though not the formal, abrogation of the engagement of Anne and Friedrich of Meissen.   The latter was still only one, though the eldest, son of Friedrich of Thuringia, and helpless we may assume to press his claim against the powerful brothers of Anne, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia and emperor, and Sigmund, king of Hungary.[3]   His betrothal was therefore merely set aside for the greater match, now placed within the power of Wenceslaus and strongly urged by the pope.   Nor is there evidence of any arrangement for settling the definite claim which, owing to the terms of the betrothal, Friedrich of Meissen still had upon the emperor.

The best evidence that the betrothal of Anne and Friedrich was never formally abrogated is the attitude of the Thuringian house in the later affairs of the empire.   Then the representatives of that house did not forget the double slight placed upon them, first by Wenceslaus's failure to support Bishop Ludwig of Bamberg for the archbishopric of Mainz, and second by his disregard of the long-standing marriage contract.[4]   At the death of Friedrich of Thuringia in 1381, Friedrich, the betrothed of Anne, became Margrave of Meissen, and began that strenuous career which gave him the name of "der Streitbare," "the Warlike."   More than once he opposed the emperor Wenceslaus, until, in 1397, in connection with the strug-

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[1] Lindner, I, 118.   Speaking of this Lindner says: "Denn man hatte in Rom besseres im Sinne.   Die Pläne der Avignonesen, den deutschen König durch eine Familienver- bindung mit Frankreich zu liiren, mussten durchkreuzt werden."

[2] Höfler, 127; Lindner, I, 95.

[3] The part of Sigmund of Hungary is vouched for in the chronicles cited by Horn, 83.

[4] Lindner, I, 133; II, 190.

gle between Wenceslaus and Jobst of Moravia, the old debt incurred
at his betrothal to Anne was wiped out.   In that year the warlike
Margrave took from Wenceslaus the two towns, Brüx and Laun,
which had been pledged for Anne's dower.[1]

Still later, in 1409, when Wenceslaus arbitrarily took from the
Germans a large part of their authority at the University of Prague
and the German students seceded, Friedrich helped to welcome them,
and to found for their use the University of Leipsic.[2]   Thus was
the Emperor Wenceslaus doubly humbled for his disregard of the
marriage contract between Anne and Friedrich of Meissen.   It is of
incidental interest that Friedrich remained unmarried all these years,
not taking a wife until 1402, when he married a daughter of Henry
the "Mild."   He became, too, a notable prince.   In 1423 he won
for himself the electorate of Saxony, a dignity which thus became
permanently attached to his house.

If, then, the betrothal of Friedrich was never formally broken,
but merely set aside by Anne's imperial brother, Friedrich may
reasonably be regarded as one of the rivals of Richard in the allegory
of the *Parlement of Foules*.   Should we try to identify him with one
of the "tercel" suitors of the "formel egle," it would naturally be
with the second mentioned in the poem, "another tercel egle . . . .
of lower kinde."[3]   As compared with that of the "royal tercel,"
too, the profession of this second suitor would also apply with striking
aptness:

> I love hir bet than ye do, by Seynt John,
>
> .   .   .   .
>
> And lenger have served hir, in my degree;
> And if she shulde have loved for long loving,
> To me allone had been the guerdoning.[4]

[1] My attention was first called to this and the following circumstance by my friend
Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University.   The passage from Horn occurs on 351 f.
Horn writes: "Es bekräfftiget mich hierinn eine Verschreibung, welche ihm der König
auf Unterhandlung des Bischoffs zu Bamberg und Margraff Wilhelms des ältern, seines
Vettern zu der Zeit Donnerst. vor S. Galli pro redimenda vexa über Brüx und Lune
gegeben, weiln die vormaln 1373 zwischen dessen Schwester Annen und ihm abgeredete
Ehe-Pacten nicht in ihre Erfüllung gegangen, und gleichwohl man sich bey entstehender
Vollziehung Königlicher seits eventualiter anheischig gemacht, die versprochene
Heyrathsgelder an 10,000 Schock nichts desto weniger zu bezahlen, als oben bereits mit
mehrern referiret worden, auch Churfürst Friedrich die davon versessen Zinsen, so wohl
aufgewandte Kosten, Schäden und Zehrung nicht länger darben wolte."   He quotes
an annalist to the same effect on p. 128, under the year 1397.

[2] Horn, 301 f.   [3] Ll. 449–50.   [4] Ll. 451–55.

Surely, if these lines have more than general significance, they describe one to whom Anne had been betrothed for many years, and who, before the negotiations with England, had no reason to believe that his long engagement would not be followed by marriage.

But Chaucer, as we know, introduces a third suitor for the "formel egle," or Anne of Bohemia. I propose to show that there was such a suitor, entirely disregarded in any previous discussion of the subject, but far more active than even Friedrich of Meissen, and a far more worthy rival of Richard II himself.[1] Moreover, there can be no doubt that Chaucer knew of him, however little he may have known of Anne's engagements to the German princes. I shall hope to show, also, that the language used by the third suitor is appropriate to this new rival of the young Richard. The way in which he came to be suitor for the hand of Anne will be clearer from some elements of the history of the time.

When the papal schism occurred at the election of Clement VII in September, 1378, the rival popes began a vigorous campaign for supporters. Charles IV, king of Bohemia and emperor of the Romans, as he called himself, held firmly to the Roman pope. Perhaps he was partly led thereto by the relation of the pope to his imperial title.[2] Charles, however, did not outlive the year of the schism, dying less than three months after the election of Clement. His son Wenceslaus, brother of Anne and a youth of only seventeen when he succeeded his father, was likely to be more easily influenced. As a result each pope sent him his messenger. Clement dispatched Bishop John of Cambray November 5, 1378,[3] and in March, 1379, when returning from Frankfort, Wenceslaus was met by Cardinal Pileus de Prata of Ravenna,[4] who had been commissioned to him as papal nuncio. Pileus made haste to impress upon the young emperor that to accept the schismatic Clement would be to make his father a heretic.[5] On the other hand, for Wenceslaus to support Urban

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[1] But see article "Richard II," *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[2] He had obtained the title "emperor of the Romans" in 1346, but had not been crowned at Rome until 1354, and then only after pledging Pope Innocent VI that he would leave the imperial city the same day. Now, however, he wished acknowledgment of his claim, and he was recognized as emperor by Urban on July 26, 1378.

[3] Lindner, I, 102, note.　　　　　　　[4] *Ibid.*, I, 94.

[5] Höfler, 130; Lindner, I, 113.

meant severing the long-standing alliance with France.[1] That
alliance had been more recently strengthened by his father. On
January 9, 1378, upon a visit to Paris, Charles IV had spoken out
unmistakably for France in her contention with England, and had
pledged his son, his other children, all his relatives, his allies and
friends, and his whole power to her support.[2] In the latter relation
of ally of France, Clement VII saw an opportunity to influence
Wenceslaus. He therefore urged a union between Bohemia and
France, to be rendered firm by a marriage of the Dauphin with
Wenceslaus's sister Anne.

Charles V of France was also eager for such an alliance on grounds
of general advantage to his kingdom. He had already sent a com-
mission to the Diet of Frankfort in 1379, and a year later he still had
hopes of success in his efforts.[3] The subject of the marriage, even,
had been broached. Of it the French historian Valois says:

Durant un séjour de Wenceslas à Aix-la-Chapelle, on avait parlé d'un
mariage entre le dauphin, fils du roi de France, et Anne de Luxembourg,
sœur du roi des Romains. Une entrevue devait avoir lieu entre Charles V
et Wenceslas. . . . . La cour d'Avignon comptait beaucoup sur le résultat
de cette conférence. Entre autres personnages qui promettaient de s'y
rendre, je citerai les envoyés du roi de Portugal et, à leur tête, l'évêque
de Lisbonne, qui déjà préparait le discours avec lequel il devait convertir
Wenceslas. Cette entrevue n'eut pas lieu: le roi des Romains, tournant
le dos à Reims, reprit la route de Cologne. Il se fit, il est vrai, repré-
senter à Paris par quatre ambassadeurs; mais l'acte, sans doute rédigé
d'avance, dont ces derniers étaient porteurs ne traitait que du renouvelle-
ment des alliances entre les deux maisons, sans souffler mot de mariage
du dauphin avec la bohémienne Anne.[4]

This journey of Wenceslaus to Aix-la-Chapelle was after the Frank-
fort Diet of April, 1380.[5] As late as that time, therefore, the emperor

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[1] Recall that the blind king of Bohemia, John of Luxemburg, had lost his life at
Crécy in 1346, fighting as an ally of France; that his daughter, Maria of Luxemburg, was
to become the wife of Charles IV of France, while his daughter Bona became the wife
of King John "the Good," and so mother of Charles V. Wenceslaus and Charles V of
France were thus first cousins.

[2] Höfler, 126.

[3] Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'occident*, I, 269.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 300. As authorities for this statement Valois cites a "Lettre du cardinal
de Viviers aux cardinaux de Florence et de Milan," Baluzius, II, 869; and his own edition
of the "Discours prononcé le 14 juillet 1380, en présence de Charles V, par Martin l'évêque
de Lisbonne," in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LII, 495, 500.

[5] Lindner, I, 114, 116, 430.

was still considering the possible betrothal of his sister Anne and the heir of the French throne.   Indeed, we must not assume that at any time the young Wenceslaus was distinctly hostile to his cousin, Charles V of France, or the latter's son, the prince who became Charles VI in September, 1380.   As an evidence of the intimate relations between the two, Froissart tells us that, when Charles V of France was ill in the summer before his death, Wenceslaus sent his own physician, George of Prague, to treat him.[1]   It was rather the papal situation which finally caused the severing of such relations of alliance as had long existed between the two countries.

To defeat such an alliance of Wenceslaus and France was now the chief purpose of Pope Urban.   England had already accepted him as pope in the Gloucester parliament of October-November, 1378. There was, perhaps, no fear of losing her allegiance.   If Germany was equally certain to remain loyal, it was still important to bind together the nations supporting Urban by a firmer league against the schismatics.   It was probably at the suggestion of the papal nuncio that Wenceslaus first proposed to Richard II, in May, 1379, an alliance in support of Urban.[2]   This was shortly after a Diet at Frankfort, on February 27, 1379, in which a league of German princes had been formed for the same purpose.   In furtherance of union between Germany and England, it would seem, the same papal nuncio, Cardinal Pileus de Prata, went to the latter country in 1380.[3]   Moreover, it was probably he who first suggested the marriage of Richard with a German princess.[4]   At any rate, it was in the same June, 1380, that Richard definitely turned his eyes to such a possible alliance.[5]   Peace with France having been found impossible, the

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[1] *Chronicles*, II, chap. lv; Johnes, I, 615.   [2] See p. 5.

[3] He was there at least as early as June, since on the seventh of that month he obtained from Richard II certain rights to revenues in connection with Lichfield and Lincoln cathedrals; Rymer's *Fœdera*, VII, 256.

[4] An entry in *Issues of the Exchequer* (Devon, 224) of January 9, 1384, would imply that the marriage of Richard and Anne was perhaps considered somewhat earlier than June, 1380.   I have dealt with that in another place, but, if the inferences from that entry are wholly true, they do not materially affect this paper.

[5] Rymer, VII, 257.   The person first named in the commission, as already noted, was "Katherine, daughter of Ludwig, recently emperor of the Romans."   The emperor Ludwig of Bavaria, however, had died in 1347, so that his daughter would have been more than twice the age of Richard.   No adequate explanation has been given of this proposal, or of the sudden change to Anne, the sister of Wenceslaus, a little later.   Could it be that, as the king of France is known to have wished Anne for his son, afterward

councilors of the young king wished him to marry abroad that he might obtain an ally in the long-drawn-out war with France.[1]

Meanwhile the king of France, probably urged on by Clement VII, was more active for a league with his old-time ally in Germany. In the summer of 1380 he learned of the English negotiations for a marriage of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. Even though soon stricken with the disease which brought his death on September 16, his sagacity emphasized the importance of the German league. On his death-bed he said to his courtiers: "Seek out in Germany an alliance for my son, that our connections there may be strengthened. You have heard that our adversary is about to marry from thence to increase his alliance."[2]

There is also evidence that these negotiations were carried on after the death of Charles V and the accession of Charles VI. The marriage of Anne with Charles was urged by the Clementists as the only way of winning Wenceslaus and Germany to their side.[3] A letter from Cardinal Peter de Sortenac implies that actual negotiations were under way. He says:

> Nec est spes eum [Wenceslaus] pro nunc revocandi, nisi per tractatum matrimonii, qui pendet de sorore sua danda regi Francie, in quo tractatu speratur, quod possit informari de justitia domini nostri, et de præservatione fame et honoris patris sui mortui, et per consequens reduci.[4]

We have also the testimony to the same effect of the English chronicler, Adam of Usk. Speaking of Cardinal Pileus de Prata, whose notary in London he was, Adam says: "After his departure the said Lady Anne was bought for a price by our lord the king, for she was much sought in marriage by the king of France."[5]

Charles VI, Wenceslaus was hoping to ally himself with France by the marriage of his sister, and with England by the marriage of his aunt? In any case an explanation is not necessary for our immediate purpose.

[1] Froissart, *Chronicles*, II, chap. xliii; Johnes, I, 592–93: "The English . . . . wished the king to choose a queen from beyond sea, in order to gain stronger alliances."

[2] Froissart, *Chronicles*, II, chap. lv; Johnes, I, 616.

[3] Höfler, 130. Lindner, I, 113: "Die einzige Hoffnung, Wenzel zur Umkehr zu bewegen, läge in jetz schwebenden Verhandlungen über die Ehe zwischen seiner Schwester und dem Könige von Frankreich."

[4] Quoted by Höfler (130) from Baluzius, *Vitæ Paparum Avinionensium*, II, 869. The last clause refers to the fear of Wenceslaus that, if he recognized Clement, it would make a heretic of his father, who had died in the full acceptance of Urban's election.

[5] *Chronicon Adæ de Usk*, ed. by Thompson, 102. The original reads: "Post cujus recessum dicta domina Anna, per dominum regem magno precio redempta, quia a rege Francie in uxorem affectata."

Even as late as the early part of 1381 Wenceslaus had sent an embassy to France, nominally to urge Charles VI to support Urban as the true pope. The French historian Valois suggests that, while this may have been prompted by zeal for the church, it was possibly also to further, by indirection, the marriage project with Richard.[1] The ambassadors reached Paris March 10, and even if they did not discuss, so late as this, the possible marriage of Anne with the French king, the English may have feared as much and have therefore still considered the French king as the rival of Richard.

From the foregoing recital it is clear that the most active rival of Richard II for the hand of Anne of Bohemia was not a German prince at all, but the far more important heir to the French throne, and king of France before the negotiations were concluded. Behind him, too, were the close ties of blood between the reigning monarchs of France and Bohemia, the traditional friendship of the two countries, the recently renewed league between the father of Wenceslaus and Charles V of France, and the power of Clement VII and of his supporters in the French church. The strength of the French desire for an alliance with the emperor of the Romans may perhaps best be seen in the strength of French resentment, when the decision in favor of Richard had been made, and the young princess Anne was on her way to England. It is Froissart who tells the story:

The Lady Anne of Bohemia remained with her uncle and aunt at Brussels upwards of a month. She was afraid of moving, for she had been informed there were twelve large armed vessels, full of Normans, on the sea between Calais and Holland, that seized and pillaged all that fell into their hands, and it was indifferent to them who they were. The report was current, that they cruised in those seas waiting for the coming of this lady; and that the king of France and his council were desirous of carrying her off, in order to break the match, for they were very uneasy at this alliance of the Germans and the English. . . . . On account of these suspicions and fears, the young lady remained at Brussels one whole month. The Duke of Brabant, by advice of his council, sent to France the Lords de Rousselans and de Bousquehois, to remonstrate on this subject with the king and his uncles, who were also his nephews [that is, nephews of Duke Wenceslaus of Brabant], being his sister's sons.

The knights of Brabant managed so well with the king and his coun-

[1] *La France et le grand schisme d'occident*, II, 274.

cil that their request was complied with, and passports granted for the lady and her attendants to travel through any parts of France she might choose, as far as Calais. The Normans were remanded into port. This answer the knights carried to Brabant to the duke and duchess. The king and his uncles wrote to say, they had granted the favor to their cousin, the Lady Anne, at their solicitation alone, and for no other reason whatever.[1]

The clause, "for they were very uneasy at this alliance of the Germans and the English," is full proof of the serious efforts the French had made to continue their friendly relations with Germany. The last expression, regarding the passports granted, shows the resentment of the young king and his royal uncles toward the successful suitor Richard.

Perhaps, too, the knowledge that his chief rival for the hand of Anne was his enemy, the French king, may have influenced Richard in so eagerly seeking the Bohemian alliance. Possibly this was the reason also why Wenceslaus could make such excellent terms with the English king, giving no dowry with the princess, but rather obtaining for himself an enormous loan.[2] Again this eagerness, and the vast sum which Wenceslaus secured, may explain the distinctly critical tone of several chroniclers in referring to the marriage. We have already noted Adam of Usk's expression, "the said Lady Anne was bought for a price." The *Chronicon Angliæ* says:[3]

Hanc [Anne] igitur magno pretio, multisque coemptam laboribus, habendam rex præelegerat, quamquam cum inæstimabili auri summa oblata fuisset et filia domini Mediolanensis Barnabonis.

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[1] *Chronicles*, II, chap. lxxxvi; Johnes, I, 681. C. G. Chamberlayne, *Die Heirat Richards II von England mit Anna von Luxemburg* (Halle, 1906), undertakes to discredit Froissart's account of Anne's delay in Brussels and his statement of the French king's designs. The explicitness of the account, however, the number of details, especially the mission to the French king from Wenceslaus of Brabant, his great uncle, and the character of the answer, bear heavily for Froissart's accuracy, or, if the tale is manufactured, for needlessly clever mendacity. For our purpose, even the report in England of such a train of circumstances would have been sufficient to support the idea of the French king's rivalry for the hand of Anne. Besides, if the whole of Froissart's account be brushed aside as a tissue of falsehood, it would not affect the preceding line of reasoning. The discussion of Chamberlayne, however, has not convinced me that Froissart had not good ground for his circumstantial statement.

[2] The documents are in Rymer, VII, 288 f. Wenceslaus received 80,000 florins as a loan, 20,000 of which were not to be returned, as covering the expenses of the negotiations for the marriage and of Anne in reaching England. Besides, there were enormous gifts to those assisting in the negotiations; see the paper to which I refer above on p. 1.

[3] See p. 331; Rolls Series, 64, 331.

The writer of the Continuation to the *Eulogium Historiarum* adds another criticism:[1]

Hoc anno Rex Annam sororem Imperatoris, Regis scilicet Bohemiæ, solutis pro ea 22 m[illia] marcis, sine consensu regni, desponsavit.

To these may be added two other notes.   The *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*[2] has this to say:

Eodem anno apud Westmonasterium rex Ricardus desponsavit Annam, filiam regis Boemi, Sororem Imperatoris, et dedit imperatori ut dicabatur pro maritagio decem mille libras præter alias expensas in quærendo eam et adducendo eam sumptibus suis propriis.

Finally John Malvern, in his continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon* adds the more biting comment:

De ista regina quidam scripsit metrice,
>   Digna frui manna datur Anglis nobilis Anna,
sed scrutantibus verum videbatur non dari, sed potius emi.   Nam non modica pecunia refundebat rex Angliæ pro tantilla carnis portione.[3]

Thus, it is clear that some at least felt Richard had made a bad bargain.   Nor can there be much doubt that, considering the results to the nation as a whole, England paid an enormous price for her queen and her rather profitless alliance.

If this new aspirant for the hand of Anne is to be considered, it is natural to ask how far the language of Chaucer's third suitor of the "formel egle" will fit the case.   I recognize that we must not try to see too much, and the main point is made in emphasizing the rivalry of Charles VI and Richard II.   Yet the third suitor may not unreasonably be identified with the young king of France.   For example the words,

>   Of long servise avaunte I me no-thing,[4]

would be peculiarly applicable.   As already shown, it was in the spring of 1380 that there had first been talk of a marriage of Anne and the Dauphin of France.[5]   It was not until September that

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[1] Rolls Series, 9, III, 355.   The matter seems to have been wholly arranged by Richard's council, without consulting parliament until on December 13, 1381, Richard asked for a grant of money because of his approaching marriage with Anne (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 104a).   The result of the discussion attending this request of Richard was the appointment of Michael de la Pole and Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, as governors of the person of the king and constant counselors (*Ibid.*, III, 104b).

[2] *Ibid.*, 92, p. 150.

[3] Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), IX, 12.

[4] *Parlement of Foules*, l. 470.   [5] See p. 8.

Charles could have been a suitor in his own right as king.   Even the words,

> A man may serven bet and more to pay
> In half a yere, although hit were no more,[1]

could scarcely have been better chosen, if they had been definitely intended for the young Charles.   Indeed, it was scarcely more than a half-year from the accession of Charles in September, 1380, to the signing of the marriage treaty in London, May 1, 1381.   Or, it was but about half a year from June, 1380, when the English negotiations and the French activity in the matter began, until the betrothal to Richard was virtually decided upon.

Again, has Chaucer, with such circumstances in mind as I have noted, intended to reflect the hopelessness of Charles VI's wooing? Even the beginning of the speech is that of one who feels he has no chance:

> Now, sirs, ye seen the litel leyser here,
>
> .   .   .   .
>
> And eek Nature hirself ne wol noght here,
> For tarying here, noght half that I wolde seye.[2]

Nor could the poet have chosen more appropriate words than those at the beginning of the last stanza:

> I ne say this by me, for I ne can
> Do no servyse that may my lady plese;
> But I dar seyn I am hir trewest man
> As to my dome, and feynest wolde hir ese.[3]

Whether these last suggestions are equally interpretative, it must be admitted that the notes of time in the speeches of the last two suitors have significant parallelism in the long betrothal of Friedrich of Meissen, and the short period during which Charles VI was considered a suitor.   Moreover, the short period mentioned in the last speech would far more aptly fit the case of Charles VI than the two-year betrothal of William of Baiern-Holland, which had been broken off seven years before, even if that betrothal could have been in Chaucer's mind.

It might be objected to the identification of the "thridde tercel

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[1] Ll. 474–75.   [2] Ll. 464, 467–68.

[3] Ll. 477–80.   The manners of a ruder age almost suggest that there may be here a less elegant slight upon the prowess of the young Charles, a boy little over eleven years of age in May, 1380, when his marriage with Anne was first considered.

egle" as Charles VI of France, that he too should have been called "royal" as was the first tercel, representing Richard. Yet to this objection I believe there are several good answers. In the first place it may be assumed, as Mr. Pollard at least does,[1] that all the eagles of this first choice of a mate are royal. It is true, Chaucer says of the birds as a whole in the garden,

> Ther mighte men the royal egle finde
> That with his sharpe look perceth the sonne;
> And other egles of a lower kinde.[2]

When, however, we come to the choice of mates, Nature says to all the birds:

> The tercel egle, as that ye knowen wel,
> The foul royal above yow in degree,
>
> .　.　.　.　.　.　.　.　.
>
> He shal first chese and speken in his gyse.
>
> And after him, by order shul ye chese
> After your kinde, everych as yow lyketh.[3]

Now the "tercel egle," "the foul royal," is here used for a class, of which there are three representatives in contest for "the formel." This must be clear, I think, from the last two lines, which refer not to the choice of the other two tercels, but to that of the other kinds of birds. Nor would it have been at all flattering to Anne, England's new queen, if two of those who wooed her were not of royal or princely rank. Besides, the "formel egle" is herself not called "royal," although we can hardly believe she is not to be so regarded.[4]

But if this answer to the point is not sufficient, it would be easy to propose others. It might be pointed out that, in the case of this third eagle, Chaucer makes no indication of rank whatever. If he does not designate him as of high rank, neither does he call him "of lower kinde," as in the case of the second suitor, who was at least a German prince. Again, while to us it would seem natural to elevate Richard's rival, in order to make the choice of the English king a greater honor, the jealousy of France and the

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[1] *Chaucer* ("Literature Primer") 89.

[2] Ll. 330–32.　　　　　　　　　　[3] Ll. 393–94, 399–401.

[4] It might be said that the royal tercel's words,

> "Unto my sovereyn lady, and noght my fere,
> I chese,"

are intended to imply Anne's rank as sister of an emperor, but these need be regarded as no more than the common flattery of the lover.

French king may easily have prevented it at such a time. Still further, to Englishmen since Edward III's time, there had been but one "king of France," that is, he who sat on their own throne, king of England and of France, as he regularly styled himself. To have called the "thridde egle" specifically royal might have seemed in some sense to acknowledge the right of Charles VI to that realm which the English king claimed as his by inheritance.[1] Finally, there was some reason for not exalting the position of the French king in his exact status at this time. When he came to the throne in September, 1380, Charles VI was a boy of not quite twelve. At the death of his father his unscrupulous uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, virtually seized all power, as the first had also seized all the jewels of his dead brother, Charles V.[2] The young king was helpless in their hands, scarcely more than a figurehead in the kingdom. These circumstances, in themselves, would be sufficient to account for the reference to the third suitor as merely "the thridde tercel egle."[3]

There is one other phase of the whole situation that may now receive a more interesting interpretation, it seems to me. In his valuable essays Professor Koch had emphasized a clause of Wenceslaus's biographer Pelzel,[4] in its relation to the free choice which Nature granted to the "formel egle."[5] That clause was "and as Princess Anne had already reached the age to choose herself a

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[1] As some indication of the importance attached to merely verbal acknowledgment of the French king it may be noted that such recognition was carefully avoided in the state documents of the time. The French king is usually referred so as "our adversary of France," as in the case of the commissioners appointed to treat for peace in 1379 and April, 1380 (*De Tractando cum Adversario Franciæ*). Even more interesting is the expression in the case of the commissioners appointed August 16, 1382, to treat with Wenceslaus for an offensive league against France. The document is called *De Tractando cum Rege Romanorum et Boemiæ super Ligis et Amicitiis*, and the alliance was to be "Specialiter, in specialibus, contra Karolum Modernum occupatorem Regni Franciæ."— Rymer, VII, 365.

[2] Froissart, *Chronicles*, II, chap. lxxvii; Johnes, I, 617.

[3] It is interesting to note the youth of all the parties to this royal courtship and European alliance. In June, 1380, when the negotiations between England and Bohemia began, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia and emperor of the Romans, was a little more than nineteen, having been born February 26, 1361. Richard was just beyond fourteen, if born April 13, 1366, or thirteen, if that event occurred January 6 or February 26, 1367. Anne was also fourteen, as she was born May 11, 1366, and Charles VI, youngest of all, was not born until December 3, 1368. Perhaps the extreme youth of all the persons makes doubly appropriate the allegory connecting the union of two of them with the mating of birds.

[4] *Englische Studien*, I, 288; *Essays on Chaucer*, 407.   [5] Ll. 645 f.

husband." Professor Koch thinks this alludes to Anne's "coming of age," as he calls it, explained by his footnote, "That is, I suppose, 14."[1] Pelzel has apparently based his remark on the fact that the documents of the marriage contract show Anne to have appointed ambassadors to treat with Richard. While this is so, however, we must remember that Anne's mother, Elizabeth, gave her parental consent, her imperial brother appointed the same ambassadors, and Anne herself distinctly says she had acted by the advice of her brother and mother.[2]

Whether these facts detract from Professor Koch's interpretation or not, there is another and much broader sense in which Anne had now a free choice, and on account of which she might make some demands in her own right. Not only was the notable prince who became Friedrich, first elector of Saxony, hers by betrothal, but two kings of two of the most powerful nations of western Europe were at her feet. Each wished her, not as queen only, but for the far-reaching alliance with her imperial brother which union with her would bring. Each was deserving in himself, Richard, the passionate lover, and Charles, soon to be known as the "well-beloved." It is little wonder that, with such opportunities the modest "formel egle," which had blushed her pleasure at the lover-like speech of the "royal tercel," should soon after pluck up courage to say:

> Almighty quene, unto this yeer be doon
> I aske respit for to avysen me,
> And after that to have my choys al free.[3]

It is this unusual freedom of choice now in Anne's power to which these last lines of the poem may well refer. At least, such interpretation dignifies what otherwise has often seemed a lame conclusion to this beautiful poem. Anne could well afford to take her time, as it is fairly clear that her imperial brother or his advisers intended to do, until she could satisfy herself as to the advantages of this English proposal. Indeed, I have shown in another paper that the duke of Tetschen visited England in 1380 to see that far-away country, as it must have seemed, and decide whether Anne

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[1] *Essays on Chaucer*, 408.

[2] Rymer, VII, 293: "Ad concilia, requisitiones, necnon inductiones Serenissimi Principis, Domini Wenceslai, Romanorum et Boemiæ Regis, Domini et Fratris nostri pertinendi, necnon Serenissimæ Principis, Dominæ Elizabethæ, Romanorum Imperatricis et Reginæ Boemiæ, Dominæ et Matris nostræ carissimæ."

[3] Ll. 647–49.

could profitably unite her fortunes with those of the English king.[1]

Perhaps it is fair to add, also, that such deliberation as Anne showed and such delay as she requested before her final choice may well be symbolic of the long-continued and minutely careful negotiations attending the great alliance of which her marriage was a part. That alliance not only broke, for the first time in many years, the traditional friendship of Bohemia and France, but it was intimately connected with the widespread league of nations for the support of Pope Urban VI in the great schism, and was confidently looked upon by Englishmen as strengthening their country's hands against her long-time adversary, France. The delay of a year, too, which has usually been regarded as mere dilatoriness, is thus dignified by the many considerations entering into the formation of this far-reaching European alliance.

The foregoing study makes clear, it is hoped, that some considerable revision is necessary in the usual explanation of the suitors in the *Parlement of Foules*. It has been shown that the betrothal of Friedrich of Meissen with Anne of Bohemia was never formally broken; that, at her engagement to Richard II of England, it was still in force, so far as any agreement to its abrogation is concerned; that on this account Friedrich may be regarded as an actual rival of the young English king; and that the words of the second suitor for the "formel egle" in the poem would especially well apply to his long courtship. It has also been made clear that, after the papal schism, there was an attempt to bring about a betrothal of Anne of Bohemia and Charles, son of King Charles V of France; that this union was desired by the French king and urged by the schismatic pope, Clement VII; that, according to the English chronicler, Adam of Usk, the young Charles, when becoming king in 1380, was a more active suitor for the hand of Anne; and that the words of the third suitor in the poem have special aptness as applied to him. The latter, therefore, of whom in such relation Chaucer would certainly have had knowledge, is far more likely to have been in his mind than that Prince of Bavaria whose betrothal to the future queen of England had been broken off in 1373.

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[1] See the paper mentioned on p. 1, above.

"LE FABLEL DOU DIEU D'AMORS"

The *Fablel dou dieu d'amors* was published in 1834 by A. Jubinal. This edition, which is now difficult to obtain, offers an inaccurate and sometimes unintelligible text due to misreading of the manuscript or careless printing. The importance of the poem, not from its literary worth but from the place commonly assigned to it in the history of allegory and especially because of E. Langlois' statement that from it Guillaume de Lorris took the framework of the *Roman de la Rose*,[1] justifies a more accurate and more easily accessible edition.

The poem is found in the well-known manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *nouv. fonds fr.* 1553 (anc. 7595) and extends from fol. 521 *verso*, col. 2, to fol. 524 *verso*, col. 1. The manuscript has been described several times with list of contents[2] and has been dated by Paul Meyer[3] on evidence of the contents between 1258 and 1296, and by Schum,[4] on paleographic evidence, in the early part of the second half of the thirteenth century. The poem has been discussed by Foerster and carefully compared with *Venus la deesse d'amour* in his edition of the latter. On p. 45 Foerster gives a list of the passages borrowed directly from the *Fablel* by the author of the *Venus*.

In the following text I have not called attention to the places where Jubinal's reading differs from mine. Many of these cases are of the character of *son* for *sen, apres* for *apries, trait* for *tint*, simple cases of misreading or arbitrary change. I have retained the orthography of the manuscript and have written *nos, vos, molt* for the abbreviations of these words, retaining the few cases where *nous, vous* were written out. The addition of accents will facilitate reading. Words or letters to be omitted are placed in parenthesis; those to be supplied, in brackets. All other changes in the text are indicated in the foot-notes. I am indebted to Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins for assistance in preparing the text for the printer.

The dialect of the copyist is Picard and shows the ordinary traits of that dialect. Since the Picard dialect has been the subject of

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[1] *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, 32 ff.

[2] Michel, *Roman de la Violette*, xli. Michelant, *Catalogue des MSS. français de la Bibliothèque Impériale* I, 248 ff.; Zotenberg und Meyer, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, 329–35.

[3] *Romania*, XIII, 629–30.   [4] Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 226.

several careful studies, it would seem useless to repeat here with examples facts already well known. The large number of cases where *e* in position is represented by *ie* would point to Hainaut as the probable home of the copyist. As to the language of the author, the following results of an examination of the rhymes and meter may be noted:

1. *e* (from *a*) and *e* do not rhyme.

2. *e* and *ie* do not rhyme.

3. Nasal *e* and nasal *a* do not rhyme, with exception of str. 115, where the correction is evident.

4. *ai* final, or before oral consonant, rhymes only with itself.

5. *e* in position rhymes only with itself, not with *ai*. This makes it probable that the author, as well as the copyist, belonged to the *ie* region. In str. 73 we have *siere* (serre): *querre: conquerre: guerre*. *Querre* is found in the form *quierre* (*Chev. as deus espees*, 1515); *guierre* is not found, as far as I know, but Tobler (*Vrai aniel*, p. xxii, note) gives *wiere* and *wierre* as found in contemporary northern documents, and *wiere* is found in a Tournay document of 1385 (Godefroy). I have, therefore, not corrected *siere* to *serre* as Foerster suggests.

6. *oi*, with open *o*, is found in rhyme with *oi* from *ei*, str. 90. *Oi* with close *o* does not appear in rhyme.

7. *au* is not found in rhyme with *iau* nor with *o*. Str. 72 rhymes *faus* (fagus) with *au* (*al* plus cons.) proving vocalization of *l*.

8. *eu, iu, ieu* do not appear in rhyme.

9. *ie* for *iée* is found in str. 91, *maisnie: legerie: hahatie*, and *prisie*, 104*b*.

10. The forms *averai* 47*d*, *estera* 33*d*, *sir* 123*c*, are proved by the meter, *veïr* 50*b*, by the rhyme.

11. Unaccented *e* before a vowel counts usually as a syllable: *dëussent* 29*a*, *vëoir* 105*c*, *rechëus* 93*a*, *mëure* 22*b*, etc. The *e* has fallen in *juners* 46*b*, *sir* 123*c*.

12. *ch* appears in rhyme only in str. 122, *manache: place: cache: embrache*, words which rhyme equally well in Picard and French and prove nothing.

13. *ts* is reduced to *s:* str. 35, *petis: nis: delis: miedis*, and 23, *assis: cris: raemplis: paradis*.

14. Isolated *t* is kept by the copyist in *fondut* 13*d*, *foit* 76*b*. The rhymes (20) *contredit: crit: dit: fit* and (76) *estoit: foit: diroit: droit* would seem to prove that this *t* had not yet fallen in the language of the author. On the other hand, we find strophes in which words with original *t* rhyme with words which have never had a *t* (47, 134, 138, 142). The poet was probably familiar with both Picard and French usages and employed both.

15. The Picard form of the possessives *vo* 68*a*, *no* 119*d*, is proved by the meter.

16. *-els* rhymes only with itself, not with *-als*.

17. Latin *o + j* gives *ui*, 119.

18. *ĕ + i* gives *i*, not *ei*: str. 4, *lit: delit: petit: rist*.

19. Str. 22, *nature: mëure: honeure: asegure*, rhymes Latin *ū* with Latin *ō*. Cf. Foerster, *Venus*, p. 50.

The combination of the traits given in 3, 6, 9, 13, 15 makes it clear that the author also was a Picard; if we may add 5 (*ie* for *e*) as a probable trait of the author, we can place the poem more definitely in the region of Hainaut.

The meter of the poem is the ten-syllable, with masculine or feminine pause after the fourth syllable, arranged in monorime quatrains. This strophe has been little used in narrative poetry, but seems to have enjoyed favor about the middle and latter half of the thirteenth century.[1] The choice of this strophe would be an argument rather against than in favor of placing the poem in the early years of the thirteenth century.

An examination of the contents leads to the conclusion that the *Fablel* is not an original production but a combination and working over of probably two other poems. The author himself indicates the division in str. 37:

> Chou qu'orent dit li oysiel recordai,
> Tout en dormant, c'onques ne m'esvellai.
> Apriés che songe, autre songe songai;
> Donne me a boire, je le vos conterai.

Up to this point the poem consists of the description of the garden, and the discussion by the birds of the question of the *vilain* versus the *clerc* and the *chevalier* in matters of love. This was doubtless

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[1] Cf. Naetebus, *Die nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen*, 54–56.

the first form of the question which was later narrowed to the debate on the relative worth of the *clerc* and the *chevalier,* and became a commonplace in mediaeval literature. This second form of the discussion we find in William of Poitiers:

> Domnas i a de mal conselh,
>   E sai dir cals:
> Cellas c'amor de cavalier
>   Tornon a mals.
> Domna fai gran pechat mortal
> Qe no ama cavalier leal,
> Mas si es monges o clergal
>   Non a raizo.
> Per dreg la deuri' hom cremar
>   Ab un tezo.
>
> —Ed. Jeanroy, V, 3–12.

In Latin we have the *Council of Remiremont,*[1] which Paul Meyer[2] considers the oldest example but which belongs perhaps to the latter half of the twelfth century,[3] the *Altercatio Phillidis et Florae*[4] (twelfth?), and a discussion in *André le Chapelain;* in French, *Hueline et Eglantine,*[5] *Florance et Blancheflor,*[6] *Melior et Idoine,*[7] and *La Geste de Blancheflour et de Florence,*[8] the last two in Anglo-Norman. With none of these poems has the *Fablel* any direct connection, unless it be *Florance et Blancheflor,* with which it has some rather striking points of resemblance.[9] That these resemblances are due to direct imitation, I do not believe.

The second part of the poem, which describes the lover's visit to the castle of the God of Love, contains some descriptions which at first sight give hope of bringing the poem into close connection with other poems. These are,

a) The description of the God of Love:

> Tous ses chevaus estoit couvers de flors,
> Molt en i ot de diverses coulors;
> De son mantiel est li traime d'amors
> Et li estains estoit de may vers jours.

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[1] *Zeits. für deutsches Alterthum,* VII (1849), 160–67.

[2] *Romania,* XV, 333.

[3] Cf. Warren, *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXII (1907), 137.

[4] Schmeller, *Carmina Burana,* 155 ff.   [7] Meyer, *Romania,* XXXVII, 236–44.

[5] Méon, *Nouveau Recueil,* I, 353–63.   [8] Meyer, *op. cit.,* 221 ff.

[6] Barbazan-Méon, IV, 354–65.   [9] Cf. Langlois, *op. cit.,* 17.

> La penne estoit faite dou tans noviel,
> Et li colers d'un haut cri d'un oysiel,
> Et d'acoler deseure li tasiel,
> De dous baisiers la fiche et li noiel (str. 59, 60).

b) The description of the palace of the God:

> De rotruēnges estoit tos fais li pons,
> Toutes les planches de dis et de canchons,
> De sons de harpes les estaces del fons,
> Et les saliies de dous lais de Bretons (70–73, 83–89).

c) The placing as door-keeper of the castle the bird *Phoenix*, who puts a riddle to the lover to prove the truth of his devotion before allowing him to enter (74 ff.).[1]

d) The description of the chamber of the God of Love, with his bow and arrows (106–9).

The particular form of allegorical description which makes clothing and building material of songs and sighs and kisses is not uncommon, but belongs rather to the later developments of love allegory than to its early stages. In a lyric from a thirteenth-century manuscript we find a similar description of the God of Love:

> Ses chevaus fu de deporz,
> sa sele de ses dangiers,
> ses escuz fu de cartiers,
> de besier et de sozrire,
> ses hauberz estoit
> d'acoler estroit,
> ses hiaumes de flors
> de pluseurs colors.
> sa lance est de cortoisie,
> espee de flor de glai,
> ses chauces de mignotie,
> esperons de bec de jai.[2]

Again the mantle in *Florance et Blancheflor* is in the same style:

> Li estains fu de flors de glai,
> Traime i ot de roses en mai;
> Les lisieres furent de flors,

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[1] Cf. *Florance et Blancheflor:*
  Ja ne sera vilain si os
  Qu'il past le postiz de la porte,
  Se le seel d'amors n'i porte (202–4).

[2] Bartsch, *Romanzen u. Pastourellen,* 26; cf. also 23.

> Et les pannes furent d'amors.
> Ouvré furent bien li tasiel,
> Atachiés sont a chant d'oisel (45–50).[1]

The most striking instance of this sort of allegory is found in the Provençal *Chastel d'Amors*,[2] composed, according to Thomas, about the middle of the thirteenth century, probably in Italy. It is the result, in his opinion, of the inspiration of such poems as the *A leis cui am de cor e de saber*[3] of Guiraut de Calanso and the *Cour d'Amour*.[4] In the *Chastel d'Amors* the entire castle is built of abstract qualities, *las portas son de parlar . . . . las claus son de preiar*, etc., but, except for this general similarity, there is no connection to be established with the *Fablel*.

The same is true with regard to the arrows of the God. We find mention of them in the *Nouvelle allégorique* of Peire Guillem,[5] where, in addition to the God's dress of flowers, his bow with three arrows, one of gold, one of steel, and one of lead, is described. Here, as in the chanson of Guiraut de Calanso, a steel arrow is added to those of gold and lead. Any attempt, however, to trace source or influence through the description of the chamber and the arrows fails. We are thus led to the conclusion that the *Fablel dou dieu d'Amors* is, in all its essential traits, only one example of a sort of allegory which was widespread about the middle of the thirteenth century; from its contents alone that would be the date which we should naturally assign to it.

The introduction of the Phoenix as the door-keeper of the castle of Love brings us once more to Provençal and raises an interesting question. This mention of the Phoenix as giving a riddle is, as far as I have been able to discover, unique, with the exception of the lines in the sirventes *Fadet joglar* of Guiraut de Calanso:

> e del Fenics
> com fera l[s] rics,
> si-l divinalh fes adimplir (vss. 226–228, ed. Keller).

We have here evidently a partial confusion of the Phoenix and the

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[1] Cf. also *Hueline et Eglantine*, 295 ff.

[2] Ed. Thomas, *Annales du midi* (1889), 183–96 (fragment in Bartsch, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, coll. 299 ff.).

[3] Bartsch, *op. cit.*, col. 183.

[4] Constans, *Les manuscrits provençaux de Cheltenham*, 66 ff.

[5] Bartsch, *op. cit.*, 291 ff. (middle of the thirteenth century).

Sphinx. That two writers should independently make this same confusion seems hardly likely. Moreover the passage in the *Fadet joglar*, written about 1200, cannot refer to the *Fablel*. The latter is clearly only a compilation and, as Gröber says, probably by a jongleur; the expression *Donne me a boire* and the discussion by the birds of the *vilain* versus the *chevalier* and the *clerc*, terminating in a manner favorable to the *vilain*, makes this more than probable. It is also improbable that the jongleur-author used Latin sources. There evidently existed a poem or poems in French or Provençal which both Guiraut and the author of the *Fablel* knew. We should expect the early development of love allegory in Provençal; Keller, in his edition of the *Fadet joglar*,[1] argues in favor of the existence of such poetry in Provençal in the latter half of the twelfth century. It is possible that the author of the *Fablel* drew his material from Provençal and not from French sources.

The importance of the *Fablel* in the history of allegory depends upon the date assigned to it and its possible influence on later poetry. If it belongs to the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century and was a source of the *Roman de la Rose*, it not only formed the basis of *Venus la deesse d'amour*, but is also an integral part of the most important allegorical tradition of the middle ages. If it is later in date and did not influence Guillaume de Lorris, it is only an offshoot of an already highly developed allegory and produced nothing more important than the *Venus*.

E. Langlois considers it beyond question that Guillaume de Lorris took the framework of his part of the *Roman de la Rose* from the *Fablel*. A careful comparison of the two poems leaves me unconvinced of such a borrowing. The resemblances reduce themselves to a dream, a May morning, a garden, and a meeting with the God of Love. Langlois himself says, speaking of the *Clef d'Amour:* "Mais le songe était, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, d'un usage trop fréquent pour qu'on puisse tirer aucune conclusion de cette coïncidence. C'est aussi dans une vision qui ressemble fort à un songe que le dieu d'Amour dicte ses préceptes dans le livre d'André le Chapelain."[2] Given Guillaume de Lorris' plan of writing a dream of love and the May morning, the garden and the stream of water

[1] Pp. 25, 26.   [2] *Op. cit.*, 78, 79.

were necessities; for one who was familiar, as he must have been, with the lyric poetry of the day, they required no direct borrowing for their conventional description. The only proof which could have any sure weight in establishing a connection between the poems would be a similarity in isolated passages which could be explained only by borrowing or imitation. Langlois thinks he has proved such similarity, but the "coïncidence aussi exacte" which he finds does not stand the test of careful examination. The passages which he cites are but commonplaces of such description. To take two examples:

> Quant jou oï des oisyllons le crit,
> D'autre canchon en che liu ne de dit
> N'eüsse cure, che saciés tout de fit (str. 20).

The counterpart of this Langlois finds in:

> De voir sachiez quant les oï
> Moult durement m'en esjoï,
> Que mes si douce melodie
> Ne fu d'omme mortel oïe (*Rose*, vss. 669–72).

And, further, Guillaume de Lorris must have known:

> Fuelles et flors ont tos tans li ramier . . . .
> Ja par yvier n'aront nul destorbier (str. 11).

in order to write:

> Qu'il i avoit tous jours plenté
> De flors, et yver et esté (*Rose*, vss. 1409–10).

But if we turn to *Floire et Blanchefleur*, we find,

> Que tous tans cil arbre florissent,
> Bien sont flori cil arbrisel.
> Tous tans i chantent mil oisel,
> La oïssiez tel melodie
> Qu'unques si grant ne fu oïe (vss. 619–23).

One need but turn to other narrative poetry of the time or to Bartsch's *Romanzen und Pastourellen* to find many such tags of description. The poets were simply drawing on the common stock, and the impossibility of using such lines as proof of borrowing is evident. Furthermore, of that which is most distinctive in the garden of the *Roman de la Rose*, the portraits on the walls, there is not a hint in the *Fablel;* of that which is most distinctive of the castle of Love and its approaches in the *Fablel*, the bridge of "chansons" and "lais de

Bretons," etc., there is not a hint in the *Roman de la Rose*. A detailed comparison of the two poems, for which I have no space here, will show that the differences in spirit and matter far exceed the resemblances, which, as stated above, consist simply of the dream, the May morning, the garden, and the presence of the God of Love. It seems to me, therefore, more than probable that Guillaume de Lorris knew nothing of the *Fablel*. It is possible that he could not have known it. If he wrote, as seems probable, between 1229 (1232) and 1236,[1] the *Fablel*, if known to him, would have to be dated about 1225. There is nothing in the language of the poem to require so early a date. In favor of a later date would be the strophe chosen, the fact that the poem seems to be a combination and working over of other poems and not an original work, and especially the type of allegory which builds the castle of the God of Love of lovers' sighs and prayers, etc. While there is nothing in the poem to enable us to fix the date with certainty, there is also nothing to require a date before the middle of the thirteenth century, and with the failure to prove that it was a source of the *Roman de la Rose* it loses much of its importance in the history of allegory.

"LE FABLEL DOU DIEU D'AMORS"

1. Qui d'amors velt selonc son sens user,
   Au commenchier se doit si bien garder.
   Que sa raison[2] puist si biel definer
   N'i meche chose qui riens fache a blamer.

2. Or entendés, franch chevalier, baron,
   Dames, puceles, si oiés ma raison;
   Conter vos voel le moie avision.
   Ne sai a dire se chou est voirs u non.

3. Par un matin me gisoie en mon lit,
   D'amors pensoie, n'avoie autre delit.
   Qant el penser m'endormi .j. petit,
   Songai .j. songe dont tos li cuers me rist.

4. Je me levoie par .j. matin en may
   Por la douchor des oysiaus et del glai,
   Del loussignot, del malvis et dou gai.
   Qant fui levés en .j. pre m'en entrai.

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[1] Cf. Warren, *Publications Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXIII (1908), 272.
[2] MS *rason*.

5. Je vos dirai com faite estoit la pree:[1]
    L'erbe i fu grande par desous la rousee;
    Herbe ne flors n'i fust ja porparlee,
    S'ele i fust quise, qu'ele n'i fust trovee.

6. De paradis i couroit uns rouissiax
    Parmi la pree, qui tant ert clers[2] et biax,
    N'a tant viel home en cités n'en castiax,
    S'il s'i baignast, lués ne fust jovenciax,[3]

7. Ne dame nule tant eüst mesjué,
    Mais qant nul jor n'eüst enfant porté,
    Se .j. petit eüst asavouré,
    Ne fust pucele, ains qu'ele issist del pré.

8. La graviele ert de precïeuses pieres.
    Molt en i ot de diverses manieres,
    U escrit erent oisiel et biestes fieres;
    Ne sai a dire les queles sont plus cieres.

9. Parmi le pree m'alai esbanoiant,[4]
    Les le riviere tout dalés ·j· pendant;
    Gardai amont deviers solel luisant:
    ·J· vergié vic, cele part vinc errant.

10. De tel maniere estoit tous li vergiés,
    Ains n'i ot arbre, ne fust pins u loriés,
    Cypriés, aubours, entes et oliviers.
    Ce sont li arbre(s) que nous tenons plus ciers.

11. Fuelles et flors ont tos tans li ramier,
    Et sont de roses bien carchié li rosier.
    Ja por yvier n'aront nul destorbier;
    Nient plus que may ne criement il fevrier.

12. De toutes pars les enclot uns fossés,
    Qui jusque[5] el fons fu de marbre pavés;
    Par grant engien i estoit amenés
    Uns bras de l'eve qui couroit par dalés.

13. Et li quariel dou mur et dou fossé
    De porfil erent et d'yvoire quarré.
    Ne savelon ne chauc n'i ot, ains destempré [522 r. a.]
    A or furent fondut, si fort joint et saudé.[6]

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[1] MS p̄ree.   [3] MS. jovenenciax.
[2] MS. clere.   [4] MS esbanoient.
[5] MS jusques.
[6] 13.c.d. have 12 syllables.   Perhaps:
            Sablon ne chauc n'i ot, ains destempré
            A or fondut si fort joint et saudé.

14. Devant le porte ert li pons leveïs,
    Tous de fin or tresjetés et faitis;
    Et les estaces erent toutes de marbre bis;[1]
    Che sont estaces ki dueront tous dis.

15. Ains ne fust eure se vilains i venist,
    Et ce fust cose que ens entrer volsist,
    Oustre son gre, qant sor le pont venist,
    Levast li pons et li porte closist.

16. Tout ensi fust de soi k'il s'en ralast,
    Car ne voloient que vilains i entrast;
    Et ausi tost que il s'en retornast,
    Ouvrist li porte et li pons ravalast.

17. Et s'uns cortois vausist laiens aler,
    En cel vergié por son cors deporter,
    Trovast la porte ouverte por entrer,
    Que ja li pons n'eüst soing de lever.

18. Chius vregiés ert as vilains en defois,
    Car c'ert celi ki d'amors estoit rois;
    Et cascun(s) an, u .ii. fies u trois,
    Il tient justice et remue ses loys.

19. Sans contredit m'en entrai la dedens;
    Ne vos sai dire com il par estoit gens.
    Des oyselés i ot plus de mil cens;
    Cascuns cantoit d'amors selonc son sens.

20. Laiens entrai sans nesun contredit.
    Qant jou oï des oysillons le crit,
    D'autre canchon en che liu ne de dit
    N'eüsse cure, che saciés tout de fit.

21. Sous ciel n'a home, s'il les oïst canter,
    Tant fust vilains, ne l'esteü[s]t amer.
    Illuec m'asis por mon cors deporter
    Desous une ente ki molt fait a loër.

22. Elle est en l'an .iii. fois de tel nature:
    Elle flourist, espanist et meüre;
    De tous mehains garist qui li honeure,
    Fors de la mort, vers cui riens n'asegure.

23. Qant desous l'ente el vergié fui assis,
    Et jou oï des oysillons les cris,
    De joie fu si mes cuers raëmplis,
    Moi fu avis que fuisse em paradis.

[1] Twelve syllables. Omit *erent* or *toutes*.

24. Li loussignos crioit en son langage:
   "Cius buer[1] fu nes cui sa mie acorage,
   "Si est de lui com il est de le nage
   "Qui par bon vent tout lau ele velt nage."

25. Puis apiela, cantant en son latin,
   Tous les oysiaus ki a lui sont aclin;
   Et il i vinrent, ains n'i quisent chemin,
   N'i ot cheli ne li fesist enclin.

26. Qant devant lui les ot tous assanblés: [522 *r. b*]
   "Signor, dist il, enviers moi entendés.
   "Moi est avis c'amors est empirés,
   "N'est mie teus com estre doit d'assés."

27. Li espreviers parla premierement:
   "Sire, fait il, che font vilainne gent,
   "Cil qui mesdient d'amors a escïent;
   "Se cortois fussent, nel fesissent noient.

28. "Loussignos, sire, bien fust drois et mesure
   "Que ja vilains d'amisté n'eüst cure;
   "Car se il aimme en aucune mesure,
   "N'est pas por li, ains est par aventure.

29. "Ne se deüssent entremetre d'amer,
   "Se clerc ne fussent qui bien sevent parler
   "A leurs amies, acointier et juër,
   "U chevaliers ki por li va jouster."

30. "Sire espreviers, chou a dit li malvis,
   "Cho que vos dites n'est nient voirs, ce m'est vis,
   "Que ja nus hom d'amors n'ara delis
   "Se il n'est clers u chevaliers eslis."

31. "Chou, dist li gays, bien puet estre vretés,
   "Que s'uns hom aimme et il est bien amés,
   "Preus est et sages comme clers escolés,
   "Et chevaliers d'amors est adoubés."

32. Li loussignos entendi le tenchon,
   Que par estrif faisoient li baron;
   Hauce se vois et dist en sa raison:
   "Ne dira nus chi apriés, se jou non."

33. Trestout se teurent, li loussignos parla:
   "Signour, dist il, cius ki bien amera
   "Ja de nului s'il puet [ne] mesdira,
   "Mais preus et sages et cortois estera.

[1] MS *buet.*

34. "Sous[1] ciel n'a home, s'il se painne d'amer,
   "Cortois ne soit ains qu'il s'en puist torner.
   "Por chou vos pri, cel plait laissiés ester;
   "Por poi de cose puet bien grans mals monter.

35. "Je le vos di, les grans et les petis,
   "Departés vos, si requerés vos nis.
   "A vos femieles demenés vos delis;
   "Car je cuic bien ke passés est miedis."

36. A hicest mot se departirent tuit.
   Cascuns oysiaus ala en son deduit,
   Et jou remés trestous seus sans deduit
   Desous cele ente, u il ot fuelle et fruit.

37. Chou qu'orent dit li oysiel recordai,
   Tout en dormant, c'onques ne m'esvellai.
   Apriés che songe autre songe songai:
   Donne me a boire, je le vos conterai.

38. Je me seoie trestous seus sous cele ente;
   Ki seus se siet volentiers se demente.
   Tout le vregié gardai, les une sente [522 *v. a*]
   Si vic venir une pucele gente.

39. Elle fu loing, si nel reconnuc mie,
   Et qant fu pres, connuc que fu ma mie.
   "Hai! Diex! di je, dame Sainte Marie!
   "Ne voi jou chi et ma mort et ma vie?"

40. Elle ot vestu ·j· peliçon hermin,
   Et par deseure ·j· bliaut d'orgasin,
   En son doit ot ·j· anelet d'or fin;
   Qant moi connut, si tint le cief enclin.

41. Ha icele eure fui molt joians et liés;
   Ne fui pas lens, mais tost sali en piés:
   "Ma douche amie, di jou, a bien vigniés!"
   "Sire, dist elle, et vos a bien soiés!"

42. Entre mes bras l'acolai boinement,
   Et ele moi, par les flans ensement.
   Vers moi l'estrais, baisai le doucement
   Plus de ·c· fois par le mien escïent.

43. Elle parla comme pucele honeste:
   "Sire, chi n'a home, feme ne beste;
   "Por Diu vos pri, le gloriex celestre,
   "Ne faites cose ki moi vigne a moleste."

[1] MS *Cous.*

44. "Non ferai jou, ma biele douce amie;
"Mais or me dites, se Diex vos beneïe,
"Comment venistes ichi sans compagnie?"
"Comment g'i vinc? Volés que le vos die?"

45. "Dites le moi."—"Jou i vinc par souhait."
"Mervelles oi."[1]—"Chou est voirs entresait:
Si com je croi, ne vos vient pas a lait."
"Non, en ma foi, ains avés molt bien fait."

46. "De vos amer, sui jou tos tans entaite;
"Juners, pensers et veliers me dehaite.
"Li vostre amors m'a a la mort atraite;
"Ne puis savoir comment pais en soit faite.

47. "Molt faic que fole, ki men penser vos di;
"Bien le doi faire que vous tienc a ami.
"Ja, se je puis, au penser c'or ai chi,
"Autrui que vos n'averai a mari."

48. Adont fina la biele son complaint.
"Biele, fis jou, votre amors mi destraint;
"Chius qui a mal ne puet nient s'il ne[2] plaint,
"Dont set on bien que de rien ne se faint.

49. "A vous me plaing, biele, de ma dolor.
"Pas ne me fainc,[3] bien pert a ma color.
"A vos pens jou et le nuit et le jour;
"Sovent en ai grant joie et grant tristor.

50. "Et dolans sui et plains de grant aïr;
"Qant a vos pense, je ne vos puis veïr,
"Et qant vos puis acoler et sentir,
"Dont sui jou liés, ne vos en quier mentir."

51. Qant vers li oc[4] definé mon corage, [522 v. b]
Atant es vos ·j· grant serpent volage.
Iiii. piés ot comme bieste sauvage;
Par [le] vregié vint demenant grant rage.

52. Vint acourant, si a prise ma mie
En coste moi et si l'en a ravie.
"Mes dous amis!" a haute vois s'escrie,
"Secourés moi que n'i perde la vie!"

53. Qant jou oï que secours requeroit,
Et que par moi nule aïe n'aroit,
Car g'iere a pié et li serpens voloit,
Molt fui dolans qant ma mors demoroit.

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[1] MS *ot.* [2] MS *se.* [3] MS *faic.* [4] MS *ot.*

54. "Ahi serpent! di jou, bieste tant fiere!
   "Por coi emportes le riens que j'ai tant ciere?"
   De duel et d'ire esroidi comme pierre,
   Et devinc vers plus que n'est fuelle d'iere.

55. Ne poc mot[1] dire; de duel caï pasmés.
   Apriés grant pieche, qant je fui relevés,
   Tains fui et pales, torbles, descoulorés.
   "He tiere! ouvrés! fis jou, si m'engloutés!

56. "Las moi chaitis, que n'ai ichi m'espee,
   "Par coi ma vie peüst[2] estre finee!
   "Ja de men sanc fust tote ensanglentee,
   "Car a cest cop fust ma mors terminee.

57. "Ha, Diex d'amors, com est fols qui te sert!
   "Car qant ce vient en la fin, si te pert,
   "Se jou ma mie ne rai par mon desert.
   "A tous jours mais te tenrai por cuivert."

58. Ceste parole ne mist pas en oubli
   Li Diex d'amors, cui jou ai tant servi;
   Car ne seuc mot qant jou venir le vi,
   Sor ·j· cheval apresté et garni.

59. Tous ses chevaus estoit couvers de flors;
   Molt en i ot de diverses coulors.
   De son mantiel ert li traime d'amors,
   Et li estains estoit de may vers jours.

60. La penne estoit faite dou tans noviel,
   Et li colers d'un haut cri d'un oysiel.
   Et d'acoler deseure li tasiel,
   De dous baisiers la fiche et li noiel.

61. "Amis, dist il, li Diex d'amors te saut!
   "Di moi, c'as tu? Quele chose te faut?
   "Et por coi mainnes si grant duel en cel gaut?
   "Li dex que mainnes nule riens ne te vaut."

62. "Je vos ai dit por coi j'ai tant dolors.
   "Mais or me dites, qui avés tant de flors,
   "Ques hom vos iestes?"—"Je sui li Diex d'amors;
   "A vostre amie venoie por secors."

63. "Ja est a tart."—"Toi k'encaut, n'ara mal.
   "Ensanble od moi venras tot cele val,
   "Deriere moi monte sor mon cheval, [523 s. a]
   "En camp florri, au castiel principal."[3]

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[1] MS *moc.*   [2] MS *puist.*   [3] *c, d*, are possibly interverted in the MS.

64. Qant ses paroles et ses dis entendi,
    Le cheval torne, derriere lui sali.
    Ensanble od lui m'en vinc en camp flori,
    Devant le porte au perron descendi.

65. Devant le porte descendi au perron,
    Et il descent devant sor son archon.
    "Amis, dist il, entendés ma raison:
    "Veschi me cort, me sale et me maison!

66. "Laiens irés por deporter[1] vo cors,
    "Et jou irai en cel vregié la fors.
    "Se votre amie ne secourc, cho est tors;
    "Secors ara, car poisans sui et fors.

67. "Je ne ai k'ester; cis jors va a declin."
    "Che fait mon, sire, metés vos au chemin."
    Le cheval hurte des esperons d'or fin;
    Et je remés sor le piler marbrin.

68. Ains k'ens entrasse, regardai le palais.
    Ains tex ne fu ne n'iert, je cuic, jamais;
    Et s'un petit me faisiiés de pais,
    Je vos diroie comment il estoit fais.

69. Premiers vos voel aconter de l'entree,
    Par quel maniere elle fut devisee,
    Et des fossés ki l'ont avironnee,
    Et puis dou mur dont ele estoit fermee.

70. De rotruënges estoit tos fais li pons,
    Toutes les plankes de dis et de canchons,
    De sons de harpes les estaces del fons,
    Et les saliies de dous lais de bretons.

71. Li fossés ert de souspirs en plaignant;
    El fons desous ot une aige courant:
    Toute est de larmes que pleurent li amant
    Quant se racordent doucement en baisant.

72. Li doi estiel de le porte et li baus,
    Ne cuidiés mie che fust caisnes ne fax;
    Ains estoit faite des dolors et des max
    Que li amant sueffrent, et des travaus.

73. Et li grans huis, li flaiaus et li siere
    De proiere ert, de douçor de sens querre,
    Por coi on puist del tout l'amor conquerre.
    Qui chou ne fait, ne puet amer sans guerre.

---

[1] MS *deport'er*.

74. De cele porte ert ·j· oysiax gardere,
Qui si nasqui qu'il n'ot pere ne mere.
Qant il est viex, en ·j· fu se repere,
Par soi meïsme se renaist et rapere.

75. *Fenis* a non, si com la lettre dist;
Ja ne faura se li mons ne fenist.
Quant il est viex, en ·j· fu se bruïst,
Par soi meïsmes se renaist et nourist.

76. Et chis oysiax ki portiers en estoit, [523 *r. b*]
Chou senefie amour en bone foit.
Qui son corage a nului ne diroit,
Par soi meïsme se racorde et fait droit.

77. Vinc a le porte, je vauc laiens entrer;
Elle estoit close, boutai por deffremer.
Elle estoit ferme, n'i voc longhes ester;
Hoçai l'aniel ki fu fais de penser.

78. Quant li portiers oï hocier l'aniel,
Tres bien connut que c'estoit sons d'apiel.
Vint a le porte et dist que moi fust biel.
"Volés entrer, amis, en cest castiel?"

79. "Entrer i voel, se vos le commendés."
"Bien le commanch, se vos adevinés
"Qui chou puet estre ki sans mere fu nés.
"Se vos le dites, bien sai que vos amés."

80. "T'i ruis entrer. Se jou de riens i fal,
"Que ne le die a petit de travail,
"Et se nel di, dites que petit vail.
"De toi meïsme en fait la devinal.

81. "Bien te connois, car *Fenis* as a non;
"Pere ne mere n'eüs ains, se toi non.
"De te naissanche ne ferai lonc sermon.
"Oevre le porte, n'i quier nule ocoison."

82. "Certes, dist il, ocoison n'i querrai.
"Vous avés dit chou que vos demandai.
"Sages hom estes; des or vos servirai.
"Entrés chaiens; u palais vos lairai."

83. Ouvri le porte et j'entrai la dedans.
Vinc ou palais ki fu fais par grans sens.
Se l'esienche avoie de totes gens,
Ne sai a dire com il par estoit gens.

84. Mais selonc chou que il[1] m'estoit avis,
    Vos voel conter com ert fais et furnis,
    Et de ques coses il estoit establis.
    Li .xij. mois i furent tout assis.

85. Genviers, fevriés, mars et avrius et mais,
    Et tout li autre ke nomeroie hui mais.
    Cil sostenoient par force le palais;
    Sor teus pilers estoit assis et fais.

86. A destre part erent li mois d'esté,
    De plusors flors vesti et conreé.
    Ki les veïst, se n'eüst ja amé,
    Ja ne fausist qu'il n'amast de son gré.

87. Et a seniestre avoient lor devise
    Li mois d'ivier et froidure et bisse.
    N'est nule cose, tant soit de caut esprise,
    Froide ne soit, se vers iaus est assise.

88. De ce palais, dont vos m'oés conter,
    Li .xij. mois en estoient pyler.
    Les pavés furent de douchement amer, [523 v. a]
    Et de servir li banc et li[2] donner.

89. Li lateüre et tout li kiviron
    D'umilité et de douce raison;
    Li couvreture d'amors faite a larron,
    Que nus ne set, se chius u cele non.

90. De c'estoit faite dire ne vos poroie.
    Chou que je di ne cuic que nus m'en croie;
    Si puet bien estre k'en songe le veoie.
    Vinc en la sale, u molt avoit de joie.

91. Laiens trovai tante gentil maisnie,
    De damoysiaus; cascuns avoit sa mie;
    Cascuns juoit illuec de legerie;
    D'esquiés, de table[s] estoit li hahatie.

92. Chascuns dansiaus a sa mie juoit
    D'esquiés, de tables. Ki son par sormontoit
    Autre loier n'autre argent n'en avoit,
    Fors seulement ·j· baisier emprendoit.

93. Qant vinc laiens et je fui recheüs,
    Molt fui amés de tous et chier tenus.

[1] MS *qu il.*

[2] *Cor. de. Donner* as a noun in a sense that would suit here is unknown to me. The copyist probably carried the article of the preceding word over to *donner.*

N'i ot celui ne me donast salus;
Trestout disent: "A bien soiés venus!"[1]

94. Por moi amor laissierent le juĕr,
Ensamble od moi vinrent por deporter,
De coste moi le plus prochain piler
Nous asesimes por deduit demener.

95. Je leur contai trestout mon errement:
Comment ma mie perdi par le serpent,
Et le secours ke me fist ensement
Li Diex d'amors, a cui grant joie apent.

96. Li[2] respondirent: "Ja mar en duterés.
"Sachiés de fi, aparmain le rarés.
"Ne soiés tristes; coi que soit, nous cantés.
"Chou est nos fiés; tel rente nous devés."

97. "Signor, fis jou, chi a molt biele rente.
"Il est molt fels, ciels qui trop se demente.
"Je canterai; canters ne m'atelente,
"Car por ma mie m'est il auques a ente."

98. "Il a bien dit," fisent tout li baron.
Dames, pucieles, tout cil de le maison,
Se teurent tuit por oïr me canchon,
Et je lor dis, oiés de quel raison:—

99. "El mois de mai qant la rose est florie,
"Chantent oysiel; l'ore est douce et serie.
"N'i a dansiel ki tant ait bone vie
"Ne li soit biel s'il a loial amie.

100. "Por moi le di; jou ainc une puciele,
"Ains de mes iex certes ne vi plus biele.
"Pas ne n'oubli, ains m'est[tos] jors noviele
"Et m'a saisi le cuer sor la mamiele.

101. "Et sachiés bien que par ses grans douçors, [523 v. b]
"Sor toutes riens je l'amerai tos jors.
"Certes engiens m'a pris de grant dolors
"Se par[3] le sien ne me tient a amors.

102. "Mais or li pri, la biele creature,
"Par son otroi qu'ele de moi ait cure.
"Si com je croi, s'ele est auques si dure
"Encontre moi, cho est grans meffaiture.

---

[1] A syllable short. Perhaps *Trestout me disent*.
[2] Cor. *Si*.   [3] Cor. *por*.

103. "La rotruënge ch'ai faite s'en ira
     "Et sans losenge a ma mie dira
     "Qu'ele me tienge, qant en sa prison m'a;
     "A li me tieng, ne sai se m'amera."

104. A hicest mot fu ma canchons finee.
     Molt fu de tous et prisie et loee:[1]
     N'i ot celi, tant amast a celee,
     Ne li fesist souvent muĕr pensee.

105. Qant j'oc cho dit, illuec ne voc plus estre.
     Une pucele me prist par la main diestre.
     "Sire, dist ele, venés veoir nostre estre."
     En une cambre entrames a seniestre.

106. Icele cambre estoit li dius[2] d'amors.
     La ert ses lit, la estoit ses retors.[3]
     La vic .ij. keuvres ki pendoient a flors,
     Et par deseure pendoit li ars d'amors.

107. En l'un des keuvres, qui pendoit plus aval,
     Avoit saietes.   Li fier sont de metal;
     De plonc estoient; qu'en est[4] navrés par mal
     Ja n'amera en cest siecle mortal.

108. En l'autre keuvre, qui pendoit par engin,
     Avoit saietes.   Li fier en sont d'or fin;
     De plonc estoient;[5] au soir u au matin
     Chius fait amors a sa maniere aclin.

109. Li diex d'amors qant se va deporter,
     De ces saietes cui il en velt navrer,
     Contre ses dars ne se puet nus tenser.
     L'un fait haïr et l'autre fait amer.

110. Hors de la cambre issimes main a main;
     Dehors la sale venimes au serain.
     Illuec trovames, et ne gaires lontain,
     ·J· pre herbu estendu en ·j· plain.

111. Enmi cel pre ot ·j· arbre molt biel.
     De maintes guisses i cantoient oysiel;
     Au pié del arbre, par desous ·j· tuiel,[6]
     Ot une tombe d'un gentil damoisiel.

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[1] MS *loe.*   The copyist perhaps mistook *prisie* for a masculine form, and so wrote *loe.*
[2] Cor. *diu* (?).   [3] MS *retous.*   [4] MS *qn dest.*
[5] This half-line seems to have been copied by mistake from 107c; cf. *Venus* 249,c:
"Qui en ert navrés al soir et al matin."
[6] *Tuiel* seems to be used here in the sense of "branch"; cf. *Chanson des Saxons*, 38, 39:
Ci naist de la chanson et racine et tuiax
Dont li chans et li dis est mirables et biax.

112. Oysiaus i ot. Por l'ame del signor
    Qui la gisoit cantent de vrai amor.
    Qant il ont fain cascuns baise une flor;
    Ja puis n'aront ne fain ne soif le jor.

113. "Gentis pucele, fis jou, et c'or me dis,
    "Icis dansiaus ki chi est enfouis,
    "Ques hom fu il a cel te[n]s qu'il fu vis?" [524 *r. a*]
    "Sire, dist ele, che fu ja mes amis.

114. "Gentius hom fu, et si fu fils au roi;
    "Por ma biauté m'ama, si com jou croi."
    "Comment fu mors?" "Il fu ocis por moi."
    "Por vos? Comment? Qui che fist et por coi?"

115. Elle me conte simplement en plorant[1]
    De son ami qu'ele ama bonement.
    "Sire, dist elle, jou l'amai voirement;
    "Souventes fois me dissent mi parent:

116. "'Folle meschine, lai ester ton amer.
    "'Ne te prendra(i) a moillier ne a per.
    "'En cest païs vint[2] por a[r]mes porter;
    "'Qant li plaira, si s'en volra raler.'

117. "Tant l'amai miex que plus en fui cosee.
    "Il me manda coiement a celee
    "S'ensanble od lui aloie en sa contree,
    "De moi feroit roïne couronee.

118. "Et[3] jou li dis, quant jou a li parlai:
    "'Sire, fis jou, por t'amour le ferai.
    "'Metons ·j· jor que je vos nommerai:
    "'Nous moverons le premier jor de mai."

119. "Et cis lons termes nous torna a anui.
    "'Movons, dist il, le matin ambedui!'
    "Le matinee me meuc ensamble od lui;
    "En no compaigne n'eüns cure d'autrui.

120. "Tout ·j· vergié aliiens les ·j· val,
    "Si encontrames ·j· orgillous vassal.
    "'Amis, dist il, donés cha cel cheval,
    "'Cele pucele n'en pues mener sans mal.

121. "'Moi laisseras et li et le destrier,
    "'Et se par armes ne le vels desraisnier,
    "'A men espee te quier le cief trenchier.'
    "'Sire, fist il, trop poés manechier.

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[1] Cor. *en plorant simplement.*   [2] MS *vinc.*   [3] MS *ot.*

122. "'Vilonie est d'omme qui tant manache;
     "'Ja por vos seul ne widerai la place.
     "'S'il est qui fuit, il trueve qui le cache.'
     "L'espiel alonge, le fort escu enbrache.

123. "Qant la bataille vic por moi commenchier,
     "Le mien ami armai d'on seul baisier.
     "Puis m'alai sir les l'ombre d'un lorier;
     "Le mien cheval laissai tout estraier,

124. "Le diu d'amors priai molt douchement:
     "'Sire, dis jou, por ten commendement
     "'S'onkes fis cose ki te fust a talent,
     "'Le mien ami gardés hui de torment.'

125. "Ha icest mot se sont entreferu.
     "Plainnes les lanches se sont entrebatu;
     "Sus resalirent com home de vertu;
     "N'i ot celi ki nul mal ait eü.

126. "Des brans d'achier commenche[nt] a ferir; [524 *r. b*]
     "Desarmé furent ains por bien escremir.
     "Ne pot l'uns l'autre de noient escarnir,
     "Que ambedeus nes esteüst morir.

127. "Qant mon ami vic jesir ou sablon,
     "Navré et mort por itele ocoison,
     "Plus de ·c· fois trestout en ·j· rendon
     "Li ai baisié li faiche et le menton.

128. "'Haï! fis jou, me joie et mes depors!
     "'Par quel folie, dous amis, estes mors?
     "'Se jou pors vos ne m'ocis chou est tors.'
     "Plus de ·c· fois me pasmai sor le cors.

129. "Apriés grant pieche, quant vinc de pasmison,
     "Si vic venir ·j· nobile baron,
     "Le diu d'amors devant sen compaignon;
     "A chevauchant vinrent tout le sablon.

130. "Li diex d'amors parla premierement:
     "'Biele, fist il, que plourés si griément?
     "'Se vos amis est mors par hardement,
     "'En ma compaigne emprendrés ·j· de ·c·.'

131. "'Sire, fis jou, jamais n'arai ami,
     "'Mais ces .ij. cors faites porter de chi.'
     "'Molt volentiers; et vos, montés aussi,
     "'Q'ensamble od moi venrés en camp flori.'

84

132. "Ha icest mot montai sor mon destrier,
    "Et les .ij. cors prisent li chevalier;
    "En camp flori venins au herbregier,
    "Le nuit villames as .ij. cors por waitier.

133. "Le matinee les a fait entierer
    "Molt richement por lire et por canter.
    "La gist li uns, bien [fait]¹ amonester,
    "Et chi li autres que je tant poc amer.

134. "Et encore prient cil oysiel en lor loi
    "Que diex en ait merchi par son saintisme otroi.²
    "Or vos ai dit, dous amis, par me foi,
    "Comment fu mors, ki cho fist, et por coi.

135. "Or en alommes lassus esbanoiant
    "En cele sale u il a joie grant.
    "Qant je vienc chi ja n'arai joie tant,
    "Por mon ami n'aie le cuer dolant."

136. Qant la pucele m'ot tout ensi conté,
    Nous repairaimes main a main par le pré;
    Devant la sale venimes au degré.
    Ains k'en la sale fusiens laiens entré,

137. Tout le vregié gardai les une val.
    Si vic venir ·j· nobile vassal,
    Le diu d'amors. Devant sor sen cheval
    Tenoit ma mie, si n'avoit point de mal.

138. Molt fui joians qant je venir le vi,
    Car ne cuidai nul jor vivre sans li.
    Couruc encontre et si le descendi. [524 *v. a*]
    "Sire, dis jou, la tiue grant merchi;

139. "Qant ma mie as garandie de mort
    "Et rendu m'as me joie et me deport."
    —"Amis, dist il, jou eüsse grant tort
    "Se ne t'aidaisse qant tu crois en mon sort.

140. "Tu m'as servi et fais les miens commans.
    "Anchois assés que t'eüsses .vij. ans."
    —"Bien le doi faire, car vos estes poissans,
    "De vos servir ne serai recreans."

¹ Cf. *Venus*, 271c.

² Twelve syllables. Omit *saintisme*, inserted as part of a formula.

141. Qant del cheval ot mise jus ma mie,
     Et je senti que de mort fu garie,
     Onques encore a nul jor de ma vie
     N'oc si grant joie com j'oc a cele fie.

142. Por le grant joie que jou oc m'esperi,
     Si m'esvillai qant j'oc assés dormi.
     Molt fui dolans que songes me menti.
     Coi que ce soit, a bien soit averti.

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THE SINCERITY OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

The nineteenth century came to its close with one notable critical achievement: the final discrediting of all existing biographical interpretations of the Shakespearean sonnets. This fact was made plain by the interesting literary joust in 1898 between Mr. William Archer and Mr. Sidney Lee, champions for Pembroke and Southampton, respectively—a joust in which each warrior successfully unhorsed his opponent. When Mr. Lee had once shown that the "Mr. W. H." of the Shakespearean dedication by Thorpe could not possibly have been intended as a designation for "the Right Honourable, William Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine to His Majestie, one of his most honorable Privie Counsell, and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter," the title under which the same publisher elsewhere addressed the noble Lord, and when there was added a disproof of the supposed punning upon "Will" as the name of Shakespeare's rival, the strongest arguments for the earl of Pembroke were seen to have melted like the mist. On the other hand, the Southampton theory, with its preposterous assertion that we should see in the effeminate youth of the sonnets one of the most manly and ambitious soldiers of the court, and that Shakespeare actually wrote sonnets to this soldier for three years without the slightest reference to his contemporary warlike career, was surely left in little better case. Along with Pembroke and Southampton, the supposed originals of the other characters in the sonnets disappeared one by one. Mary Fytton, at first so attractive a candidate for the Dark Ladyship, disappeared as soon as authentic portraits showed her to have been a pronounced blonde. The heroine of "Willobie his Avisa," warmly indorsed by Mr. Fleay for this position and half-heartedly supported by Mr. Lee, proved equally disappointing, since all her characteristics and her situation were seen to differ entirely from those of Shakespeare's lady. And the Rival Poet with the "proud, full sail of his great verse," who figured so prominently in Shakespearean discussions of the eighties, whom Professor Minto ingeniously discovered

to be Chapman from subtle allusions which Chapman himself would hardly have detected, and whom other critics had variously identified with Barnes, Daniel, Davies, Drayton, Jonson, Markham, Marlowe, Nash, Spenser, and Watson, this Rival Poet cannot now be said with certainty to have belonged even to this fairly inclusive list of all the prominent poets of the period. There is at the present time absolutely no satisfactory identification of a single one of the characters mentioned in the sonnets. Friend or patron, rival poet, mistress, all are alike unknown to us. Eternized they are indeed in the sonnets, but not elsewhere. Their traces on the sands of Elizabethan scandal, if they were once visible, have long since disappeared. Sober history knows neither their deeds nor their names.

The question then has naturally arisen, What right have we to affirm even their bare existence? May not the beautiful and beloved youth, the towering rival poet, the sinful mistress, be but additional imaginative creations of that dramatic genius whose power to create them none can deny, and may not this creation have been merely an instance of conformity to a passing fashion, and a passing fashion hopelessly conventional and artificial, so that from Shakespeare's poems we can hope to gain no additional knowledge of the poet's soul, but merely fresh examples of his metrical technique?

The answer to either question involves an appeal from the sonnets of William Shakespeare to the other sonnets of his time. The enforcement of this appeal has been the great and meritorious contribution of Mr. Sidney Lee, a contribution that may ultimately outvalue in productiveness almost every other that has been made since the sonnet discussion first began. Mr. Lee, after starting as one of the school of biographical interpreters, succeeded, in spite of his lingering fondness for the Southampton theory, in working his way through to a far more fruitful position. Fruitful as the position is, however, it seems to the present writer to have been carried much too far. It asserts not only the broad thesis that Shakespeare's sonnets must be considered in relation to the general Renaissance type of sonnet in Italy, France, and England—and with this thesis we must now all agree—but it also makes the more specific contentions that this type was one of conventional compliment,

artificial and insincere, and that Shakespeare's sonnets belong in essentials to this conventional and artificial type. Both contentions are very succinctly put by Mr. Lee in his *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 159: "Genuine emotion or the writer's personal experience very rarely inspired the Elizabethan sonnet, and Shakespeare's sonnets proved no exception to the rule." This specific theory, because of its simplicity and its adaptation to the impersonal tendencies of recent scholarship, has gained wide acceptance.

Nevertheless, although Mr. Lee's theory is admirably simple, in his search for simplicity he has neglected certain distinctions that are fundamental to an accurate understanding of the subject. Foremost of these is the distinction between literal and imaginative sincerity. The question of literal sincerity is a biographical one, and is naturally emphasized by biographical critics. When a poet undertakes to express emotions relating to certain characters and to certain events, is he referring to real characters and to actual events? If so, then he is literally sincere. This is the only kind of sincerity that Mr. Lee's school tends to recognize, but it is really far less important than the other type. Imaginative sincerity demands simply that a poet in recounting any situation, real or fictitious, shall not pretend to more emotion or to another kind of emotion than that which he actually feels. The value of these two kinds should be sharply discriminated. The criterion of imaginative sincerity is an essential and primary aesthetic principle, and must be applied in every thoroughgoing criticism of poetry; it offers one of the most important standards of poetic evaluation. The criterion of literal sincerity has properly in itself nothing whatever to do with poetic evaluation; it is concerned solely with the *cause* of any given poem, not with the nature of the poem itself. Either type may exist without the other. For instance, a man may be deeply in love, and yet if he does not chance to be a poet, his expressions of that love will probably be high-flown, exaggerated, and altogether lacking in imaginative sincerity. On the other hand, a real poet may feel intense, noble, and lofty emotion over an imagined situation, as is proved by the very existence of the poetic drama. In the quotation from Mr. Lee given above, both kinds of sincerity are combined without discrimination, in one phrase, and both are

denied to the Renaissance sonnetteers in general and to Shakespeare in particular.

Such a conclusion seems to me unjustifiable. I believe that the literal sincerity of the mass of Renaissance sonneteers, including William Shakespeare, has been denied far too hastily, and that where there is not explicit evidence to the contrary their sonnets should still for the most part be interpreted as probably expressive of "personal experience." Most of these sonnets are highly artificial, to be sure, but this artificiality affects the genuineness of the expression, not necessarily the genuineness of the emotion behind it. Shakespeare's sonnets, however, far from belonging as a whole to the conventional artificial type, are in essential spirit thoroughly opposed to it, and possess that higher imaginative sincerity which proves in itself the existence of "genuine emotion." These contentions manifestly join issue squarely with the position of Mr. Lee. In order to establish them I must be permitted first to run over the chief characteristics of the Renaissance sonnet in the course of its development from Petrarch to Shakespeare, and then to consider the special individualizing elements in the work of the latter.

It is sufficient to begin with Petrarch, since it was he who definitely fixed the distinguishing features of the sonnet *genre* both in style and content as it was later to spread over the whole of western Europe. This is not to deny that the main characteristic of Petrarchan love, that of hopeless devotion to a scornful lady, the lover's superior morally or socially, had existed earlier in the school of Dante, at the court of Frederick II, and in the Provençal poetry of the Troubadours, or that it may have originated in the social conditions of feudalism, wherein the lonely young chatelaine, married to a much older seigneur engrossed in his wars and ambitions, found it natural and necessary to eke out her soul's longing with the devotion of youthful *beaux chevaliers* of the castle. But it was Petrarch who gave the stamp of his own genius to the special form which this love was to take in the poetry of the Renaissance, and although many of the sonneteers were more familiar with Petrarchan imitation than with the original, nevertheless all looked back to the Tuscan as their real master.

The central motif of these poems is of course the hopeless love of

the author for a certain Laura, usually, though by no means definitively, identified with Laura de Noves, wife of Hugh de Sade of Avignon. Whether this identification be correct or no, and whether, as has been argued by M. Henri Hauvette, Petrarch's Laura was unmarried at the time he first saw her, or whether the more traditional view is right that she was even then married, certain it is that throughout the greater part of the Rime she appears as the chaste and loyal wife of another. The poet's love is for an unattainable object, and therefore finds its activity in whelming the poet's soul with sadness. The great characteristic of Petrarch's amorousness is its despair; the great characteristic of the despair is its amorousness. Suffering or sorrow from other causes than love is in the *Rime* of Petrarch almost non-existent.

Thus the characteristic Petrarchan love unavoidably involves an element of lawless desire. There is nothing vulgar about it; the poet's hopes are usually harmless enough, contenting themselves with the longing to behold Laura's unveiled face or ungloved hand, or to receive other similarly innocent favors, but nevertheless he feels in his soul that his love is wrong, and every now and then rises and fights vainly in behalf of morality against it. In this psychological situation lie the germs of almost all the emotions expressed in the sonnet poetry of the next two centuries. The elements of sorrowful resignation, devotion, worship directed to an unattainable object, lend themselves readily to combination with moral aspiration or religious ecstasy or Platonic idealism, at the same time that the despair over the loss of earthly pleasure finds its utterance in what today we should call "the lyric cry," while on the other hand the intermittent moral disapproval of this same love offers opportunity for inner conflict and soul struggle of a dramatic character.

Hence the central situation is broad enough to include various fundamental kinds of human experience, and to give rise to various types of expression. Nevertheless, considered in reference to actual Renaissance or modern life, it remained ultimately a specialized and abnormal situation. From the beginning the lover's devotion is without serious thought of reward or change in his condition; actual return of his love is the very last thing he would expect, and any concrete imagination of mutual affection is a thing almost unknown.

The expression of the more normal human love which labors either selfishly for the attainment of its desires or unselfishly for the good of the beloved object has here no place.   Petrarchistic love labors not at all.   It does not deal with action, but with self-pity, intro-spection, and the most perfect artistic phrasing of purely subjective feeling.   Petrarch was indeed somewhat interested in his lady, but he was very much more interested in himself: from his *Rime* we learn next to nothing about Laura, but a great deal about Petrarch.

The Petrarchistic love situation was essentially static, not dynamic. By the terms of the hypothesis it could have no outcome.   The lover does not act; he simply feels, and his variety of feeling is all conditioned by the larger unity of the unchanging situation.   Eternal fidelity to an unresponsive mistress is the theme of nine-tenths of the Renaissance sonnets, and this theme does not permit develop-ment in time.   The term "sonnet-sequence" as applied to these collections is an entire misnomer.   With the exceptions of Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare, the narrative element is rarely to be found in the Elizabethan or other Renaissance sonnets, and when found at all, as in a few connected sonnets of Watson and Barnes, it consists in conventional skirmishes of the lover's heart with Cupid, and has practically nothing to do with development of the lover's real situation.

All of this follows, because, to put it in a formula, the Petrarch-istic conception of love considers it solely as an emotion, not as an ideal governing action.   In this central conception dwelt the destruc-tive vice of the mood, because it is not a conception that accords with the usual facts of human nature.   A love that subsists upon itself, that seeks no return and rests satisfied with its own devotion and worship, may be truly religious, and in a noble soul like Petrarch's it may be productive of lofty poetry, but it is not the normal love of man for woman.   Unfortunately, however, it is the kind of love that will always make a powerful appeal to a certain type of senti-mental poet.   In its subjective raptures he seems to enjoy all the bliss of the situation without any of the dangers attendant upon acted passion or any of the sacrifices involved in unselfish love.   Further-more, it is a type of emotion which lends itself rather easily to pre-tense and empty compliment; especially in the Renaissance it was quite possible for passionate devotion to degenerate into court

flattery that expected nothing further from the honored lady than kindly patronage, and was so understood by herself, her husband, and all concerned. The convenient ambiguity of Petrarchistic love recommended it to a sophisticated society. When after a century of relative obscurity following Petrarch's death, the sonnet form was revived in Italy, partially through the Spanish influences of Boscan and Garcilasso de la Vega, the papal court at Rome and the royal court at Naples had brought together in those cities a society of extraordinary culture, brilliance, and artificiality. It was in these cities especially that the sonnet now reached its apogee of popularity in the hands of Cariteo, Tebaldeo, Serafino, Bembo and Vittoria Colonna, and it was to this society that it made its appeal.

In the poems of these sonneteers actual passion *seems* to be at a minimum and formal dexterity at a maximum. The extravagant similes of Cariteo, the extravagant metaphors of Tebaldeo, the worse than extravagant conceits of the grandiloquent Serafino, the lacrimose and limpid utterance of Bembo, the gentle sorrow of the saintly Vittoria, all of these have but the shadow of Petrarch's realism. None the less, we should be cautious in denying the existence of autobiographic elements in them. It is imaginative rather than literal sincerity that is plainly lacking. Extravagance and overstatement prove the absence of art rather than the absence of feeling. It has never been denied, for instance, that Vittoria Colonna loved her husband, the Marquis of Pescara—however much of a scoundrel he may have been in public matters—or that her sonnets inscribed to him were heartfelt tributes to his memory. Even the verses of Serafino which assign the cause of his lady's nosebleed to the misdirection of Cupid's arrow aimed at her heart, prove only that Serafino was no poet; they fail to prove he was no lover. Indeed, in regard to this same Serafino we should remember that he was stabbed and driven from Milan by the husband of a lady whose praises he had been singing. If such an unpleasant adventure could happen to the most conventional and apparently least sincere of all sonneteers, we dare not lightly deny an equal reality to the loves of others. The actual situation in regard to love and gallantry at this time in Italy is clearly put before us by Baldassare Castiglione in the third book of his *Courtier* (A. D. 1514), wherein ladies

are warned not to believe too readily in the flowing compliments of a mere admirer, and not to distrust too harshly the real homage of a genuine lover. This statement makes it plain that the languages of love and gallantry were so nearly identical that it was a matter of grave difficulty even for contemporaries to distinguish between the true and the false coin.

When the sonnet found its way to France, the social situation there was much the same as in Italy. Aside from a few scattering sonnets of Marot, Melin de St. Gelais, and the Lyons school led by Maurice Scève, the form was first used by the Pléiade. The two leaders of that group, Ronsard and Du Bellay, who were primarily responsible for the introduction of the sonnet into their country, were both courtiers turned aside from the direct path of courtly ambition through physical impediments. Their copious follower, Desportes, remained a courtier all his life. Of the love sonnets of the three, Du Bellay's are bookish and imitative, the best of Ronsard's are spontaneous, tender, with a love of nature and undertone of song, while those of Desportes are full of elaborate conceits and horrible examples of perverted ingenuity. All three are alike, however, in that there seems probably to have been a real mistress addressed in every case, while they are also alike, and at one with the lesser French sonneteers, Pontus de Tyard, Claude de Pontoux, De Baïf, and Jodelle, in offering close imitations of Petrarch and the other Italians. The *genre* as a whole can hardly be said to undergo any marked change of temper or style through its French handling.

In England, however, where the sonnet reached efflorescence after its decline in Italy and France, an alteration in both temper and style is apparent. At its very first introduction by Wyatt and Surrey there is manifest in both writers a tendency toward greater masculinity and virility of content, and a desire for some change in the stylistic form. Whereas Ronsard, Du Bellay, and their followers had been content to adopt the Petrarchan form and use it without deviation, the English writers, fortunately or unfortunately, felt impelled from the outset to make experiments. Thus we find Surrey, in addition to the productive form "$a, b, a, b, c, d, c, d, e, f, e, f, g, g$," also using forms "$a, b, a, b, a, b, a, b, a, b, a, b, c, c$," "$a, b, b, a, c, d, d, c, e, f, f, e, g, g$," "$a, b, a, b, a, b, a, b, a, c, a, c, c, c$,"

while Wyatt not only experimented with rimes, but wrote one thirteen-line and two twelve-line "sonnets," and Thomas Watson, the next English poet in the field, adopted eighteen lines as the standard measure of his *Hekatompathia*. As late as 1595 Spenser wrought out a special form for his own use—"*a, b, a, b, b, c, b, c, c, d, c, d, e, e,*" and in 1597 the voluminous *Laura* of Robert Tofte was in alternate ten- and twelve-line "sonnets." Many other less important deviations from Italian models could easily be pointed out. The distinctively English epigrammatic final couplet came to be used almost universally, even by writers like Sidney, who retained the Italian octave; and the usual Surreyan form, "*a, b, a, b, c, d, c, d, e, f, e, f, g, g,*" was adopted by the vast majority of Elizabethan sonneteers—Watson (*Tears of Fancy*), Daniel, Barnes, Lodge, Fletcher, Percy, the anonymous author of *Zepheria*, Drayton, Griffin, Lynche, Smith, Davies, Shakespeare.

We should naturally expect to find that this general substitution of a new verse-form was connected with a change of temper. The so-called "Shakespearean form," whatever its ultimate aesthetic merits or demerits as contrasted with the Petrarchan form, is manifestly adapted for greater emphasis upon the intellectual elements involved. A sheer emotion in its self-sufficiency, without thought of its own cause or its effect, can well be diffused along the roll of the Petrarchan octave and then either concentrated or dissipated with the backward ebb of the sextette. The analytic intellect, however, can work much more effectively in a smaller space; nay, by its very nature must tend to differentiate such smaller spaces from one another; it can appear to better advantage in quatrains than in octaves, and can appear best of all in couplets. The Elizabethan uses the final couplet to give intellectual pith and point to what has preceded; it carries the significance of the whole, and is the climax of the sonnet. The rationalism of the English sonneteers is also shown in some change of attitude toward the lady, the inspiration of their songs. At the very beginning a note of remonstrance and audacious resistance to her sovereignty is heard; Wyatt in an ungallant moment even calls his mistress "an old mule," and somewhat the same temper is continued more gracefully by Drayton and Giles Fletcher. Yet it would be easy to overestimate this

element of rougher realism in the English sonnet, for it exists in the main as a tendency rather than an actuality, and was probably entirely unsuspected by the poets themselves.

On the other hand, the dependence upon foreign models must be admitted to have been far more than a tendency, as Mr. Lee has amply shown. The determination in full of the exact influence of individual Italian and French sonneteers upon individual English sonneteers will offer interesting problems in comparative literature for some time to come, but as to the bulk of such influence there can be no longer any question. The generally imitative character of the Elizabethan sonnet is established beyond a doubt. We may safely say that with the exception of Shakespeare and Sidney, the English sonneteers were all guilty either of open translation or of secret plagiarism from Italian, French, or even contemporary English poets; with the exception of Shakespeare all copied foreign models so closely that the tracing of their sources has become merely a matter of time; without exception all utilized the same images, comparisons, and themss.

But as to the reality of the love that is poetized we are left without much external evidence. We do indeed know that the English sonnet was used both for fact and for fiction; Spenser's sonnets in 1595 to the lady he was then wooing for his wife demonstrate the former, while Giles Fletcher's asseverations that his "Licia" may be considered as "Learning's Image, or Discipline, or some College, or simply his conceit (that) pretends nothing," is conclusive of the latter. Somewhere between these two extremes probably lie the great majority of the sonnets. The type itself is manifestly very varied in content, and may admit all degrees of sincerity from the speech of simple compliment to that of heart-burning devotion. It was at that time the traditional form through which the poet if he were a lover naturally expressed his affection, and if he were a courtier expressed his flattery. The question can hardly be determined in individual cases on internal evidence alone, and satisfactory external evidence is in most instances still to seek.

Yet the personal sincerity of the Renaissance sonneteers has been attacked mainly on internal evidence. Complete conventionality of utterance is the charge, and this conventionality is held to be

incompatible with individual emotion. Here the temperamental inability of the present-day Anglo-Saxon mind to form a rational conception of the true function of conventionality has doubtless been one reason for the lack of sanity in English sonnet criticism as contrasted with the French. To the average Englishman or American of today, social conventions seem disagreeable but salutary restraints upon the savage tendencies of the individual, who should on no account be permitted to contravene them, but who may be allowed in compensation to express the ill-humor they cause him by as much grumbling as he pleases. To the Frenchman, on the other hand, conventions are likely to appear simply as amiable contrivances for getting along with his neighbors, which are to be enjoyed while they last and changed as soon as they become burdensome. In this ability to live harmoniously under convention, the Renaissance Englishman was more like the modern Frenchman than like his own descendants, and in regard to him it is a false assumption that conventionality of speech necessarily proves insincerity of feeling. It is clear that the Renaissance sonneteers were not striving for individuality of expression but, like Renaissance painters, for the best possible treatment of universal types of beauty. Now, all the highest types of the beauty of hopeless love seemed to have been set forth by Petrarch, and it therefore remained for the later poets only to strive to rival or outdo him in the treatment of these same topics. The themes are fixed, but the sonneteer shows his individuality in his special way of treating them. It no more follows because the method of the sonneteers was alike that their individual loves were unreal, than it does that because mediaeval tournaments were all much alike, therefore the warriors did not fight in honor of individual ladies.

Let us look at the more prominent of these repeated sonnet themes. The amount of the repetition, it may freely be confessed, can hardly be overestimated. The eternizing motive appears, among other poets, in Ronsard, Sidney, Daniel, Constable, Fletcher, Drayton, Spenser, Shakespeare; the "carpe diem" motive is sung by Ronsard, Surrey, Daniel, Barnes, Shakespeare; the lover's love is compared to flame, the lady's chastity to ice, by all the sonnet-writers of the period, Shakespeare alone excepted; the lover's con-

dition is likened to a wrecked ship by Petrarch, Ronsard, Desportes, Constable, Barnes, Lodge, Spenser; the lady's hair is fancied to be a net in which the lover is imprisoned by Petrarch, Ronsard, Daniel, Constable, Griffin; the lover's sufferings under the attacks of Cupid are moaned by Petrarch, Ronsard, Desportes, Sidney, Watson, Barnes, Fletcher, Percy, Griffin, Lynche, Drummond of Hawthornden. So the list might be carried on almost indefinitely; the lover's desolation is again and again contrasted with the peace and beauty of springtime; again and again are his sleepless nights described; the violence of his tears, sighs, and groans troubles the heavens; conflicts between his heart and his reason occur, debates between his heart and his eyes; his mistress is described in similes of roses, violets, lilies, marigolds, diamonds, pearls, rubies, ivory, sun, moon, and stars.

The fact of wholesale imitation is indubitable, but can this fact be made to prove wholesale insincerity? On the contrary, the ideas underlying almost all of the conceits above mentioned are of a nature to be readily emotionalized. It is a truism that love is much the same the world over; exaggerated admiration of the lady's beauty, experience of sleepless nights, sense of conflict between passion and reason, these and such as these are generic characteristics of all love. Objection to their over-emphasis in poetry should be made because of their commonplaceness, not because of their personal insincerity. The sonneteers all tell of sorrowful absences from their mistresses, but where is the love of any length that has not had at one time or another this sadness to endure? Many of them follow Petrarch and sing of the rivers beside which their ladies live, but it is not intrinsically unlikely that many ladies then as now may actually have resided somewhere in the vicinity of rivers. And if a goodly number of the sonneteers at one time or another lament the lady's sickness, that too is no uncommon experience of human life. What conventionality of this kind proves is, I repeat, lack of imagination rather than lack of emotion. Given an unoriginal, unimaginative poet, and though his passion burn like a volcano, the result will be only the traditional lava and ashes of outworn conceits. To prove personal insincerity it is not sufficient to find repetition of themes which do not in the first instance spring from individual

experience but may nevertheless be in harmony with it; it is necessary to find repetition of themes that directly contradict individual experience. If we could find conceits in general use which yet were applicable only to the initial situation, manifestly their continuance by others would be a mark of insincerity. But examples of such themes are not forthcoming. Such would be, indeed, if its existence should be substantiated, the conceit asserted by Mr. Lee to have been common, of naming three years as the duration of the poet's passion, but I have searched in vain through the Elizabethan sonnets in an endeavor to add to the two rather unsatisfactory examples which Mr. Lee himself gives. That the conventionality of the sonnet motives taken in conjunction with the known use of the form for purposes of flattery, and the element of pose likely to be involved in Petrarchan love at its best, is sufficient to justify us in characterizing the sonnet mood in general as an artificial one I should not deny, but in the case of any individual sonneteer this characterization should be applied with the greatest caution, and in the case of no individual sonneteer can the argument from artificiality of expression be regarded without the support of external evidence as exclusive of literal sincerity.

The same may be asserted even of the many translations that occur. There is no a priori reason why a translation cannot be made in an impassioned mood as well as, or better than, in a frigid one. Why, for example, may not certain sonnets of Desportes have seemed to Thomas Lodge to express his own feelings better than he himself could do, and why may not Lodge have proceeded with their translation in a high state of genuine emotion? In fact, it may be doubted if good poetic translations are often made unless the translator is able in some such way to put himself in close harmony with the original poet's feelings. Criticism in its eagerness to obtain final judgment has hurried in its indictments against the literal sincerity of the sonneteers altogether too hastily, and an induction that should be provisional and cognizant of exceptions has been treated as if it were absolute and without exception.

When we come to the question of imaginative sincerity the situation is somewhat different. Here the point involved concerns the relation of a poet's emotion to his expression of the emotion, or,

in a word, whether he says what he really means.   For example, Byron's famous "Fare thee well" is a good illustration of imaginative insincerity.   Without reference at all to the private events that inspired the poem, we see simply from reading it that the poet is saying something quite different from what he really means, and that the whole poem is in effect a denial of its title.   He says, "Never 'gainst thee will my heart rebel," and then proceeds to show how rebellious his heart actually is.   This is an instance of self-deception analogous to the self-deception of the Petrarchists.   They say that their lives are dominated by the desire to win the lady's love, when it is manifest that their desire really is to sing their own love; they say that the lady's coldness causes all the miseries of life, when in their hearts they must know better; they say that their tears flow down and make rivers which are then dried up by the heat of their passionate sighs, when they know that this is not quite true; they say that they are frozen like ice when they mean that they are bashful, burning like a furnace when they mean slightly ardent, dying when they mean despondent.   It is not because their love itself has no basis in fact that we object to all this, but because we know that no love could possibly justify the hyperboles.   Whether or not poetry be literally true, it must be emotionally true, if it is to deserve its name.   Fiction may serve the cause of poetry in spite of any amount of personal untruth, but exaggeration is necessarily a bad servant because of its artistic untruth.   And exaggeration, rather than personal fiction, was the standard coinage of the sonneteers.

No better example of the results to which a loss of the clear sense of literary values may lead could be adduced than the tendency to confound the imaginative value and sincerity of Shakespeare's sonnets with that to be found in the work of his contemporaries. The mistake has largely arisen from the old-fashioned tendency to regard the Shakespearean sonnets as a unit, and to assume that what can be said of any of them applies equally well to all.   That some of them belong among the most conventional and conceited sonnets of the century has never been doubted, though it may be said that here as often elsewhere Shakespeare was unconventionally conventional. When he takes up a convention he tends to carry it to its logical extreme as his contemporaries could not do.   I doubt if the punning

sonnets on his own name (sonnets 135, 136), or the sonnet treating the theme of his love's being painted on his own heart (sonnet 24), can quite be equaled for perverse ingenuity among all his contemporaries. So the other conventionalities that he adopts are either unusually intellectualized or unusually emotionalized.

But the whole matter of the conceits in Shakespeare's sonnets has recently been emphasized more than it deserves. The following are practically all the important instances: punning, sonnets 135, 136, 143; the conceit of the portrait of his beloved as painted on his heart, sonnet 24; personification of eyes and heart, sonnets 46, 47; play upon the idea of the four elements, sonnets 44, 45; elaborate legal similes, sonnets 46, 87, 134; purely Petrarchistic complaints of the lady's cruelty, sonnets 57, 58, 139, 140, 149; tendency to see his beloved in all the objects of Nature, sonnets 98, 99, 113, 114; comparison of his beloved to people of the past, sonnets 59, 106; love-wracked, sleepless nights, sonnets 27, 28, 43, 61; the eternizing theme, lamentation over the passage of youth and beauty, and consolation in the thought of his beloved's eternity in his own poetry, sonnets 15, 18, 19, 54, 55, 60, 63, 64, 65, 81, 100, 101, 107. It will be seen that with the exception of the last, these conceits appear in only twen'y-six out of the total collection of one hundred and fifty-four sonnets— surely a small proportion. In regard to the eternizing theme, I should myself have characterized it as a natural although conventional thought rather than as a conceit, but I place it in the list out of deference to Mr. Lee, to whom it is a source of peculiar umbrage. Why talk so repetitiously, he says, of the brevity of physical beauty and the eternity of poetry? These ideas were outworn when they came to Shakespeare; surely they could have inspired in him no "genuine emotion"; he must have used them simply for purposes of flattery. But in answer it should be pointed out that it is rather curious that this theme was emphasized most by the three poets of the century who actually had the greatest right to expect immortality for their verses. Pierre de Ronsard, Edmund Spenser, and William Shakespeare were the ones who expressed the thought most frequently and most nobly. Why is it impossible that these men should have sincerely believed in the permanence of poetry, or that this thought should have given them deep emotion? And if in

regard to the passing of beauty we do not doubt the sincerity of
Keats when he reiterates the same strain, why shall we not be per-
mitted to believe in that of Shakespeare? These ideas are so uni-
versal, so moving, so intrinsically poetical, that to account for their
presence, even in the special form of promising eternity to a par-
ticular person, we hardly need to assume a hollow endeavor at
flattery as their cause. A sufficient explanation would seem to be
that among the many current poetical conceptions of the time these
were particularly congenial to Shakespeare's world-brooding mind.

On the whole, the surprising fact in connection with the Shake-
spearean sonnets is that conventional ideas and conceits are as few
as they are. His was the largest Elizabethan collection of love-
sonnets; yet no contemporary collection of a quarter the size exists
in which there will not be found many more conceits and conven-
tionalities. The eternal tears and sighs of the lover, his despair,
his long-continued dying for the sake of the beloved, the elsewhere
omnipresent alternate fire and ice of the lover's passion and his
fears, the hackneyed classical allusions, these receive no countenance
from Shakespeare. He alone was never caught in the net of his
lady's hair or imprisoned in her eyes; we have no evidence from
him that she was ever sick, or that she lived beside a river; she is
not shown to us in similes of jewels or precious stones. One reading
Shakespeare's sonnets by themselves is likely to be unduly sensitive
to the conceits that are to be found there, but one reading them
after acquaintance with the work of his contemporaries is contin-
ually surprised by the absence of the well-known and expected
phraseology. In the matter of translation, likewise, Shakespeare
stands apart from the other Elizabethans. The two playful sonnets
at the end of the collection and entirely unconnected with any of the
others have their source in the Greek anthology, and sonnets 99
and 24 were probably imitated from Constable. With these two
exceptions, translations or plagiarisms have not been found in Shake-
speare, while both are plentiful among practically all of his contem-
poraries.

It is not, however, by the absence of the conventional but by
the presence of the unconventional that the individuality of the
Shakespearean sonnet is chiefly marked. In the first place, the

employment of the language of passionate love toward a man was, although not unprecedented, still decidedly unusual—how unusual we may judge from the fact that Michelangelo's similar love-sonnets to Tommaso Cavalieri were considered by his posthumous editor too daring to permit of their publication without alteration, and by the fact that Barnfield found it necessary to apologize for similar utterances in 1595 on the ground that they were imitations of Virgil's second eclogue. The exact number of the Shakespearean sonnets that are addressed to a man has not been conclusively determined, and probably never will be, but we are justified in saying that the majority, and among these the most passionate, were addressed to the "Master-mistress" rather than the mistress. Mr. Lee has justly pointed out the element of adulation apparent in some of these sonnets, but this is far less prominent than the expression of devoted affection and friendship that dominates the group. The collection must still be considered in the main as an idealization of masculine friendship, and in this respect falls outside the general convention of the sonnet. Still more striking is Shakespeare's wholly un-Petrarchistic attack upon the morality of his mistress. Mr. Lee has indeed cited a number of alleged parallelisms from poems of Ronsard and others calling their mistresses "tigresses" and "Medusas" because of their hard hearts, but the cases are not in point, since these remonstrances are caused by the immovable chastity of the mistress, while in Shakespeare they are caused by her fickle unchastity. Most striking of all Shakespeare's unconventionalities is his emphasis upon mutuality of love. Shakespeare does not represent himself as a rapt worshiper of unattainable beauty whose function is to inspire him with poetic sadness and hopeless fidelity. On the contrary, the "Dark Lady" is one who has rewarded Shakespeare's passion in the past, and who, when she is now faithless to him, is rebuked most bitterly. The same freedom of criticism hardly appears in the sonnet to the friend, where Shakespeare tends to regard the friend's errors with an unpleasant complacency, yet even here warning and remonstrance are not lacking, and both Shakespeare and the friend seek forgiveness for their faults in a manner unknown to the conventional sonnet. The situation celebrated by Petrarch and his followers is one of hopeless and uncom-

plaining love; the situation in Shakespeare's sonnets is one of expectant and jealous love.

Thus is avoided one of the fundamental self-deceptions of the Petrarchists. In reading even Petrarch himself one cannot but be conscious at times that the poet's pleasure in singing his sorrows so well is in some danger of obliterating the real sorrows. Among his followers there was an undoubted tendency for the love to exist primarily for the sake of the poetry it inspired. Of Shakespeare this is far less true than of any other Renaissance sonneteer, excepting Michelangelo, who stands aside from the general sonnet movement here considered. Shakespeare seems to be closely in contact with the minds of his friend and his mistress; the emotions flash back and forth from one to another; the feelings are not compressed within one static formula, but there is change, development, retrogression. Whether we will or no, we feel ourselves to be in the midst of some dimly outlined, unintelligible, but intensely real and vivid story.

The second great deception of Petrarchistic love is also avoided by Shakespeare. It had become the universally accepted superstition of the sonneteers, even as of the modern novel, that romantic love is not only the chief blessing of earthly existence, but that it is actually the be-all and the end-all. Sadness, sorrow, and even death, appear only as experiences connected with love between the sexes. For the typical Petrarchist to have repined for any other cause than the loss of his mistress would have seemed a kind of sacrilege. In Shakespeare all this is changed. The misfortunes of life are given their true place as results from many causes. In sonnet 29 the poet's sorrow arises from his self-doubt, recognition of his "disgrace with fortune and men's eyes," "desire for this man's art and that man's scope"; in sonnet 30 he beweeps "precious friends hid in death's dateless night"; in sonnet 66 he contemplates with bitterness the injustice of human life; and in each case the thought of his friend's love comes to him as a consolation. What could be more completely opposed to the usual sonneteering conventions? To the Petrarchist, however great the real joys with which he is surrounded, love is sufficient to spoil them all and turn them into sentimental sorrow; to Shakespeare, however great the real sorrow, his love is sufficient

to mitigate it and bring consolation.   Likeness to these three sonnets will be sought in vain among all the other Renaissance sonneteers, excepting again Michelangelo.   And if ever poetry carried in its features the indubitable marks of genuine emotion, these three sonnets of Shakespeare, and a dozen others in only a slightly less degree, are among the noblest witnesses of that power in ours or any language.

Realism as opposed to sentimentalism is the fundamental note of Shakespeare's greatest sonnets as compared with those of his contemporaries.   If this be true we should expect to find more reference to specific incidents in his poetry than in theirs.   And this is just what we do find.   The definite theme of the threefold intrigue with its strange events of the friend's faithlessness and seduction of the poet's mistress, his repentance, and his forgiveness by the poet, is, as Mr. Lee himself admits, wholly unprecedented in sonnet literature.   To be sure, Mr. Lee can find only six sonnets that bear upon this intrigue, but all other editors have been more fortunate.   In addition to the six that in so many words refer to this situation (sonnets 40, 41, 42, 133, 134, 144), it surely is reasonable to refer to the same situation sonnets 33–35 with their description of his friend as "that sweet thief which sourly robs from me," their reference to his friend's "sensual fault," and his sorrow and forgiveness by the poet; also sonnets 94–96 with their remonstrances upon the friend's conduct, which is leading to "lascivious comments" and "shame" upon the budding beauty of his name; also the twelve sonnets of remonstrance to his mistress and comment upon her lack of beauty (137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152); also, not certainly, but plausibly, sonnet 129, on lust; thus making a total, not of six, but of twenty-four or twenty-five.   Long after this special intrigue had terminated, judging from the poet's own statement of the lapse of three years and the internal evidence of developing style, it was Shakespeare's turn to apologize for his forgetfulness and fickleness (sonnets 117, 118, 119, 120).   Further unusual specific references are those to the rival poet (sonnets 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86)—references that are specific, we must remember, even though we cannot now identify their object—and those in the situation outlined in the introductory exhortations to the youth to

wed for the sake of offspring (sonnets 1–17). Descending to minor points, we have Shakespeare's recognition of the social ignominy of his profession in sonnet 111, his references to slanders against his friend (sonnets 69, 70), and to the scandal circulated against himself (sonnets 112, 121), and finally, of a more frivolous nature but no less indicative of the poet's spontaneity, his vigorous attack on the use of cosmetics and false hair (sonnets 67, 68). All these are the result of the poet's keen conception of a definite group of characters related in certain objective situations, differing entirely from the almost purely subjective situation of the Petrarchistic sonnet, and differing from it by its greater realism.

Shakespeare's superiority to his sonneteering predecessors and contemporaries lies therefore not only in his unmatchable technique, but also in the greater truth and depth of his attitude toward life. His sonnets show us feelings that are convincing and intensely human; we have in them a pre-eminent example of imaginative sincerity. Such is the conclusion which I have chiefly had at heart to prove. The question whether Shakespeare's attitude was the direct result of personal experience is one of ultimately minor importance, however great its significance for our knowledge of the personal life of Shakespeare. That significance, certainly, I do not in the least wish to minimize. The fact that we have failed to identify and may never identify the friend, mistress, and rival poet is no sufficient evidence of their non-existence, and the appeal to the literal insincerity of the sonnet type can be disregarded until this insincerity shall be more adequately proved than it has yet been. The supposition of literal sincerity on Shakespeare's part still seems to me probable. I believe that in his sonnets we listen to a chapter from Shakespeare's own life. But whether true or false this belief is not the more important matter. The essential conclusion is that Shakespeare's sonnets are not merely examples of skilful rhythm and melodious diction, nor at all examples of timid conformity to an artificial type, but that they are true poems, powerful emotions beautifully expressed, a chapter in the history of Man.

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AN ENGLISH ACADEMY[1]

Interesting in the annals of English literary and linguistic history is a series of proposals for an English academy. Mention of such proposals is perhaps oftenest met with in connection with the reign of Queen Anne. Then indeed the idea, though by no means new, found its most peculiar and insistent manifestation. Yet the movement toward an academy was not confined to any one period; the proposals extended over some two centuries. They are here brought together in chronological order.

It is customary to associate this movement with the French Academy, founded at the suggestion of Cardinal Richelieu in 1635. Long before that time, however, there had been in England various learned societies, notably a Society of Antiquaries[2] dating from the reign of Elizabeth, 1572. Its founder was Archbishop Parker, and for several years its meetings were held at the house of Sir Robert Cotton. In 1589 it was chartered by the queen as "An Academy for the Studye of Antiquity and History." Its active existence continued into the reign of James. That monarch, for reasons not very clear, possibly on mere suspicion, dissolved the society, probably in 1604. This is apparently the first learned society to enjoy royal favor. Its aims were distinctly historical.

The earliest hint of anything like an authoritative literary society is contained in a letter by Gabriel Harvey to Edmund Spenser, 1580. Harvey has reference chiefly to poetry.

There is no one more regular and iustifiable direction, eyther for the assured, and infallible Certaintie of our English Artificiall Prosodye particularly, or generally to bring our Language into Arte, and to frame a

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[1] For the suggestion which led to the preparation of this paper and for a part of the material used, I am indebted to a letter in the *Nation* by Professor Ewald Flügel, of Leland Stanford Junior University, and to replies which that letter brought forth. The extent of this obligation may be seen by reference to the correspondence: *Nation*, LXXIV, 287 (E. Flügel); 306 (H. E. Shepherd); 365 (W. A. Neilson); 406 (Henrietta R. Palmer); 425 (G. L. K[ittredge]).

[2] *Archaeologia*, I, iii. Further details are now available in "A proiect touching a petition to be exhibited unto her Maiesty for the erecting of her library & an Academy," which Flügel has printed, from a Cottonian manuscript, in *Anglia*, XXXII, 265 ff. (1909).

Grammer or Rhetorike thereof: than first of all vniuersally to agree vpon one and the same Ortographie.

This he hopes to see "publickely and autentically established, as it were by a generall Counsel, or acte of Parliament."[1]   This, however, a mere suggestion thrown out in a private letter, naturally led to no results.

To the same early period belongs a remark of Richard Carew, an antiquary who remembered the society of Elizabeth's time and who knew of academies on the continent.   On April 7, 1605, he wrote to Sir Robert Cotton:

It importes no little disgrace to our Nation, that others have so many Academeyes, and wee none at all, especially seeing wee want not choice of wyttes every waye matcheable with theirs, both for number and sufficyency.[2]

In 1616 or 1617 Edmund Bolton (1575–1633), a distinguished and zealous antiquary, came forward with a scheme for a larger society, having in view both antiquarian and literary[3] objects. Through Buckingham he caught the King's ear and presented a petition or plan of organization for a "Corporation Royal to be founded under the title of King James his Academe or College of Honour."[4]   This proposed in substance a new honorary order, "an order within the Order of St. George . . . . a narrow circle within a large, concentrick," having arms, ribbon, seal, etc.   James was impressed so favorably that he added functions not specifically asked for.   One of these having his express sanction was that "it should be theirs to authorize all books and writings which were to go forth in print," and "to give the vulgar people indexes expurgatory and expunctory upon all books of secular learning."   The society, then, so far as concerned literature, was to pass upon matter rather than manner.

Among the proposed members were many famous in history, science, law, diplomacy, and literature: Edmund Bolton, the originator, George Chapman, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir

[1] Haslewood, *Ancient Critical Essays*, II, 265.

[2] *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society (1843), 99.

[3] Bolton's interest in literature and history is attested by his *Hypercritica* (1610–17), in Haslewood, *Ancient Critical Essays*, II, 222 f.

[4] *Archaeologia*, XXXII, 138.

Kenelm Digby, Michael Drayton, Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones, John Selden, Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Henry Wotton.

The proposal dragged along slowly, as everything did at James's court. Before all the steps had been taken James died, March, 1625. Charles was apparently too much absorbed in other matters to give Bolton any encouragement. He considered the plan "too good for the times."[1] The whole scheme therefore finally fell through. Antiquarian interests continued, however, though lacking a permanent bond of union, until George II in 1751 granted a charter to the Society of Antiquaries of London, which still exists. This of course never did anything with language and literature as such.

Of other proposals in the early seventeenth century none had literature and language especially in view; the institutions were to be historical or, like Cowley's, philosophical; and they were to be called colleges, giving instruction as well as opportunities for research.[2] It was not until the Restoration and the consequent renewal of closer social relations with France that the idea of a supreme literary society again sprang up. After the recall of Charles II, writers seeking court favor turned more and more to French literature and French ideals. They knew, of course, of the French Academy, and they saw, or thought they saw, in such an institution a means of improvement. Later attempts, therefore, toward an English academy were more or less imitative. Practically every subsequent proposal specifically refers to the model in France. At any rate, no connection is discernible between the older proposals and those about to be mentioned. Yet even at home the need was felt or fancied, and owing to the peculiar ideas of language then prevalent, continued to be urged. From now on, accordingly, the aim, though often in vague and general terms, was toward "improving" the language.

Meantime the influence of the French Academy had been noted. James Howell wrote in 1650:

The new Academy of Wits call'd l'Academie de beaux esprits, which the late Cardinal Richlieu founded in Paris, is now in hand to reform the

[1] *Archaeologia*, XXXII, 148.

[2] Some account of these may be seen in Weld, *History of the Royal Society*, I, 19 f., 42 f.

French Language in this particular [viz., in orthography], and to weed it of all superfluous Letters; which makes the Tongue differ so much from the Pen. . . . .[1]

In 1664 the Royal Society, going outside its customary researches, appointed a committee on the improvement of the English tongue. Of the labors of this committee we have very little record. Among its twenty-one members were Evelyn, Sprat, Dryden, and Sir Peter Wyche; and its meetings were held at Wyche's lodgings in Gray's Inn.[2]   We have, however, under date of June 20, 1665, a long letter from John Evelyn to Sir Peter Wyche, chairman of the committee.

After giving his opinion that

the reason both of additions to, and the corruption of the English language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes; namely, from Victories, Plantations, Frontieres, Staples of Com'erce, Pedantry of Schooles, Affectation of Travellers, Translations, Fancy and style of Court, Vernility & mincing of Citizens, Pupils, Political Remonstrances, Theatres, Shopps, &c.,

Evelyn suggests the following means of reform:

1. I would therefore humbly propose that there might first be compil'd a Gram'ar for the Præcepts; which . . . . might onely insist on the Rules, the sole meanes to render it a learned & learnable tongue.

2. That with this a more certaine Orthoggraphy were introduc'd, as by leaving out superfluous letters, &c.: such as *o* in Woomen, People; *u* in Honour . . . . &c.

3. That there might be invented some new Periods and Accents, besides such as our Gram'arians & Critics use, to assist, inspirit, and modifie the Pronunciation of Sentences. . . . .

4. To this might follow a Lexicon or Collection of all the pure English-Words by themselves; then those which are derivative . . . . then, the symbolical; so as no innovation might be us'd or favour'd; at least till there should arise some necessity of providing a new Edition, & of amplifying the old upon mature advice.

5. That in order to this, some one were appointed to collect all the technical Words. . . . .

[1] Howell, *Familiar Letters* (ed. Jacobs, 1892), 510; quoted from ed. 1650 by Flügel, *Nation*, LXXIV, 287, who comments: "Howell writes this to justify his own orthographical 'weeding' out of superfluous letters, and perhaps in the hope of stimulating the foundation of a similar institution in England.   It is the same Howell who, in 1630, despaired of calling English 'a regular language in regard, though often attempted by some choice wits, ther could never any Grammar or exact Syntaxis be made of it.'"

[2] Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, I, 499, 500.

6. That things difficult to be translated or express'd . . . . were better interpreted than as yet we find them in Dictionaries. . . . .

7. That a full Catalogue of exotic Words, such as are daily minted by our *Logodædali*, were exhibited. . . . .

8. Previous to this it would be enquir'd what particular Dialects, Idiomes, and Proverbs were in use in every several Country of England, for the Words of the present age being properly the *Vernacula*, or Classic rather, special reguard is to be had of them.

9. And happly it were not amiss, that we had a Collection of the most quaint and Courtly expressions, by way of *Florilegium*. . . . .

10. And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of Words, which goe in and out like the mode and fashion; Bookes would be consulted for the reduction of some of the old layd-aside words and expressions had formerly *in deliciis*. . . . .

11. Something might likewise be well translated out of the best Orators & Poets, Greek and Latin, and even out of the Moderne Languages. . . . .

12. Finaly. *There must be a stock of reputation gain'd by some publiq writings and compositions of the Members of this Assembly, so that others may not thinke it dishonor to come under the test, or accept them for judges and approbators; And if the designe were arriv'd thus far, I conceive a very small matter would dispatch the art of Rhetoric, which the French propos'd as one of the first things they reco'mended to their late Academitians.*[1]

Wyche's efforts came to naught. Only the briefest mention is made of his committee or its work in the *History of the Royal Society* by Birch; none at all in that by Weld; that by Thomson I have been unable to consult. Sprat, who wrote the first history (1667), not only passes over in silence this action by the society, but devotes several pages to his own reflections on the subject. His remark that he has "said nothing but what was before very well known and what passes about in common discourse" indicates that an academy was being somewhat widely discussed. His remarks doubtless reflect contemporary opinion.

But besides, if we observe well the English Language; we shall find, that it seems at this time more then others, to require some such aid, to bring it to its last perfection. The Truth is, it has been hitherto a little

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[1] Quoted by Henrietta R. Palmer in *Nation*, LXXIV, 406. The letter, modernized in spelling and punctuation, is in the *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (ed. Bray, 1857), III, 159–62; it is transcribed from the London edition of 1827 in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn (1908), to whose notes I am indebted for the references to Birch above. There is further mention of the committee in a letter from Evelyn to Pepys (1689), also printed by Spingarn (II, 328f.).

too carelessly handled; and I think, has had less labor spent about its polishing, then it deserves. Till the time of King Henry the Eighth, there was scarce any man regarded it, but Chaucer; and nothing was written in it, which one would be willing to read twice, but some of his Poetry. But then it began to raise itself a little, and to sound tolerably well. . . . . if some sober and judicious Men, would take the whole Mass of our Language into their hands, as they find it, and would set a mark on the ill Words; correct those, which are to be retain'd; admit, and establish the good; and make some emendations in the Accent, and Grammar: I dare pronounce, that our Speech would quickly arrive at as much plenty, as it is capable to receive; and at the greatest smoothness, which its derivation from the rough German will allow it.[1]

In a later passage, deploring the

easie vanity of fine speaking: . . . . that of all the Studies of men, nothing may be sooner obtain'd, than this vicious abundance of Phrase, this trick of Metaphors, this volubility of Tongue, which makes so great a noise in the World,

Sprat explains that the members of the Royal Society have put

in execution, the only Remedy, that can be found for this extravagance: and that has been, a constant Resolution, to reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style. . . . . They have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; . . . . preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that of Wits, or Scholars" (pp. 112, 113).

Such a resolution would of course have no influence outside of the society.

It is possible also that the committee or the society deemed such work hardly within its field. Weld[2] quotes this note by Robert Hooke (an experimental philosopher), preserved in manuscript in the British Museum and dated 1663.

The business and design of the Royal Society is—

"To improve the knowledge of naturall things, and all useful Arts, Manufactures, Mechanick practises, Engynes and Inventions by Experiments—(not meddling with Divinity, Metaphysics, Moralls, Politics, Grammar, Rhetorick, or Logick)."

How far this was Hooke's private view, whether or not it was shared by his associates, is a matter of conjecture. Yet it is probable that such a limitation was approved by the society as a whole;

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[1] Sprat, *History of the Royal Society* (1667), 41, 42.
[2] *History of the Royal Society*, I, 146.

and this may account for the lack of further references to Wyche's committee.

No connection is apparent between Wyche's committee and Bishop Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*. This work, dedicated to the Royal Society, was presented at a meeting held May 7, 1668,[1] and later in the year was published by order of the society. Wilkins had no hope of seeing his plans carried out; that could be done only by supreme authority, which presupposes a universal monarchy.[2] Wilkins's speculations were suggested by the *Ars Signorum* of George Dalgarno; and he seems to have carried on his work independently of his fellow-scientists.

There were also suggestions from more literary quarters during the same decade. About 1662 the earl of Roscommon formed a plan for refining the language and fixing its standard, the result, presumably, of his residence and observation in France. Just what the plan was is not clear. What is said here is on the authority of Johnson.[3] Johnson adds that Dryden gave his aid.

That Dryden favored an academy we know from his own critical prefaces. In the first of these, the "Epistle Dedicatory to the Rival Ladies" (1664), he says:

I know not whether I have been so careful of the plot and language as I ought; but, for the latter, I have endeavoured to write English, as near as I could distinguish it from the tongue of pedants, and that of affected travellers. Only I am sorry, that (speaking so noble a language as we do) we have not a more certain measure of it, as they have in France, where they have an Academy erected for that purpose, and endowed with large privileges by the present king.[4]

Again, in the dedication of *Troilus and Cressida*, 1679, Dryden hails the earl of Sunderland as the English Richelieu. After order has been restored,

this great and good man will have leisure for the ornaments of peace; and make our language as much indebted to his care, as the French is to the memory of their famous Richelieu. You know, my lord, how he laid the foundations of so great a work; that he began it with a gram-

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[1] Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, II, 281.

[2] Wilkins, *Works* (1802), II, 255. This volume contains an abstract of the *Essay*. A reprint of Part III may be found in Techmer's *Internationale Zeitschrift*, IV, 339–73.

[3] *Works* (1825), VII, 167.

[4] *Essays of John Dryden* (ed. Ker), I, 5; Dryden's *Works* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), II, 134.

mar and a dictionary; without which all those remarks and observations, which have since been made, had been performed to as little purpose, as it would be to consider the furniture of the rooms, before the contrivance of the house. . . . . I am desirous, if it were possible, that we might all write with the same certainty of words, and purity of phrase, to which the Italians first arrived, and after them the French; at least that we might advance so far as our tongue is capable of such a standard.[1]

These fond hopes were not realized. Sunderland, like Harley later, was too deep in intrigues to "make the language indebted to his care." Dryden, too, seems to have lost faith.

We have yet [he wrote in 1693] no English *prosodia*, not so much as a tolerable dictionary, or a grammar; so that our language is in a manner barbarous; and what government will encourage any one, or more, who are capable of refining it, I know not: but nothing under a public expense can go through with it. And I rather fear a declination of the language, than hope an advancement of it in the present age.[2]

Progress thus far is slight enough. Some representative men merely suggested an academy as desirable. With suggestion the matter ended. No one came forward with a plan of organization, as did Bolton; there was no concerted action whatever. On the other hand, there was no opposition. The projects simply took no hold upon men's minds. The recommendations were too indefinite to enlist sympathy.

From now on, suggestions took a somewhat more definite form. Writers advocating an academy pointed out specific abuses and corruptions which in their opinion called for correction by supreme authority. The idea did not escape the versatile Defoe, who devotes to it one section of his interesting *Essay on Projects* (1697). In praise of William, Defoe rather exaggerates the importance of an academy. Declaring that

the English tongue is not at all less worthy the labour of such a society than the French, and capable of much greater perfection,

he urges the king

to illustrate [i. e., make illustrious] his memory by such a foundation: by which he shall have opportunity to darken the glory of the French king in peace, as he has by his daring attempts in the war.[3]

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[1] *Works* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), VI, 250–52.

[2] *Ibid.*, XIII, 118; Ker, II, 110.

[3] *Essay on Projects* (1697), 229, 231.

The work of this society [he continues] should be to encourage polite learning, to polish and refine the English tongue, and advance the so much neglected faculty of correct language, to establish purity and propriety of stile, and to purge it from all the irregular additions that ignorance and affectation have introduced; and all those innovations in speech, if I may call them such, which some dogmatic writers have the confidence to foster upon their native language, as if their authority were sufficient to make their own fancy legitimate.

By such a society I dare say the true glory of our English stile would appear; and among all the learned part of the world, be esteemed, as it really is, the noblest and most comprehensive of all the vulgar languages in the world.[1]

The voice of this society should be sufficient authority for the usage of words, and sufficient also to expose the innovations of other mens fancies; they should preside with a sort of judicature over the learning of the age, and have liberty to correct and censure the exorbitance of writers.[2] . . . .

The exercises of this society would be lectures on the English tongue, essays on the nature, original, usage, authorities and differences of words, on the propriety, purity, and cadence of stile, and of the politeness and manner in writing; reflections upon irregular usages, and corrections of erroneous customs in words; and in short, everything that would appear necessary to the bringing our English tongue to a due perfection, and our gentlemen to a capacity of writing like themselves; to banish pride and pedantry, and silence the impudence and impertinence of young authors.[3]

The chief irregularity which Defoe would have his academy interdict was familiar swearing, "cursory oaths, curses, execrations, ... which are impertinent, insignificant, foolish," making "a jargon and confusion of speech."[4] His discussion of this point covers ten pages. He then concludes by pointing out how "the manners, customs, and usages of the theater would be decided here; plays should pass here before they were acted, and the criticks might give their censures, and damn at their pleasure; nothing would ever dye which once received life at this original."[5]

This praise of the king finds an echo in the early poetic work of Prior. Dilating upon the coming good and glories of William's rule, he urged the formation of societies of peaceful arts, including

> Some that with care true eloquence shall teach,
> And to just idioms fix our doubtful speech;

[1] *Essay on Projects* (1697), 233–34. [3] *Ibid.*, 237.
[2] *Ibid.*, 236. [4] *Ibid.*, 238–39.
[5] *Ibid.*, 250. Defoe discusses also military academies and an academy for women.

> That from our writers distant realms may know
> The thanks we to our monarchs owe;
> And schools profess our tongue through every land,
> That has invok'd his aid, or blest his hand.[1]

This brings us to the reign of Anne, the time when correctness[2] was esteemed the chief excellence.   Unfortunately those who had much to say did not always practice everything they enjoined. To the theory of correctness, however, they were verbally loyal, until that much-discussed thing became almost a fetish.   Someone has mentioned the prim symmetry of Queen Anne gardens, the measured regularity of paths and walls which Pope satirized as

> Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother,

visible models for writers.   Poets might take their cues from landscape gardeners.   While Pope was improving his couplets, prose writers were urging refinements in their art which would have driven it equally far from nature.

Characteristic of the time is an essay by Addison in *Spectator*, No. 135, (August 4, 1711).   English, the critic declares, has already too many monosyllables,[3] and this defect is becoming more and more pronounced, *-ed* ceasing to be syllabic, *-s* taking the place of *-eth*, and two or more words being contracted into one (*can't, won't*). If this is allowed to continue, to what will the language be reduced? The suppression of the relative also ought to be stopped.   Yet "this will never be decided till we have something like an Academy that, by the best authorities and rules drawn from the analogy of language, shall settle all controversies between Grammar and Idiom."[4] As before there was a rhymester to add a benediction.

> In happy chains our daring language bound,
> Shall sport no more in arbitrary sound.[5]

[1] *Carmen Seculare* (1700), in Chalmers, *British Poets*, X, 163; quoted by Johnson, *Works*, (1825), VIII, 4.

[2] For a discussion of correctness in the Popean sense see Conington, *Miscellaneous Writings* (ed. Symonds), I, 2 ff.

[3] This notion was by no means new.   Dryden had spoken of English as consisting "too much of monosyllables" (*Works* [ed. Scott and Saintsbury], VII, 237); "We are full of monosyllables" (*ibid.*, VI, 252).   And cf. "Our English tongue of all languages, most swarmeth with the single money of monosyllables, which are the only scandal of it" (Nash, *Christ's Tears* [1594], quoted by Emerson, *History of the English Language*, 86).

[4] Cf. also *Spectator*, No. 165 (September 8, 1711).

[5] Tickell, *Prospect of Peace* (1712), in Chalmers, *British Poets*, XI, 105; quoted by Johnson, *Works* (1825), VIII, 4.

Meanwhile Swift was reflecting upon the project and directing his efforts in a way which promised success. His first remarks on the subject appeared in *Tatler*, No. 230 (September 28, 1710). This paper he later (February 22, 1712), amplified into a long letter to the lord treasurer (Harley, earl of Oxford), published in the following May under the title, *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*. This is the only one of his publications to which Swift attached his own name.

Swift's views were those of his time. He added substantially nothing to the discussion; he merely brought the matter more prominently under the eye of authority. He shared with Addison and others an inexplicable aversion to monosyllables; he would preserve as sacred the ultimate vowels in preterits like *disturbed, rebuked*. He inveighed against colloquial contractions like *he's, I'd;*[1] against clipped forms like *mob;* and especially against slang (*banter, bamboozle*[2]) and "cant words, the most ruinous corruptions in any language."[3] These fancied defects render the "language extremely imperfect"; "its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions";[4] whence Swift is convinced that "if you do not take some care to settle our language, and put it into a state of continuance, I cannot promise that your memory shall be preserved above a hundred years, farther than by imperfect tradition."[5]

To preserve the language against such decay (and incidentally to preserve to future admiring generations the fame of the high and righteous Oxford, as well as his cherished queen—the same plea upon which Defoe urged William to make his reign illustrious), Swift would "fix the language forever." "I see no absolute necessity," he says,[6] "why any language should be perpetually changing."[7] Why not then make English immutable? To this end

A free judicious choice should be made of such persons, as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a work, without any

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[1] These examples are from the *Tatler;* the more general discussion is in the letter to Oxford.

[2] Against these "abominable curtailings and quaint modernisms" Swift protested as late as 1737 (Pope, *Works* [ed. Elwin and Courthope], VII, 362).

[3] Swift, *Works* (ed. Scott), IX, 348.

[4] *Ibid.*, 344. [5] *Ibid.*, 359. [6] *Ibid.*, 349.

[7] In quoting this sentence in his letter to the *Nation*, Professor Flügel says: "Perhaps the climax of Swift's statements is contained in the following words, which show how

regard to quality, party, or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place, and fix on rules, by which they design to proceed. . . . .

The persons who are to undertake this work will have the example of the French before them, to imitate where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes. Beside the grammar part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprieties, which, however authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which ought to be restored on account of their energy and sound.

But what I have most at heart, is, that some method should be thought on for ascertaining and fixing our language forever, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of opinion, it is better a language should not be wholly perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing.[1]

Swift is careful, however, to provide for one means of growth, if only it be by authority.

When I say, that I would have our language, after it is duly correct, always to last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a society shall give a sanction to be afterward antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they shall find occasion for.[2]

This last quotation shows how arbitrary is the whole scheme. Upon being constituted, the academy is to issue a monumental codex expurgatorius, ruling out everything deemed corrupting or incorrect. Thereafter the learned body is to be practically a board

little he knew of the historical conditions of the development of language: 'I see no absolute necessity why any language should be perpetually changing'—a statement, though, which Swift may have merely copied from a man whose name even a modern philologist does not mention without humility and reverence, Bentley, who winds up a paragraph in the *earlier* dissertation (ed. Dyce 2, 13): 'Nay, it were no difficult contrivance, if the public had any regard to it, to make the English tongue immutable, unless hereafter some foreign nation shall invade and overrun it.'" Cf., however, Bentley's previous statement (Dyce, II, 1): "Every living language, like the perspiring bodies of living creatures, is in perpetual motion and alteration; some words go off, and become obsolete; others are taken in, and by degrees grow into common use; or the same word is inverted to a new sense and notion, which in tract of time makes as observable a change in the air and features of a language, as age makes in the lines and mien of a face."

Jebb, in noting the contradiction, says: "The inconsistency, I think, is only apparent. He refers to the English vocabulary as a whole. By 'immutable' he does not mean to exclude the action of time on details of form and usage, but rather points to such a standard as the French Academy sought to fix for the French language" (*Life of Bentley*, 175).

[1] Swift, *loc. cit.*, 355–56.   [2] *Ibid.*, 357.

of naturalization, passing upon applicants for admission. In these ways English is to be preserved undefiled by foreign taint or native vulgarism. One wonders how such a hater of shams as Swift, one so quick to see through all forms of pretense, could view the august body here proposed as any less a sham than those ridiculed in *A Tale of a Tub*.

Nothing came of Swift's proposal.[1] During the remaining years of Anne, the lord treasurer was too much occupied with plans of which the dean knew nothing; and the death of the queen drove both into retirement.

The idea of an academy seems to have met the approval of Pope, who is said to have drawn up a list of authors whose works might be taken as a basis of a standard dictionary.[2] Orator Henley (1692–1756), whose "gilt tub" Pope ridiculed, proposed among other things that should "cultivate, adorn, and exalt the genius of Britain," "to lay the foundations of an English Academy, to give a standard to our language and a digest to our history."[3] In 1751 John Boyle, earl of Orrery,[4] in mentioning Swift's tract, desired an institution to legislate against corruptions. Some power, he says, there should be to prevent the English from marring the Lord's Prayer with a violation of grammar. Chesterfield deemed an academy desirable.[5] These references show how generally the notion haunted men's minds.

But the time was now at hand when other views should prevail, when an authority actually wielding greater power than an English academy could have maintained should give weight and vogue to saner counsels. However we may estimate Dr. Johnson's knowledge of the life and growth of language, we must applaud his commonsense. This told him that all efforts to regulate and eternally fix a living speech must be futile; and against such futility he often spoke out roundly and soundly. First in point of time are his

[1] In letters to Archbishop King, Swift often mentions his proposal. On September 30, 1712, he wrote: "My lord treasurer has often promised he will advance my design of an academy; so have my lord keeper, and all the ministers . . . . but perhaps it may all come to nothing" (*Works* [ed. Sheridan and Nichols, 1813], XV, 241).

[2] Murray, *Evolution of English Lexicography*, 38.

[3] D'Israeli, *Calamities of Authors* (1865), 65.

[4] *Remarks on Swift* (1752), 99.

[5] *World*, No. 100 (November 28, 1754).

observations in *The Plan of an English Dictionary* (1747). Here he notes that in language "the first change will naturally begin by corruptions of the living speech"; that by the arrangement of his dictionary "the reader will be informed of the gradual changes of the language"; and, still more to the point:

Thus, my Lord, will our language be laid down, distinct in its minutest subdivisions, and resolved into its elemental principles. And who upon this survey can forbear to wish, that these fundamental atoms of our speech might obtain the firmness and immutability of the primogenial and constituent particles of matter, that they might retain their substance while they alter their appearance, and be varied and compounded, yet not destroyed?

But this is a privilege which words are scarcely to expect: for, like their author, when they are not gaining strength, they are generally losing it. Though art may sometimes prolong their duration, it will rarely give them perpetuity; and their changes will be almost always informing us, that language is the work of man, of a being from whom permanence and stability cannot be derived.[1]

In Johnson's later utterances we get more explicit references to an academy, and some pointed criticisms on earlier proposals. Thus in the Preface to the *Dictionary* (1755):

Swift, in his petty treatise on the English language, allows that new words must sometimes be introduced, but proposes that none should be suffered to become obsolete. But what makes a word obsolete, more than general agreement to forbear it? and how shall it be continued, when it conveys an offensive idea, or recalled again into the mouths of mankind, when it has once by disuse become unfamiliar, and by unfamiliarity unpleasing? . . . .

If an academy should be established for the cultivation of our stile, which I, who can never wish to see dependance multiplied, hope the spirit of English liberty will hinder or destroy, let them, instead of compiling grammars and dictionaries, endeavour, with all their influence, to stop the license of translatours.[2]

To this subject Johnson devoted a few paragraphs in the sixty-first *Idler* (June 16, 1759). Here, after explaining Dick Minim's

[1] Johnson, *Works* (1825), V. 12. One other passage should be noted. "A new pronunciation will make almost a new speech; and, therefore, since *one great end of this undertaking is to fix the English language,* care will be taken to determine the accentuation of all polysyllables by proper authorities, as it is one of those capricious phænomena which cannot be easily reduced to rules" (8). The words in italics have sometimes been quoted as showing that Johnson at this time held views similar to Swift's. The two paragraphs above seem to point more conclusively the other way.

[2] Johnson regarded "frequency of translation" as "the great pest of speech."

plan for an academy of criticism, Johnson sarcastically remarks that Dick's hopes will not be realized "till some happy conjunction of the planets shall dispose our princes or ministers to make themselves immortal by such an academy." This implies that the "happy conjunction" will coincide with the Greek Kalends.

Finally, in the *Lives of Poets* we get a somewhat more sober, definitive pronouncement.

The certainty and stability which, contrary to all experience, [Swift] thinks attainable, he proposes to secure by instituting an academy; the decrees of which every man would have been willing, and many would have been proud to disobey, and which, being renewed by successive elections, would, in a short time, have differed from itself. . . . .[1]

Such a society might, perhaps, without much difficulty, be collected; but that it would produce what is expected from it, may be doubted. . . . .

In this country an academy could be expected to do but little. If the academician's place were profitable, it would be given by interest; if attendance were gratuitous, it would be rarely paid; and no man would endure the least disgust. Unanimity is impossible, and debate would separate the assembly.

But suppose the philological decree made and promulgated, what would be its authority? In absolute governments, there is, sometimes, a general reverence paid to all that has the sanction of power, and the countenance of greatness. How little this is the state of our country needs not to be told. We live in an age in which it is a kind of publick sport to refuse all respect that cannot be enforced. The edicts of an English academy would, probably, be read by many, only that they might be sure to disobey them. . . . .

The present manners of our nation would deride authority.[2]

Nowhere, perhaps, has anyone better stated the dangers of an academy, or anticipated the spirit in which its solemn decrees would be received by English-speaking people.[3] Johnson in effect has summarized the whole matter. An academy such as here projected is doomed to failure by the very nature of the task. A living language cannot be cramped into the narrow mold made by an organization necessarily limited. Conclusions reached could be

[1] *Works* (1825), VIII, 202.

[2] *Ibid.*, VII, 167. Cf. Arthur Murphy's comment on this passage in Hill, *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, I, 436 f.

[3] Many will recall the newspaper ridicule heaped upon the Board of Geographic Names, created upon request by President Harrison. The movement toward simplified spelling is too recent to call for comment.

promulgated only as recommendations, never as statutes. Fancy the English-speaking world obeying a mandate upon the omission of the relative. Finally, many, perhaps most, of the questions to be decided would be matters of taste; and taste cannot be regulated by official proclamations. Imagine any body of men conscientiously eliminating "harsh" words complained of by Swift; or admitting, as such, "smooth" words from the female dialect. To outsiders, such a body, however well intentioned, would appear an association of pedants, and be respected accordingly. Justified indeed was Johnson's faith in the spirit of English liberty.

Johnson's dicta put an end to the discussion for many years to come. "He banished," says Professor Flügel, "for at least a hundred years the dreams of regulating the language." With him, therefore, the present investigation may well be closed.

Extended comment by way of conclusion seems unnecessary. The quotations for the most part speak for themselves. Hence I content myself with one general observation.

With respect solely to these proposals, it is perhaps fortunate that the first Hanoverian kings and their ministers gave little heed to literature. It is of course idle to speculate on what might have happened had Queen Anne lived longer, or had George I retained the Tories in power. It is doubtless true, however, that of all the proposals those of Anne's time were assured of the most sympathetic hearing; that an English academy came nearest to founding when Swift penned his letter to Oxford. Had his party survived the change and his influence continued, his cherished dream might have been realized; English grammar might not have had to wait for Lindley Murray; and a safe haven might have been provided for present-day toiling purists. Fortunately the Augustan Age, with its vast possibilities, ended in 1714.

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ADDISON'S INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTEREST IN FOLK-POETRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Addison's two essays on the ballad of "Chevy Chase" (*Spectator*, Nos. 70 and 74) and his essay on the "Two Children in the Wood" (*Spectator*, No. 85) are commonly cited as an instance of the ineptness of classical criticism in contact with romantic material; or, if they receive any credit at the hands of the modern historian of literature, it is confined to such acknowledgment as Mr. Beers concedes when he says: "But it was much that Addison, whose own verse was so artificial, should have had a taste for the wild graces of folk-song."[1] As a matter of fact, these essays played a considerable part in developing the vogue of ballad poetry, both on account of the great, if comparatively short-lived, reputation of their author as a literary critic, and on account of the fact that Addison gives expression in them to views distinctly antagonistic to the classical canon. As such, these essays deserve a more serious consideration than has ordinarily been allotted to them.

Of Addison's life-long interest in folk-poetry we have the critic's own evidence. During the continental tour which he made as a young man, "I took," he says, "a particular delight in hearing the songs and fables that are come from father to son, and are most in vogue among the common people of the countries through which I passed."[2] In an essay on the "Loquacity of the Fair Sex"[3] he quotes "that excellent old ballad of the Wanton Wife of Bath:

> 'I think, quoth Thomas, women's tongues
> Of aspen leaves are made.'"

Addison's opera *Rosamond*, if we are to believe the somewhat dubious theory which the anonymous editor of the *Old Ballads of 1723*

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[1] *History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 285.

[2] *Spectator*, No. 70. Steele also confesses to a keen interest in ballads. See *Spectator*, No. 454, where Steele says that his "unhappy curiosity is such" that he has to take a coach to avoid the temptation to loiter with the ballad-singers. See also *Spectator*, No. 502.

[3] *Spectator*, No. 247.

expresses in the Preface to that work, is founded on the ballads which clustered around King Henry's fated mistress. It is, however, to the two *Spectator* essays on "Chevy Chase" and the essay on "The Children in the Wood" that Addison's special significance in ballad-criticism attaches itself.

The idea of writing the two essays on "Chevy Chase" may have been suggested to Addison by the inclusion of "The Ancient and Most Famous Ballad of Chevy Chase, With the Translation of it into Latin by the Command of the Bishop of London," in the third edition of Dryden's *Second Miscellany* (1702).[1] But even without this immediate suggestion, and the popularity of this ballad as indicated by its inclusion in such respectable company, Addison had the best possible authority for a serious treatment of popular literature in general, and "Chevy Chase" in particular. Montaigne had given the French *cachet* to the study of popular poetry.

Popular and purely natural and indigenous poetry [he says[2]] has a certain native simplicity and grace, by which it may be favourably compared with the principal beauty of perfect poetry composed according to the rules of art; as may be seen in the Villanelles of Gascony, and in songs coming from nations that have no knowledge of any science, not even of writing.

In England, Sir William Temple,[3] despite the superciliousness of his general attitude toward folk-poetry, admitted that

some of it wanted not the true spirit of poetry in some degree, or that natural inspiration which has been said to arise from some spark of poetical fire wherewith particular men are born; and such as it was, it served the turn, not only to please, but even to charm the ignorant and barbarous vulgar where it was in use.

Further English precedent may be cited in Addison's own words:

I have heard that the late Lord Dorset, who had the greatest wit tempered with the greatest candour, and was one of the finest critics, as

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[1] In the *Muses' Mercury* for June, 1707 (pp. 127 ff.) occurs an essay "Of Old English Poets and Poetry," which serves to introduce a reprint of "The Nut Browne Maid." This essay, after enumerating and commenting on a number of specimens of English poetry, says: "Much about the time of Lidgate was the old poem of 'Chevy Chase' writ. The author of it is not known; but it was in great esteem in the three last centuries, even by men of the best sense." Here follows the usual quotation from Sir Philip Sidney.

   As Steele was a contributor to the *Muses' Mercury*, it is possible that he may have been responsible for this essay, and that he may have suggested the subject of "Chevy Chase" to Addison as suitable for a *Spectator* paper—but this is mere conjecture.

[2] *Essays*, trans. Cotton, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, Vol. I, Essay No. 54.

[3] *Essay of Poetry* (1692).

well as the best poets, of his age, had a numerous collection of Old English Ballads, and took a particular pleasure in the reading of them. I can affirm the same of Mr. Dryden; and know several of the most refined writers of our present age who are of the same humour.[1]

There was moreover an especial propriety in the selection of "Chevy Chase" for critical discussion. Not only was it (the words are Addison's) "the favourite ballad of the people of England," but Ben Jonson used to say that he had rather have been the author of it than of all of his works.[2] Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Discourse of Poetry*, speaks of it in the following words, "I never heard the old song of Peircy and Douglas, that I found not my heart more moved than with a trumpet; and yet it is sung by some blind Crowder with no rougher voice than rude style; which being so evil appareled in the dust and cobweb of that uncivil age, what would it work trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar?"[3]

With such respectable warranty did Addison set about the critical examination of "Chevy Chase." His criticism involves two dissimilar modes of approach, or rather two not very well correlated critical premises. The first of these is that the ultimate test of poetry is simplicity and truth to nature, rather than conformity to the fashions of the day. The second is that a heroic poem (to which class he assumes "Chevy Chase" to belong) must conform to the "rules" "laid down" by "the greatest modern critics." The fact that, after making out a particularly good case for the first of these two propositions, he feels compelled to validate the ballad by finding a number of chance parallels between "Chevy Chase" and the *Aeneid*, is characteristic of the confusion which one finds in much of Addison's criticism. It is clear, indeed, that he feels this inconsistency himself; for he closes his second and last essay on "Chevy Chase" with the remark:

I shall only beg pardon for such a profusion of Latin quotations; which I should not have made use of, but that I feared my own judg-

[1] *Spectator*, No. 85.

[2] I have been unable to find any other evidence that Ben Jonson, Dorset, or Dryden manifested interest in ballads. The statement commonly made by historians of the eighteenth century (see Hamelius, *Die Kritik in der Eng. Lit. des 17. und 18. Jahrh.*, p. 101, and Beers, *Eighteenth Century Romanticism*, p. 283) that "Dryden included five ballads in the *Miscellanies*" is inaccurate. No ballads were included in the *Miscellanies* published during Dryden's lifetime. In the successive editions of the *Miscellanies* published after 1700, a number of ballads were included.

[3] *Spectator*, No. 70.

ment would have looked too singular on such a subject, had not I supported it by the practice and authority of Virgil.[1]

The latter of Addison's modes of criticism may be dismissed briefly.

> The greatest modern critics [says Addison] have laid it down as a rule that an heroic poem should be founded upon some important precept of morality. . . . . Homer and Virgil have formed their plans in this view.[2]

"Chevy Chase" was written to deter the barons from the feuds and petty quarrels to which they were prone.   Hence the "precept" in the last stanza, which Addison quotes with approval:

> God save the King and bless the land
> In plenty, joy and peace.
> And grant henceforth that foul debate
> 'Twixt noblemen may cease.

Addison was familiar only with the contemporaneous broadside version of the ballad, and was of course unaware that the actual old ballad ends with nothing but the conventional ballad "tag":

> Iesue Christ our balys bete,
> And to the blys us brynge!
> Thus was the hountynge of the Chivyat.
> God send us all good endyng!

in which there seems to be little effort to point a particular moral. But even in the enfeebled broadside version which Addison knew, there is enough of the old lust of combat still preserved to prevent even an eighteenth-century doctrinaire, one would think, from seeing in the last stanza anything more than an excrescence on the story.

Again, Addison finds the author of "Chevy Chase" conforming to the rules of epic poetry in choosing a hero from his own country and putting into his mouth heroic and passionate sentiments.   The illustrations are obvious and need not detain us.   Nor is it worth while to stop over Addison's citations of classical parallels to the poem, except to point out that in the only cases where they are particularly

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[1] *Spectator*, No. 74.

[2] Le Bossu's *Traité du poème épique*, which Addison obviously has in mind, was translated into English in 1695 by "W. F.," and is much quoted by Dryden, Addison, and other critics. Pope prefixed a summary of the *Traité* to his translation of the *Odyssey*.   The *Traité* constantly reiterates the prime importance of the moral in epic. "Homer had no other design than to form the manners of his countrymen," says Le Bossu ("W. F.'s" translation, 2d ed., London, 1719, II, 74).

apt, they have to do with passages in the broadside version, but not in the old ballad—such passages having come into being in the broadside through the fatal, but inevitable, process of trying to make the old story "literary." For example, the lines:

> The hounds ran swiftly through the woods
> > The nimble deer to take,
> And with their cries the hills and dales
> > An echo shrill did make.

Addison seizes upon—attracted by their literary flavor—and cites the parallel from Virgil:

> Vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron
> Taygetique canes, domitrixque Epidaurus equorum:
> Et vox assensu nemorum ingeminata remugit.

The same taste which foisted the passage upon the original made the reviewer find it attractive. It is criticism moving in a circle. In connection with this attitude, it is interesting to find Addison taking issue with Sidney for saying that the style of the ballad is rude. "The apparel [i. e., the diction] is much more gorgeous than many of the poets made use of in Queen Elisabeth's time," says our critic—a remark which ought to have suggested to him the idea that an older version may have existed.

The language Addison finds "majestic," and the numbers "sonorous, sounding and poetical." The country in which the scene is laid (the phrase is worth noting as coming in 1711) " has a fine romantic situation." Finally, the mixture of intelligence and timorousness which is so characteristic of Addison comes out amusingly in his remarks on a stanza which he describes but refrains from quoting. The stanza is as follows:

> For Witherington needs must I wayle
> > As one in doleful dumps.
> For when his legs were smitten off
> > He fought upon his stumps.

Says Addison,

In the catalogue of English who fell, Witherington's behaviour is particularized very artfully, as the reader is prepared for it by the account which is given of him in the beginning of the ballad; though I am satisfied your little buffoon readers (who have seen that passage ridiculed in *Hudibras*) will not be able to take the beauty of it; for which reason I dare not so much as quote it.

A more spontaneous concession to the critical standards of his day is shown in the remark on Earl Percy's lamentation over his enemy. This lamentation "is serious, beautiful and passionate; I must only caution the reader not to let the simplicity of the style, which one may well pardon in so old a poet, prejudice him against the greatness of the thought." One wonders what an Augustan would have done with the bald simplicity and unadorned strength of the genuine old ballad.

The general scheme of criticism applied in the examination of "Chevy Chase" is followed also in the study of the "Two Children in the Wood."[1] To quote his comments and his classical citations would merely be to multiply examples. Suffice it to say that the quotation of classical parallels in a criticism of the "Two Children in the Wood" is even more patently absurd than in an examination of a poem having the heroic proportions of "Chevy Chase."

I have reserved for the end an examination of the most significant passage in these essays of Addison's—a passage in which he spoke better than he knew; and one which—if he had had the courage to live up to it—would have made him a unique figure in early eighteenth-century literary criticism.

It is impossible [he says, in opening the subject of the ballads] that anything should be universally tasted and approved by a multitude, though they are only the rabble of a nation, which hath not in it some peculiar aptness to please and gratify the mind of man. Human nature is the same in all reasonable creatures; and whatever falls in with it, will meet with admirers amongst readers of all qualities and conditions. Molière, as we are told by Monsieur Boileau, used to read all his comedies to an old woman who was his housekeeper, as she sat with him at her work by the chimney-corner, and could foretell the success of his play in the theatre from the reception it met with at his fireside; for he tells us the audience always followed the old woman, and never failed to laugh in the same place.

I know nothing which more shows the essential and inherent perfection of simplicity of thought, above that which I call the Gothic manner in writing, than this: the first pleases all kinds of palates, and the latter only such as have formed to themselves a wrong artificial taste upon little fanciful authors and writers of epigram. Homer, Virgil or Milton, so far as the language of their poems is understood, will please a reader of plain common sense, who would neither relish nor compre-

[1] Accessible to Addison in Chapbook of 1700.

hend an epigram of Martial or a poem of Cowley; so, on the contrary, an ordinary song or ballad that is the delight of the common people, cannot fail to reach all such readers as are not unqualified for the entertainment by their affectation or ignorance; and the reason is plain, because the same paintings of nature which recommend it to the most ordinary reader, will appear beautiful to the most refined.

It is not hard to find so-called sources for this pronunciamento of Addison's. Longinus had said, "For when persons of different pursuits, habits of life, tastes, ages, principles, agree in the same joint approbation of any performance, then this union of assent stamps a high and indisputable value upon that performance."[1] Addison's phrase, "the rabble of a nation" sounds like an echo of the sixteenth-century Italian critic, Castelvetro, who believed that "poetry is intended not merely to please, but to please the populace, in fact everybody, even the vulgar mob."[2] The reference to Molière's old woman reminds us that the influence of that dramatist's appeal to the man of "everyday" common-sense, as against the *précieux*, is perceptible in many of Addison's *obiter dicta*.

Such historical parallels are not hard to find, but they do not impair the significance of this declaration when made in England in the year 1711. At a time when the poetic diction which we associate with Pope had become the supreme standard; at a time when poetry was being written very largely by cultivated Londoners for cultivated Londoners, it was certainly a matter of no slight import—this belief that the approval of "the rabble of a nation" constituted in itself one of the ultimate tests of good poetry.

If there were a lurking spirit of doubt in our minds as to the unconventionality of such a theory in 1711, it would be dispelled by the ridicule to which this declaration of Addison's immediately exposed him. The most severe attack was made by John Dennis, who was a thorn in Addison's side on more than one occasion. Dennis' criticism was written in the same month in which Addison's essay appeared. It was contained in "A Letter to H. C. Esq. Of Simplicity in Poetical Composition, in Remarks on the 70th Spectator." This letter was afterward published in *Letters Familiar, Moral and Critical, by John Dennis* (London, 1721). Dennis asserts that Addi-

[1] *Treatise on the Sublime,* chap. viii, Twining's translation.
[2] Spingarn, *Lit. Crit. in the Renaissance,* p. 56.

son's purpose is "to see how far he can lead his reader by the nose."
Proof of this design Dennis sees in Addison's "absurd and ridiculous"
statement that the approval of the rabble of a nation is evidence of
some peculiar aptness in the poem to please and gratify the mind of
man. The idea of the mind of man, says Dennis, is obviously incom-
patible with the idea of the rabble. Addison's illustration of Molière's
"old woman" is equally absurd, for poetry is intended to elevate
human nature, and not to cater to such vulgar taste as that of a
housekeeper. To make the approval of the rabble necessary is

to insinuate that all those songs or ballads, which are the delight of the
rabble, cannot fail to please all such readers as are not unqualified for
the entertainment by their affectation or their ignorance; as if men of
education in Great Britian were more ignorant than the rabble, or it
required an extraordinary stock of knowledge to comprehend the excel-
lence of old dogrel.

As to Addison's using Jonson and Sidney as his authorities in
admiring the ballads, Dennis "very much doubts" if Ben ever said
it; and if he did he meant it in jest; and Sidney means that he
enjoyed the martial tune to which it was sung, not the words. More-
over, on the authority of Horace and Boileau, great poetry must
use figurative language, and the diction must be exalted and sonorous.
But the diction of "Chevy Chase" is lacking in figures and is vile
and trivial. It is ridiculous to compare it with Virgil, for "this
old dogrel is contemptible and Virgil is incomparable and inimitable."
Finally, "the dogrel is utterly destitute both of figure and harmony,
and consequently void of the great qualities which distinguish poetry
and prose." Dennis adds, à propos of Addison's contention that
"Chevy Chase" ought to please because it is natural,

There is a way of deviating from nature by bombast or tumour which
soars above nature, and enlarges images beyond their real bulk; by
affectation, which forsakes nature in quest of something unsuitable; and
by imbecility, which degrades nature by faintness and diminution, by
obscuring its appearances, and weakening its effects.

Dr. Johnson, in quoting this orphic utterance in his *Life of Addi-
son,* adds,

In "Chevy Chase," there is not much of either bombast or affectation;
but there is chill and lifeless imbecility. The story cannot possibly be
told in a manner that shall make less impression upon the mind.

At about the same time as Dennis' attack appeared anonymously an unusually clever burlesque of Addison's essay. It is entitled *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb*, and is by Dr. William Wagstaff. It reached a second edition within the year of publication.

The *Comment* treats the subject in a mock-serious style, in which many of Addison's own phrases are used and his literary mannerisms cleverly parodied. The design of Tom Thumb

was undoubtedly to recommend virtue, and to show that however one may labour under the disadvantages of stature or deformity, or the meanness of parentage, yet if his mind and actions are above the ordinary level, those very disadvantages that seem to depress him, shall add a lustre to his character.

Tom's fall into a pudding-bowl is such an incident as "Virgil himself would have touched upon." The successive incidents of the story are provided with pretended parallels from the *Aeneid*. Addison's deprecatory manner is cleverly hit off in the remark,

And now, though I am very well satisfied with this performance, yet according to the usual modesty of us authors, I am obliged to tell the world, it will be a great satisfaction to me, knowing my own insufficiency, if I have given but some hints of the beauties of this poem, which are capable of being improved by those of greater learning and abilities.

Even the intellectual timorousness of Addison is made the subject of burlesque.

I hope nobody will be offended [writes Wagstaff] at my asserting things so positively, since 'tis the privilege of us commentators, who understand the meaning of an author seventeen hundred years after he wrote, much better than he could ever be supposed to do himself.

Nor indeed was the ridicule of Addison's essays on the ballads confined to his contemporaries. In the *Rambler* (No. 177), Dr. Johnson describes a certain Cantilenus who

turned all his thoughts upon old ballads, for he considered them as the genuine records of the natural taste. He offered to show me a copy of "The Children in the Wood," which he firmly believed to be of the first edition, and by the help of which the text might be freed from several corruptions, if this age of barbarity had any claim to such favours from him.

The echoes of *Spectator* No. 85, and the satirical reproduction of Addison's slightly supercilious manner, make the reference unmistakable.

It will be seen that both Addison's choice of a ballad as a subject for serious discussion, and the nature of his treatment, were sufficiently alien to the spirit of his day to arouse both criticism and satire. Neither Dennis nor Wagstaff had any patience with such poetry; and Dennis especially could not understand how the approval of the mob could have any weight in validating poetry. It is interesting to see that Addison was frightened by the ridicule of his contemporaries, and in the revision of the *Spectator* for publication in volumes, modified many of his most enthusiastic phrases of commendation for the ballads. In the closing paragraph of *Spectator* No. 85, on the "Two Children in the Wood," he had paid his respects to "the little conceited Wits of the age, who can only show their judgment by finding fault"; but in his revision of the *Spectator*, he changed the statement, "The incidents grow out of the subject, and are such as Virgil himself would have touched upon,"[1] to "such as are the most proper to excite pity," and other phrases are correspondingly modified. Addison never seems to have had altogether the courage of his convictions.

But, with all the ridicule to which Addison's *penchant* for ballads exposed him, the effect of these essays of Addison's upon the steadily growing interest in ballads was very marked. It would, of course, be an exaggeration to say that this development would not have taken place without Addison's influence, for folk-poetry was slowly but surely coming to its own; but the early eighteenth-century lover of ballads had now the support of a serious and critical study of "Chevy Chase" by a distinguished author—and an author who had the further advantage of belonging in most respects to the prevailing school of literary opinion. Only two years after the appearance of the *Spectator* essay, Nicholas Rowe[2] declared his approval of the work of "Those venerable ancient song-inditers," in language which reads like a metrical summary of Addison's essay.

> Their words no shuffling double-meaning knew,
> Their speech was homely but their hearts were true.—
> With rough majestic force they moved the heart,
> And strength and nature made amends for art.

[1] Compare the burlesque just quoted from Wagstaff.
[2] Prologue to "Jane Shore," 1713.

More explicit evidence is that contained in the *Collection of Old Ballads*, published anonymously[1] in 1723, a collection which was so popular that it went to a second edition within three months after publication.

> There are many [says the editor, in the Preface to Vol. II] who per-haps will think it ridiculous enough to enter seriously into a dissertation upon ballads; and therefore I shall say as little as possibly I can. . . . . I cannot but observe here, that when the great Sir Philip Sidney com-mends the old song of "Chevy Chase," his commendation is in a much ruder style than the ballad itself; nor can we in this, and many more of our songs, find one piece of false, or as a modern author calls it, Gothic wit; no vile conceit, no low pun, or double entendre, but the whole is of a piece, apparelled in majestick simplicity, and the true poetical genius appears in every line.

The "modern author" referred to is Addison, and the "Gothic wit" and "majestick simplicity" is an echo of Addison's essay on the same ballad. Moreover, the "Wife of Bath" is included in the collection because "This great man (Addison) having occasion to give us some lines of Ovid, upon the same subject, has first quoted our song-enditer and then the Roman." In the note to "Chevy Chase," which is printed in the first volume of the *Old Ballads*, the editor says, "I shall not here point out the particular beauties of this song, with which even Mr. Addison was so charmed, that in a very accurate criticism upon it, ... he proves that every line is written with a true spirit of poetry." In the Preface to Vol. III, after remark-ing that "Mr. Addison's criticism upon Chevy Chase is so full that it would be impertinent to add anything," he argues that the author of "Chevy Chase" not only *might* have been familiar with Virgil (as Addison had contended) but that he *must* have been familiar with Virgil, in order to produce so good a poem in the epic manner.

Equally indicative of the encouragement which the "Chevy Chase" essays gave to the lovers of popular poetry, is Allan Ramsay's remark in the Preface to *The Evergreen*.

> I have observed [says he] that readers of the best and most exquisite discernment frequently complain of our modern writings, as filled with affected delicacies and studied refinements, which they would gladly exchange for that natural strength of thought and simplicity of style our forefathers practiced.

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[1] Generally attributed, without adequate evidence, to Ambrose Philips.

And finally, when Bishop Percy was about to give the *Reliques* to a world whose attitude toward folk-poetry was still a matter of uncertainty, he felt constrained to invoke the authority of Addison to justify a serious consideration of the ballad.

In a polished age like the present [he writes in the Preface to the *Reliques*] I am sensible that many of these reliques of antiquity will require great allowances to be made for them. Yet have they, for the most part, a pleasing simplicity, and many artless graces, which, in the opinion of no mean critics, have been thought to compensate for the want of higher beauties.

Percy's footnote identifies the "critics" as Addison, and—on the authority of *Spectator* No. 70—"Mr. Dryden and the witty Lord Dorset." In the collection itself, the old ballad of "Chevy Chase," which occupies the first place, is prefaced by an acknowledgment to Addison, and a justification, in Percy's usual manner, to the effect that "those genuine strokes of nature and artless passion, which have endeared it to the most simple readers, have recommended it to the most refined." The modern version of the ballad is printed with a similar acknowledgment; the "Children in the Wood" is introduced with the statement that it "has been set in so favourable a light by the *Spectator* No. 85"; and even "The Wanton Wife of Bath" is warranted by the fact that "Mr. Addison has pronounced this an excellent old ballad."

In the light of such comments as these, it is certainly not exaggerating to claim for Addison a place of considerable importance in the evolution of interest in the ballad and in folk-poetry generally. He stands among the pioneers in this evolution; and in so doing, must be regarded in any study of the development of Romanticism in the eighteenth century.

<div align="right">Edmund K. Broadus</div>

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A BIT OF CHAUCER MYTHOLOGY

The link that connects Chaucer's "Prioress' Tale" with the "Rime of Sir Thopas" has long been believed to reveal a glimpse of the figure, the expression, and the personality of the poet. The inferences generally drawn from these twenty-one lines have been that Chaucer's waist was stout, that he habitually turned his eyes to the ground, that his face was "elvish," and that he was of a modest and retiring disposition which would not permit him to mingle with his companions on terms of good fellowship.

The first account of Chaucer into which statements of this nature were incorporated was that prefixed to the edition of the poet's works which was started by Urry.[1] Those parts of the introduction which are based on this link are as follows:

The latter part of his Life inclinable to be fat and corpulent, as appears by the Host's bantering him in the Journey to *Canterbury,* and comparing shapes with him.[2] . . . . his eyes inclining usually to the ground, which is intimated by the Host's words.[3] . . . . We see nothing merry or jocose in his behaviour with his Pilgrims, but a silent attention to their mirth, rather than any mixture of his own; and when he is called upon by *Harry Baily* the Host, and rouzed out of his thoughtful Lethargy to tell a Tale, he endeavours to put it off by singing an old Ballad; but that not satisfying the Company, the Tale he tells is grave, moral and instructive.[4]

This view of the significance of the lines was accepted by Tyrwhitt in the following words:

Next to *the Prioresse* CHAUCER himself is called upon for his Tale. In the *Prologue* he has dropped a few touches descriptive of his own person

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[1] *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, John Urry, London, 1721. This edition was started by Urry in 1711, and after his death in 1715 was continued by Timothy Thomas. The *Life of Chaucer* was originally composed by John Dart, but before publication was altered by William Thomas, Timothy's brother.

[2] Here a note refers to the lines:
"Now ware you, Sirs, and let this man have place,
He in the waste is shapen as wel as I,
This were a popet in armes to enbrace, &c."

[3] Here a note refers to the lines:
"What man art thou? (quoth he)
Thou lookist as thou wouldist find an hare,
For evir on the ground I se The stare."
—Urry's *Chaucer*, folio "e," p. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, folio "e," p. 4.

and manner, by which we learn, that he was used to look much upon the
the ground; was of a corpulent habit; and reserved in his behaviour.[1]

Tyrwhitt's view of the meaning of the link has been followed more
or less closely by Godwin, Nicolas, Morley, Ward, Jusserand, Court-
hope, Skeat, Pollard, and Root.[2]

A re-examination of the contents of the link, however, and of its
relations with the preceding and the following tales may perhaps
reveal a significance hitherto unobserved. We may as a consequence
be led to classify some parts of the current interpretation as mythologi-
cal, and we may therefore find ourselves rejecting these parts;
but perhaps by way of compensation we shall find ourselves able to
appreciate even more fully and keenly than before some phases of
Chaucer's skill as a literary artist. The link in full is as follows:

> Whan seyd was al this miracle, every man
> As sobre was that wonder was to se,
> Til that our hoste Iapen tho bigan,
> And than at erst he loked up-on me,
> And seyde thus, "what man artow?" quod he;
> "Thou lokest as thou woldest finde an hare,
> For ever up-on the ground I see thee stare.

> "Approche neer, and loke up merily.
> Now war yow, sirs, and lat this man have place;
> He in the waast is shape as wel as I;
> This were a popet in an arm tenbrace
> For any womman, smal and fair of face.
> He semeth elvish by his contenaunce,
> For un-to no wight dooth he daliaunce.

> "Sey now somwhat, sin other folk han sayd;
> Tel us a tale of mirthe, and that anoon;"—
> "Hoste," quod I, "ne beth nat yvel apayd,
> For other tale certes can I noon,
> But of a ryme I lerned longe agoon."

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[1] *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, Thomas Tyrwhitt, I, 106. (I quote from the
second edition, Oxford, 1798.)

[2] William Godwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, (2d ed., 1804), IV, 182; *Poetical Works
of Chaucer*, Aldine ed., I, 54 (I cite the edition of 1893. The *Memoir of Chaucer* was
originally written by Sir Harris Nicolas in 1844, and prefixed to the Aldine edition
in 1845); Henry Morley, *English Writers*, V, 305; A. W. Ward, *Chaucer* ("English Men
of Letters" Series), 144–45, 146; J. J. Jusserand, *Hist. lit. de la peuple anglaise*, I, 347;
W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, I, 291; W. W. Skeat, *Complete Works of
Chaucer* (Oxford ed.), I, liv (in V, 182, he quotes Tyrwhitt substantially, and says
"probably correct"); *Globe Edition*, xxi; R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, 30–32.

> " Ye, that is good," quod he; "now shul we here
> Som deyntee thing, me thinketh by his chere."

The first two lines, the bearing of the preceding tale on them, and
their bearing on the rest of the link, have received no attention in
the current interpretation.[1]   The tendency to overlook these lines,
and consequently to miss the close connection between the link and
the previous tale, is perhaps originally due to the presence and the
phrasing of the colophon and the titles which intervene between
tale and link in the MSS and the printed editions.[2]   After the Urry
Life had disposed all subsequent readers to regard the later lines of
the link with special interest, the attention of readers and editors
was focused on these later lines, and away from the first two.   And
during this later stage, of course, the colophon and title have con-
tinued to turn attention toward the following tale and to divert
attention away from the connection between the first lines and the
preceding tale.   In fact, so far as we may infer from the writings of
historians of English literature (except ten Brink and Ward) who have
expressed themselves on this point, the link has not been regarded as
a link at all, but merely as a prologue to Sir Thopas.   Let us glance
again at the opening lines of the passage:

> Whan seyd was al this miracle, every man
> As sobre was that wonder was to se,
> Til that our hoste Iapen tho bigan—

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[1] ten Brink, *Geschichte der Eng. Lit.*, II, 180, in his paraphrase and running comment,
does speak of the emotional effect produced by the "Prioress's Tale" upon the pilgrims,
but he sees no connection between this and the Host's description of Chaucer. See *infra*,
4, n. 4.   Likewise Ward, 144–45.

[2] Caxtons I and II I have been unable to consult, but Miss Eleanor Prescott Ham-
mond is kind enough to furnish the following notes, taken from the British Museum
copies: Caxton I, "Last 5 lines of tale [Prioress's], and colophon, on 260 recto.   No
heading to link."   Caxton II, "Foot of 220 verso, colophon of tale [Prioress's].   Top of
221 recto, 'Here foloweth the prologue of Chaucer's Tale.'"   From Thynne's ed., (1532)
till Urry's (1721), the colophon and title read (with only slight differences in the spelling)
"Here endeth the Prioresse tale.   And / here folowe the wordes of the / Host to Chaucer."
The sole exception is Speght's second edition (1602), which has only: "Here foloweth
the wordes of the / Hoste to Chaucer."   Tyrwhitt, the Aldine edition, and Wright have:
"Prologue (Prologe) to Sire Thopas."   Skeat has: "Here is ended the Prioresses Tale.
/ Prologue to Sir Thopas.   / Bihold the murye wordes of the Host to Chaucer."
The Globe edition has: "Bihoold the murye wordes of the Hoost to Chaucer."   As
regards the MSS, Ellesmere, Hengwrt, and Cambridge Gg. 4.27 have the colophon and
title nearly as in Urry (some variants).   Corpus has merely "Explicit."
Harleian 7334 has no title, colophon, or break.   Petworth has the "Man of Law's Tale"
following the "Prioress's."   Lansdowne has: "Explicit fabula priorisse / Incipit prol-
ogus de Thopas."   Cambridge Dd. 4.24 reads: "Hic desinit fabula priorisse / & incipit /
prologus de Sir Thopas per Chaucer narratus."

That is to say, the tale of the "litel clergeon" affected the whole company so much that "wonder was to se." Finally the Host, perhaps a trifle ashamed of his unusual emotion, breaks the silence. And of course, with characteristic indelicacy, he blunders out a crudely humorous reference to the obvious emotion on the poet's face. For the statement that Chaucer is staring on the ground[1] can hardly signify anything else than that he is in the same emotional condition as all the rest of the pilgrims. This inference is supported by the next line, "Approche neer, and loke up *merily*." The reference in the following four lines to the size of Chaucer's waist is doubtless to be taken literally. The jesting here, and in the remainder of the Host's speech, aims to bring Chaucer to his merry self again. But not even yet has the poet recovered his usual countenance, as we may see in the references to his elvishness[2] and to his continued silence— "unto no wight dooth he daliaunce."[3] Finally, however, at the direct demand that he "sey now somwhat," and at the specification of a "tale of mirthe, and that anoon"—something that will give the Host the revulsion of feeling that he craves—the poet experiences a violent reaction in his own breast, so that Bailly says, "Now shul we here Som deyntee thing, me thinketh by his chere."

And perhaps the reason for the exuberance of the travesty in "Sir Thopas" is to be found in this altogether natural revulsion of feeling indicated in the last lines of the link.

Some confirmation of my interpretation will be found in the circumstance, pointed out by ten Brink, that the effect of the "Prioress's Tale" is exhibited in the versification, which continues through the link in the same stanza as that employed by the Prioress.[4]

Further support is given by the removal of the hitherto apparent inconsistency between this link and those lines in the general prologue

[1] Of course the word "ever" applied to "stare upon the ground" is undoubtedly due to emotional exaggeration: the meaning is "steadily, fixedly at this moment."

[2] "Elvish" would seem to apply to the look of "other-worldliness" caused by the mingling of pity and sympathy and strong religious feeling.

[3] That is, he is not laughing and talking after his usual fashion, even the remarks of the Host failing to provoke the expected sally of wit.

[4] "Die Wirkung dieser rührenden Legende ist aus dem ernsten Schweigen der ganzen Wallfahrtsgesellschaft ersichtlich und äussert sich auch in der Darstellung des Dichters, der in dem sich anschliessenden Verbindungstück die von der Priorin verwandte siebenzeilige Strophe festhält. An diesem Punkt setzt Chaucer mit liebenswürdigem Humor sich selber in Scene."—ten Brink, *Geschichte der Eng. Lit.*, zweiter Band, 180.

in which Chaucer pictures himself as the leading spirit in organizing the party,[1] and later as communing intimately with the monk, and slyly making fun of that worthy's remarks.[2]

And finally, it may not be impertinent here to point out that my view of the significance emotionally of this whole passage both supports, and is supported by, Professor Kittredge's interpretation of the close of the "Pardoner's Tale,"[3] and thus helps to throw light on the subtlety of Chaucer's art in representing the emotional experiences of his characters.

<div align="right">Thomas A. Knott</div>

The University of Chicago

[1] *Prolog*, ll. 30–34.
[2] *Ibid.*, l. 182.
[3] *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXII (December, 1893), 829.
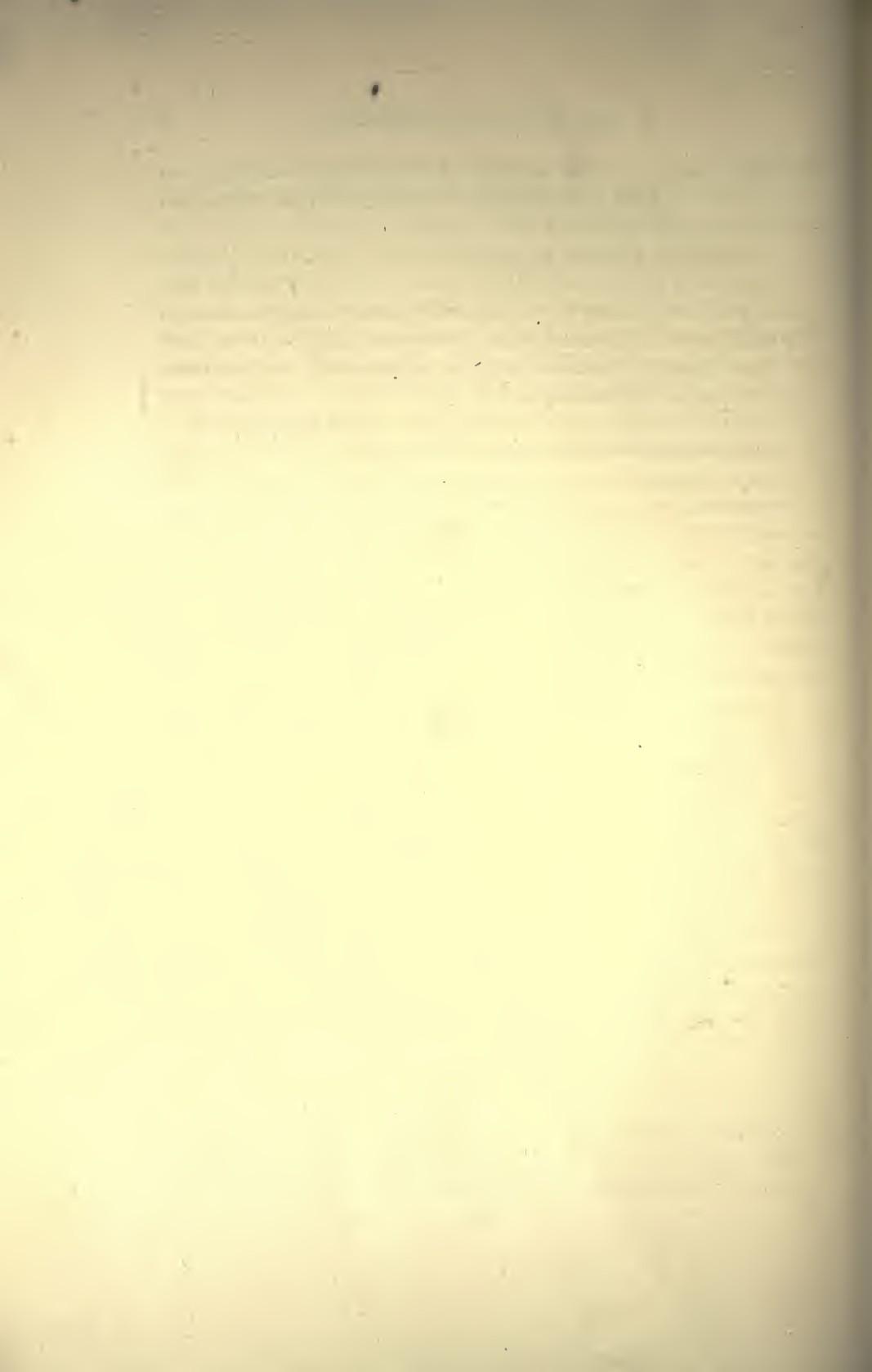
THE STANZA-FORMS OF *SIR THOPAS*

It has long been recognized that the verse form of *Sir Thopas* is a definite feature of the humor of that delightful burlesque, but the exact meaning of it seems to have escaped attention. Some have seen in the prevailing stanzaic form a direct imitation of the stanza found in many of the popular romances and have discovered in the variations an intention on the part of Chaucer to satirize the helplessness and awkwardness of the authors of these romances, who, it is asserted, were unable to preserve the stanza with which they began and allowed it to degenerate into other easier forms and even into mere couplets. Kölbing (*Englische Studien*, XI, 496 ff.) rightly rejected this theory and suggested instead that by the variation of stanza Chaucer meant no more than to exemplify the various meters found in the popular romances of his day: "Ch. mit diesem Strophen-wechsel nichts weiter beabsichtigt hat, als die verschiedenen metren zu charakterisiren, in welche romantische stoffe zu seiner zeit be-handelt wurden."

In support of his view Kölbing exhibited the poem as containing eight stanzaic forms: (1) a six-line tail-rhyme stanza *aabccb*, vss. 116–21, 146–51, 152–57, 164–69, 180–85, 186–91, 192–97, 198–203; (2) the same, with the scheme *aabaab*, vss. 13–18, 19–24, 25–30, 31–36, 37–42, 43–48, 49–54, 55–60, 61–66, 67–72, 73–78, 122–27, 128–33, 134–39, 140–45; (3) a twelve-line tail-rhyme stanza *aabaabccbccb*, vss. 1–12; (4) a stanza with the scheme *aabγbbg* (γ indicating a single-stressed line rhyming with *g*, the second member of the cauda), vss. 79–85; (5) a stanza *aabccbγddg*, vss. 170–79; (6) a stanza *aabaabγccg*, vss. 96–105; (7) a stanza *aabaabγaag*, vss. 86–95; (8) a stanza *aabccbγccg*, vss. 106–15.

These statements are accurate, and at first sight seem to yield no further meaning than Kölbing deduced from them, namely, that Chaucer indulged himself in a considerable variety of stanzaic forms; but examined more closely, they may reveal something of Chaucer's intention and the spirit in which he wrote.

In the first place, we may observe that, distinct as are these eight types, they are all mere variations of a single fundamental stanza, *aabccb*, *a* and *c* having four stresses and *b* three. This scheme expresses all the demands as to stanza structure which the poet felt laid upon him. If he gave more than this, he gave it as heaping measure, and we may well believe that he took a certain pride in this generosity, just as he liked from time to time to bestow on his readers *rimes riches*, although the ordinary rhymes were all that he stood bound for. It was an added beauty, a hint of skill, a suggestion of hoards of untouched wealth. That the poet may, in a particular poem, have chosen to give us more stanzas which show this excess of ornament than stanzas which merely satisfy the minimal requirements should not justify us in regarding him as under obligation for more than the minimum. Thus when Chaucer gives us a large number of stanzas of the form *aabaab*, we are not justified in taking this as the normal form and in feeling that every stanza which has different rhymes for the two sets of long lines is, by so much, a failure to attain the standard for which he was striving. The stanza is *aabccb*, and when this is attained, the poet has satisfied all legitimate demands.

The first variation or, as we may call it, gift of his generosity, is, as we have just seen, a greater richness in the rhymes of the longer lines, making them all rhyme together instead of merely in couplets. Of these we have seventeen as against eight of the standard form *aabccb*. An interesting variety of this, with an even more heaping measure of generosity in rhyme, is shown in vss. 1–12, where the poet joins together two stanzas of the richer type by carrying the rhyme of the short lines through the two stanzas and producing the rhyme-scheme *aabaabccbccb*.

The next variation is of a different type, vss. 79–85. It consists in the introduction into the standard type or the first variation of a short single-stressed line, which, if rightly understood, serves as a mere flourish and does not essentially alter the stanza. The second couplet, it will be noted, does not rhyme with the first, and consequently we may be inclined for a moment to regard the stanza exclusive of the flourish as belonging to the standard type, that is, *aabccb*. But on closer examination it appears that the second couplet though it does not rhyme with the first, does take up the rhyme

which precedes it by two lines just as is the case in the scheme *aabaab;* and we may therefore fairly regard this stanza with the flourish as a variation upon *aabaab* rather than upon the normal *aabccb.* The test of this observation is to read the stanza:

> An elf-queen wol I love, y-wis,
> For in this world no womman is
> Worthy to be my make
> In toune;
> Alle othere wommen I forsake,
> And to an elf-queen I me take
> By dale and eek by doune!

The effect is distinctly that of the resumption of a preceding rhyme after a playful flourish.

The remaining variations are all of the same nature, though the results when expressed schematically seem at first very different. They may be presented thus: (1) *aabaabɣaag* (vss. 86–95); (2) *aabaabɣccg* (vss. 96–105); (3) *aabccbɣccg* (vss. 106–15); (4) *aabccbɣddg* (vss. 170–79). Any one of them will make clear the structure and meaning of all. Obviously what has occurred is simply that the conventional stanza (*aabaab*) has been completed before the introduction of the flourish, after which a half-stanza of the same type has been added. The only differences between the four variant forms of this group are found in the differing treatments of the rhymes of the couplets.

It seems clear that we have in *Sir Thopas* not a mere miscellaneous collection of stanzaic forms, but a set of variations upon a single form, apparently made for some definite purpose.

What was this purpose? We have already seen that it cannot have been to satirize the awkwardness and helplessness of the authors of romances. It cannot have been, as Kölbing suggested, that Chaucer wished to exemplify the various verse-forms used in the romances of his day; for he uses only a few forms, all of them, as we have seen, simple variants of a single type. As an effort to introduce in a single poem all the meters of the romances *Sir Thopas* would be such a failure as only the most cogent reasons could justify us in charging upon so skilled an artist as Chaucer. If it is an imitation of one particular romance, it is obvious that to have its proper effectiveness it ought to have been formed upon one of the most widely

known of the romances of the day. None of the extant romances could have served as the model—or shall we say, the object of parody?—and it is inconceivable that one so popular as the theory demands could have perished without leaving a trace of itself or any imitations. Again, it can hardly have been Chaucer's object merely to exhibit his versatility in stanza-forms; for, in that case he has been singularly unskilful. In the first place, the variety is, after all, not very great; in the second place, the variations are not introduced climactically, but rather without any discernible principle of arrangement.

What, then, was Chaucer's purpose? The reply has perhaps already suggested itself. *Sir Thopas* is not a bitter satire; it is a good-humored rollicking burlesque, a *tour de force* of high spirits, the brilliance of which has hardly yet been fully recognized. In no other poem can we so plainly and clearly see Chaucer at play, having no end of fun with the romances and his readers and himself. The ballades to Bukton and Scogan and even the joyous lament of the Clerk over the current scarcity of Griseldas are not to be compared with it for freedom and *abandon*. Every ridiculous feature of the tenth-rate romance is exploited with glee—its exaggerations, its love of insignificant detail, its prolixity, its capacity for consuming hours in "passing a given point." And the versification is marvelously adapted to the contents and the extravagantly mirthful mood. It has the appearance of rapid motion with very slight real advance, and here and there comes a wonderful flourish, a bit of *bravura*, that in a moment communicates to the reader a vivid sense of the frolicsome mood of the poet and the joyousness of his self-imposed task. If we may change our angle of vision and use a homely figure, the author seems, so far as his versification is concerned, like an old horse that after working all day is turned out in the evening into a fine pasture. Relieved of his burden and delighting in his freedom, he stretches his cramped legs and canters across the pasture, kicking up his heels from time to time in sheer exuberance of good feeling, and settling down again into his pleasant canter almost without breaking his stride.

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Modern Philology

THE SHAKESPEARE QUARTOS OF 1619

I

The present article is a contribution to the controversy over the printing date of certain Shakespeare quartos. The problem itself— a very pretty one—came into existence with the recent discovery by Mr. Alfred W. Pollard, of the British Museum, of a quite unusual series of bibliographical coincidences. The controversy arises from the interpretation of these coincidences. The one party, headed by Mr. Pollard and Mr. W. W. Greg, contends that the quartos in question were not printed in the years that critics for nearly three hundred years have supposed, and cites what it regards as convincing proof in support of the contention; the other, headed by Mr. Sidney Lee, flatly denies the validity of the proof adduced. As the problem is not a simple one but includes several problems, I may perhaps for the sake of clearness be permitted to touch again upon the main facts underly ng it.

Some seven or eight years ago Mr. Pollard, as he tells us, received a letter from a man residing in Germany stating that he owned a volume of Shakespeare quartos of cons derable value, and that he was intending to visit London shortly for the purpose of selling it. Mr. Pollard thereupon made an appointment with him to see the book. He was rewarded with the sight of a charming fat little volume, bound in brown calf, with the name "Edward Gwynn" stamped in gold on the covers. As Edward Gwynn was a well-known seventeenth-century book-buyer, and the book could be traced to his possession, there was no question that the collection of plays

must have remained in this single binding since well back into the seventeenth century. The quartos thus bound together were the following, in the order indicated:

The Whole Contention. Written by William Shakespeare, Gent. Printed at London, for T. P.

A Midsummer Night's Dream. Written by William Shakespeare. Printed by James Roberts, 1600.

Sir John Oldcastle. Written by William Shakespeare. London printed for T. P. 1600.

The Merchant of Venice. Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed by J. Roberts, 1600.

Henry the Fifth. Printed for T. P. 1608.

King Lear. M. William Shake-speare. Printed for Nathaniel Butter. 1608.

Pericles. Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed for T. P. 1619.

The Merry Wives of Windsor. Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed for Arthur Johnson. 1619.

A Yorkshire Tragedy. Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed for T. P. 1619.

The initials "T. P." stand for Thomas Pavier, the bookseller. Two of these plays bearing Shakespeare's name were of course not written by Shakespeare. This volume the British Museum was unable to purchase; instead, it found its way to America as a part of the library of Mr. Marsden Perry, at Providence, Rhode Island.

Three or four years later, in 1906, Mr. Pollard while arranging a Shakespeare exhibition had another fat little volume of Shakespeare quartos shown him, containing in the following order:

The Whole Contention. T. P.
A Yorkshire Tragedy. T. P. 1619.
Henry the Fifth. T. P. 1608.
Pericles. T. P. 1619.
King Lear. Butter. 1608.
A Midsummer Night's Dream. Roberts. 1600.
The Merchant of Venice. Roberts. 1600.
The Merry Wives of Windsor. Johnson. 1619.
Sir John Oldcastle. T. P. 1600.

Although the binding in this case dated only from about the middle of the eighteenth century, everything else about the book reminded Mr. Pollard of the earlier Edward Gwynn volume, and upon comparing his notes he found that the two books indeed contained identically the same plays, in the same editions, the order

only being changed. The coincidence seemed too remarkable to be accounted for as an accident.

The question was, why were these plays in these editions twice brought together in this manner? If not by accident, other examples of such a grouping could perhaps be found. Mr. Pollard knew that the British Museum contained no such volume. It occurred to him that Edward Capell, the first editor of the Shakespeare quartos, would have been likely to own such a book, if anyone. He thereupon turned to the Capell collection in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, of which Mr. W. W. Greg had only recently made a careful catalogue. He did not find the single-volume grouping he was in search of, but he did find the nine quartos in question bound together in two companion volumes, if not in one, and he found also from the careful description given of them that they were of an appreciably larger size than any of the other Shakespeare quartos. The order again was changed, but the plays and editions were identical with those in the Gwynn volume. With the clue as to size in mind, he went at once to his own shelves in the British Museum to examine the Garrick copies. The nine quartos proved to be larger than their fellows here also, so that he was able to pick them out by their height alone, without looking at their titles.

In order if possible to bring to light further information regarding these quartos, Mr. Pollard inserted an article[1] in the *Academy*, giving the facts thus far stated. He explained the facts by advancing the theory that the nine plays in question were for some reason bound together and placed upon the market at the same time, probably in 1619. He accounted for the presence of the three 1600 and two 1608 plays by suggesting that they were publisher's remainders—copies remaining on the market after the demand had ceased. His request for further information eventually brought forth the additional fact that the University of Virginia had at one time owned a similarly bound set of the nine plays mentioned, but that it had disappeared during the fire of 1895 and there was some doubt as to the age of the binding. The quartos comprising it were presented to the university by Thomas Mann Randolph, son-in-law of Thomas Jefferson. The fact that they had remained together

[1] "Shakespeare in the Remainder Market," *Academy*, June 2, 1906.

in a group seemed to afford a reasonable corroboration of the theory that the nine plays were related in some way.

Meanwhile Mr. W. W. Greg, of Trinity College Library, Cambridge, had become interested in the problem to the extent of suggesting a far more radical theory to account for the facts noted. His suggestion was that all these n ne quartos were printed in 1619, and that the three 1600 dates and the two 1608 dates were forged. The principal argument he finally advanced in support of this contention was one based upon an examination of the watermarks in the paper. He found in the four sets of plays mmediately available some twenty-seven different watermarks. Of these he made freehand sketches. By bringing his results together he was able to argue that the nine quartos in question must have been printed at practically the same time, because of the occurrence of the same watermark in plays bearing different dates. This material was published in the *Library* for April, 1908, and October, 1908; and it is upon this evidence that he has s nce chiefly relied to support his hypothesis.

There was, however, no universal acceptance of Mr. Greg's conclusions, and there perhaps could have been none, in the very nature of the case. An imprint date has always been considered as in itself affording the strongest kind of evidence as to the time of print ng. In order to overthrow the evidence afforded by a printed date upon a title-page, evidence that is even more positive than the evidence of the date itself must be adduced. The burden of proof in such a case rests upon him who attempts to overthrow. Proof equally strong will not suffice. Perhaps there is here the added difficulty that the watermark proof is not of such a nature that it can be checked up readily by others. Even if the copies were available they could not in all cases be examined, for in quartos like these the watermark usually falls upon the fold. But without regard to that, the argument based upon an overlapping of watermarks is likely to be felt by many people not to be the black-and-white conclusive evidence needed in a burden-of-proof attack upon imprints such as these.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Greg's position was at once most vigorously attacked. Mr. Alfred H. Huth in the *Academy* for June 6,

1908, called attention to a discrepancy in the size of watermarks considered by Mr. Greg to be identical.[1]   Mr. Sidney Lee even more positively rejected the evidence presented. On the other hand, Mr. Pollard accepted Mr. Greg's theory without reservation, and quite as vigorously supported it. The controversy has been carried on thus during the past year and a half in the *Library*, the *Athenaeum* (until that journal refused to give further space to it), the *Academy*, the *Nation*, and many other journals. As both parties are represented by men of dist nguished standing and scholarship, and as neither party will recede from its position, the end of the dispute is likely to be seen only when new and determ native evidence one way or the other is presented. This then is the situation at the present time.

II

I come now to my own interest in the problem involved, and to my contribution to the controversy.

Some five or six years ago, not long after Mr. Pollard had been shown the first of his charming, fat little volumes of Shakespeare quartos and before he had seen the second or suspected its existence, it occurred to me to make an examination of some examples of Elizabethan pr nting upon a basis of exact phys cal measurements. It seemed to me that not only m ght this exacter method of study result in an addition to our knowledge of old pr nting types, but that new knowledge of the books themselves might be gained by it. Hitherto the study of given editions, say of a play, had been almost wholly by col ation—a comparison for differences in wording, spelling, punctuation, arrangement. S udents had indeed always pointed out typographical simi arities and differences as well, when these similarities or differences were similarities and differences in

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[1] Says Mr. Huth: "Mr. Greg alleges that the watermarks in all the quartos—both those professing to be printed in 1600 and those dated 1619—show the paper to belong to one batch; and since the wires get worn out within one year, the paper must have been made about the same time, and it is impossible that Paviour could have got hold of the same batch of paper in 1619 that Roberts used in 1600. I venture to think, however, that if Mr. Greg carefully measures watermarks which appear to the eye to be identical, he will find that they are not. To take the 'Pot' mark marked 'LM,' for instance, the first I found in my copies that occurred in (1) *The Merchant of Venice*, 1600; (2) *King Lear*, 1608; and (3) *Merry Wives*, 1619, the measurement of the base at the greatest breadth is in (1) 14 mm., in (2) 15.5 mm., in (3) 14.5 mm.; and there are also variations in the form of the mark itself, which show that the paper in these editions did not come from the same wire."

appearance.   They could point out the use of a given ornament or wood-cut, because ornaments and designs are readily distinguishable to the eye.   They could distinguish between obviously different type faces.   But when it came to examples of printing about which there was any question, they were not so certain; for the same letter, as everyone knows who has even casually examined the printing (say) of Shakespeare's time, will sometimes have one appearance and sometimes another, according to the amount of ink upon the ink-balls, the wetness of blanket and paper, and the strength exerted by the pressman's right arm.   I proposed to supplement this impressionistic judgment by the testimony of physical science.   To speak by analogy, I proposed to apply to the study of the printed page a system of exact measurements not unlike the modern Bertillon system of measuring criminals.

At the time to which I refer I had recently become a student in the Graduate School of the University of Chicago, and in that way had become acquainted with Professor John M. Manly.   Mr. Manly became at once deeply interested in the possibilities of the method, and we spent many hours in the consideration of its bearings, even going so far as to devise together a special form of camera for use in the more accurate photographing of texts.   We did not at that time go so far as to construct our camera; but I was able to demonstrate in a small way without it that anonymous type faces could be identified thus, given sufficient data, and that undated examples of the same type face could often be given their order of printing.   But as we had no specific, genuine problem to the solution of which we could apply the method, we were not able to demonstrate its real importance.   The artificial problems we had set for ourselves were more interesting to us than to others.   And so we laid it aside, until a specific use for it should arise.

Mr. Pollard's brilliant detective work furnished the problem we needed.

Professor Manly a few months ago chanced to be visiting in Madison.   In the course of a conversation with me he suggested that I might be interested in seeing some photographs of the Shakespeare quarto texts under discussion.   These photographs had been taken in the British Museum under the direct personal oversight of

Mr. David A. Robertson, of the University of Chicago, who had recently returned from London. They were therefore exceedingly accurate and trustworthy. Mr. Manly thought that I m ght care to examine these unusually fine and careful photographs, and perhaps compare them the one with the other, by means of the instruments of precision I had devised for just such work. Upon his return to Chicago he thereupon mailed them to me. The photographs were of the inside pages of text, and proved the most accurate I had ever seen. Some of the measurements of type bodies that I took from them I have incorporated in the present study. Indeed, it is largely because of the testimony of these photographs that I have been able to use Moxon's list of type sizes in my demonstration of the sizes of type bodies employed in the composition of the accompanying title-page. I am indebted to Mr. Robertson in many other ways for his generous assistance.

Meanwhile Mr. Pollard had brought together between the covers of a book[1] the various matters in controversy. This book reached me just as I was ready to return the photographs in question to Mr. Manly at Chicago. It contained among its illustrative material two nearly complete sets of facsimiles of the title-pages of the nine quartos. I at once began upon a supplementary study of the typography of these title-pages. By using the printer's device as a common unit of measurement I was able to check up and correct any differences in the scale of the reproductions, and in that way to come into possession of what was in effect one full set of the title-pages relatively accurate as to size one with the other.

Then I applied the system of measurements that I had previously worked out. The inspection resulted in some all-night sessions with the facsimiles, and a hurried trip to Chicago.

III

The significance of most of these measurements can be followed readily by any layman, by turning to the facsimiles presented with this article. Let me begin by comparing a 1600 title-page with a 1619 one—the *Merchant of Venice*, for example, with *Pericles* (see Plates III and IV). It will be noted that the blank space imme-

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[1] Alfred W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*. London, 1909.

diately above the line "Written by W. Shakespeare" is exactly the same in depth in the case of the *Pericles*, 1619, and the *Merchant of Venice*, 1600, quartos, measuring 0.25+ of an inch between type bodies—that is to say, the size called paragon was used for quads in this place. The blank space under this line is also identically the same in these quartos, measuring between type bodies 0.4 of an inch, or a pica and a great primer. And the space underneath the printer's device is the same, measuring 0.364—of an inch, or two lines of English. The space at either side of the printer's device, measured from the edge of the type page, is likewise precisely the same in these two plays—six ems of English at the left, and six ems of English added to a considerable thickness of justifying material at the right, so that the device is out of center. It will be noted also that the line "Written by W. Shakespeare" is set in narrower measure than the measure of the top of the page, and this in both the 1600 *Merchant of Venice* and the 1619 *Pericles*, the compositor in each case being obliged to lay a scabbard, or as we should say today, a reglet, down the side of the bottom half of his page, to make up the difference. What is more, the lines "Written by W. Shakespeare" are the same in their every appearance and measurement in the two examples—the same in length over all, in height, in style, and in the rank of the letters used. The spacing between the words is identical. The spacing between the letters likewise corresponds exactly. The word "Shakespeare" has ten spaces between its separate letters, and these spaces are not of uniform thickness—in order to tighten his line the compositor was obliged to insert thicker spaces in some places, and thinner ones in others. And yet the thicker spaces fall in the same places in these lines, and the thinner spaces in the same places. The two "W's" also in either of these lines, although they do not correspond in width, or "set," with each other, yet as compared with the corresponding letters in the other line are identical. These "W's" are home-made out of two "V's" that have been roughly shaved down by hand so as to come closer together than the original letters would have done. The chances therefore are great that these identities in measurement are significant. And this is not all. It may be pointed out that the imprint date lines in these two title-pages though different in

wording are identical in length, the same quad material being used outside of the type-letters at either end in each case, and this although the 1619 line is wide-spaced between the words and the 1600 line is crowded together until between some of its word-units there are no spaces at all.

It is quite impossible that such coincidences should have arisen by accident. Even were there a conceivable reason why the compositor of the 1619 *Pericles* title-page should have copied the typography of the lower part of the 1600 *Merchant of Venice* title-page—and there is none—it is not possible for him to have succeeded in duplicating in every detail so complex a system of composition as this. As any printer knows, no compositor even today could achieve such a feat except by putting an unreasonable amount of care and time on the work—and even then he would not succeed upon his first trial, nor his second. Every individual measurement would have to be made separately and duplicated separately. In order to illustrate to the layman how close an early seventeenth-century compositor would actually come to reproducing a piece of type-setting, I show a title-page of another edition of *Pericles*, printed sixteen years later, in 1635 (compare Plates III and VI). This title-page was composed in the same printing office, and from the same fonts of type excepting the last line. The two correspond exactly as far as the mere typography is concerned, even the printer's device being identical. There was here an obvious attempt to reproduce letter by letter an older title-page. And to the eye there is no great difference between the two examples. And yet they have hardly a single measurement in common, as is clearly seen when one is actually printed over the other (Plate VII). It is quite otherwise with the 1619 *Pericles* and 1600 *Merchant of Venice*. To a person even casually familiar with printing processes, argument is not needed. Only one explanation is possible. The compositor of these two quartos, the *Merchant of Venice*, 1600, and *Pericles*, 1619, used a single setting of type for the printing of his title-pages except in the upper portions. After the first title-page was printed, this economical compositor simply "fatted" the entire lower half of the page and made it do duty for the second—made a "pick-up" of it, or "lifted" it, in order to avoid the labor of resetting the type

and quads of which it was constructed, just as he might do today in similar circumstances if he were lazy or pressed for time.

The accurate and skilful photographing of Mr. John Rea Woolley of Madison makes it possible for me to demonstrate in a more graphic way the absolute identity of the portions of title-page in question. Mr. Woolley has been able to standardize and print the negatives of the 1619 *Pericles* and the 1600 *Merchant of Venice* title-pages one exactly over the other in a composite photograph (Plate V). This proof in itself is conclusive and final that these two title-pages were not printed nineteen years apart, but within a few days of each other. These negatives were made from the quartos in the Boston Public Library. I have a similar composite printed from negatives from the British Museum quartos.

But it is not the title-pages of *Pericles* and the *Merchant of Venice* only that were printed in this way, using a single setting of type. The compositor of these pages repeated his performance in the printing of five more of Mr. Pollard's nine plays, or seven in all, as I shall demonstrate. So plain is his track that it is even possible to follow him as he made his changes from one title-page to another. In this way the actual order of printing of at least eight of these nine title-pages can be absolutely determined without the shadow of a question. There is only one order in which they could have been printed. No argument of any kind is involved. It will only be necessary for me to point out the evidence as seen in the title-pages themselves. For the purpose of making this evidence as plain as possible to the layman, I have drawn upon my photographs faint lines to represent the basic typographical structure. The type bodies involved are probably as accurate in size as need be indicated with a pen. I have followed the typefounder Moxon here, Mr. Robertson's British Museum photographs proving clearly that the pica and English sizes were practically the same in 1619 as in 1683, and therefore that the other sizes probably were. I may add that I have been enabled through the courtesy of the Lenox Library to check up all these measurements from the original quartos.

The photographic reproductions presented with this article are of title-pages from the quartos in the Barton Collection, in the Boston Public Library. For the kind permission to have these

most valuable photographs taken I am indebted to Mr. Horace G. Wadlin, librarian. It is believed that these twelve half-tone plates have never been surpassed for accuracy, if indeed they have ever been equaled. They have been tested under a glass for variations as small as a fraction of a hundredth of an inch in the total length of the page. I am indebted to Mr. Adolph Jahn, of the Jahn and Ollier Engraving Co., of Chicago, for the exceptional engraving facilities placed at my disposal to make such accuracy possible. I have for convenience arranged the facsimiles of the eight title-pages whose order of printing can be proved so that they follow one another in that order; the ninth is added at the last. One unrelated title-page, that of the 1635 *Pericles*, is included for illustrative purposes. The two composites are given positions adjacent to the facsimiles of which they are made up. The plates are as follows:

1. *The Whole Contention.*
2. *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1619.
3. *Pericles*, 1619.
4. *The Merchant of Venice*, 1600.
5. Composite, 1619 *Pericles* and 1600 *Merchant of Venice.*
6. *Pericles*, 1635.
7. Composite, 1619 *Pericles* and 1635 *Pericles.*
8. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1619.
9. *King Lear*, 1608.
10. *Henry V*, 1608.
11. *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600.
12. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1600.
13. The line "Written by W. Shakespeare," separately compared.

I shall follow this order in tracing the progress of these variously dated plays through William Jaggard's printing office during a few weeks of what was probably the year 1619.

I. *The Whole Contention.*—This title-page was unquestionably the first of the eight, and probably the first of the nine, to be set. The forme was printed and the type distributed before the next title-page was begun. *The Whole Contention* consists of two connected plays, only the first of which was given a title-page. As the signatures running through these two plays form a single continuous series with the signatures of 1619 *Pericles*, which originally did not have a title-page, the printing of *The Whole Contention* must have immediately preceded that of *Pericles*. The date of this quarto is

for this reason the same as that of *Pericles*.   The plays in question
are a corrupt version of the second and third parts of *Henry VI*.

II. *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1619.—The compositor set up this
title-page anew, without making use of material from the preceding
page.   This page is given precedence over the other three containing
the paragon line " Written by W. Shakespeare" for the following rea-
sons.   It is obvious that no compositor would set up such a line for
the first time—thin-spaced between the words, as here—in any other
way than full to measure.   The only other occurrence of the line
thus full to measure is found in the *Merry Wives*.   Of the four title-
pages containing this line, one of these two was therefore the first
to be put into type.   The *Merry Wives* must be eliminated on the
testimony of the two imprint lines—otherwise we must suppose that
the printer in changing from "Arthur Johnson" to "T. P." (as he
must have done, for the order of the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, *Pericles*,
and the *Merchant of Venice* is fixed, as will be seen, and the *Yorkshire
Tragedy* would have had to follow the *Merry Wives*) needlessly
changed also the word "for," substituting for it a fatter letter from
a different font, and also needlessly removed the second figure "1"
in the date, turned it upside down, and replaced it.   It is not con-
ceivable that he would have performed either of these useless and
insane acts.   The title-page of the *Yorkshire Tragedy* is printed
upon a sheet separate from the text of the play.

III. *Pericles*, 1619.—This title-page[1] was clearly printed imme-
diately after that of the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, the same imprint line
being found in both without the change of a letter or a space.   Both
the internal and end spacing is the same in both, the fatter wrong-
font "for" (compare with the "for" in Plates VIII, IX, X) is the
same, the cross-stroke of the capital "T" is damaged in precisely
the same way (compare with the "T" in Plates X and XI), and
the second figure "1" in the date is inverted in both.   The com-
positor first set up the top half of his page.   As his text-pages were
in English measure, he used the same measure here—20 ems English.

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[1] The order of the printing of these plays was this: *Whole Contention* (text and
title-page), *Pericles* (text only), *Yorkshire Tragedy* (text only), *Yorkshire Tragedy* (title-
page), *Pericles* (title-page), *Merchant of Venice* (text and title-page), *Merry Wives* (text
and title-page), *Lear* (text and title-page), *Henry V* (text and title-page), *Sir John Old-
castle* (text and title-page). *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was printed independently.

He then lifted the remainder of the page from the *Yorkshire Tragedy* forme just off the press, making no change whatever in it except to reduce the space between the Heb Ddim device and the imprint by a line of English quads. But the *Yorkshire Tragedy* title-page had been set in 22 ems pica measure. In order to bring up this narrower 22 ems pica measure to the 20 ems English measure of the upper part of his page he laid a wooden reglet, or scabbard, as it was then called, of the required thickness along the side of his narrow matter. I have indicated by faint lines on the photograph the essential structure involved. This lower or narrower portion of the page consists of the following type-bodies: paragon (quads), paragon (the "Shakespeare" line), pica (quads), great primer (a second line of quads), the Heb Ddim Heb Ddieu printer's device (flanked on either side by English quads chiefly), English (quads), English (a second line of quads), and paragon (the imprint line). It is of interest to note in this connection that the paragon size is not mentioned by Moxon (1683), although it was in use in London as early as 1600 that I know of, and has continued in use ever since. The scarcity of "W's" suggests a foreign origin for the present font. The title-page of *Pericles*, like that of *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, was printed upon a new sheet, separately from the text.

IV. *The Merchant of Venice*, 1600.—Again the compositor set the top half of his page in 20 ems English measure, and again he made a "pick-up" of the entire bottom portion of the page, building it out to size as before with his wooden scabbard. He made no changes whatever, except in the imprint line; and even here he was so lazy or hurried that he changed only some of the letters, leaving the quads at either end and the word "Printed" exactly as they were. In order to change the lettering "for T. P. 1619" to "by J. Roberts, 1600" without changing his end quads, he was obliged in the *Merchant of Venice* imprint to crowd his words together, some of them having no space whatever between them, although the original imprint line had been wide-spaced. It is upon the testimony of the measurements of this imprint line that this title-page must be made to follow that of *Pericles* in its order of printing. The bearings of these measurements can be most clearly seen in the composite which follows.

V. Composite, 1619 *Pericles* and 1600 *Merchant of Venice.*—Mr. Woolley has here succeeded in printing one negative exactly over the other, just as the printer might have done from the original type. This plate furnishes a convincing demonstration of the identity of the lower portion of these two title-pages. Even the slight flaw in the third stroke of the first "W" corresponds. I was fortunate to find examples in which the page lock-up coincided so perfectly.

VI. *Pericles*, 1635.—This plate is introduced for the purpose of showing how closely a compositor might be expected to reproduce the typography of a given title-page when he tried. Except for the imprint line the types used in the composing of this title-page and that of 1619 *Pericles* are exactly the same. The printing was done in the same printing office. Even the similar home-made "W's" are used in the "Written by W. Shakespeare" line, and the same number of spaces between the words and the letters of the line. And yet there is scarcely a dimension in the page that is not demonstrably different from the corresponding dimension in the original.

VII. Composite, 1619 *Pericles* and 1635 *Pericles.*—The plate is introduced in order to show more graphically the differences between the copy (Plate VI) and the original (Plate III). Even the differences between the home-made "W's" come out clearly. This composite should be compared with the composite shown in Plate V.

VIII. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1619.—This title-page, which was printed immediately after that of the *Merchant of Venice*, is given its position in the series because of its use of the paragon line, "Written by W. Shakespeare." The four quartos using this line were obviously printed in series, and as the other three have been shown to precede, it is necessary that this one should follow. Not only the line in question, but the quad space above the line— paragon—is found only in these four title-pages. The text of this play was set up in a type of English body, but in a pica measure. The compositor therefore used a pica measure in setting the upper part of the title-page, instead of English. When he came to take over the bottom portion of the page as before from the title-page that preceded, he found that both portions were now set in 22 ems pica measure and that consequently no side scabbard was needed.

IX. *King Lear*, 1608.—The title-page here begins with Shakespeare's name, thus making superfluous the "Written by W. Shakespeare" line. The printer therefore omits it. As there is hardly room in the imprint line for the date, the figures "1608" are added in a new line. Otherwise the bottom portion of the page is the same as before, the space above the Heb Ddim device equaling a pica and a great primer, and the space beneath it two lines of English. The upper portion of the page is again set in the same 22 ems pica measure as the lower.

X. *Henry V*, 1608.—The compositor of this title-page set the upper portion of his page in 18 ems English measure, instead of 22 ems pica. Then when he went to the preceding title-page for the lower portion, as before, he found that the lower part was considerably wider. He thereupon built up his narrower matter by thrusting it bodily over to the side and laying material equal to the difference along the ends of the lines. This threw the printer's device decidedly out of center with the upper part of the page. The space above the device is still a pica and a great primer, and the space beneath is still two lines of English. I give this title-page its position in the series because of its omission to supply Shakespeare's name as author. *Henry V* is the only play of the nine to omit this mention. By supposing it to have been printed immediately after *Lear* the oversight becomes intelligible. The "Written by W. Shakespeare" line was omitted from *Lear* for a good reason. When the compositor came to take over the bottom portion of the *Lear* page, he used it as it stood without the "Shakespeare" line, and no one noticed that his page now nowhere mentioned Shakespeare as author.

XI. *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600.—This is an extremely interesting page to study. As in *Henry V*, the compositor set the upper portion of the page in 18 ems English and then took over the lower 22 ems pica portion from the preceding forme, and as in *Henry V* he built up the narrower matter to the width of the wider by laying material equal to the difference along the side. The change seems to have been made up in the forme so, without the line "Written by William Shakespeare," and with the previous space of a pica and a great primer above the device and two lines of English beneath it. Someone—perhaps Pavier—then added the "Shakespeare"

line upon the press proof, although this line is not found in the title-page that was used as copy. As the pages by now had been made to register, the printer did not wish to disturb their size in any way. He therefore set the added line "Written by William Shakespeare" in English size type, removed a line of English quads from beneath the device, and inserted the new line between the pica and the great primer lines of quads immediately above the device. This left him with his page unchanged in length. It will be noted that the entire lower part of the page, including the new line, is set central to the 22 ems pica measure, and not to the measure of the upper part, as would have been the case if the page had been set in the ordinary manner.

XII. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1600.—This title-page was set up independently of the others, perhaps in order to make use of another press, perhaps to imitate more closely the original copy, or for some other reason. I shall not attempt to give its place in the series—the present demonstration is complete without it. The page contains a wood-cut in which may be seen a crack. It may be of interest to note that Mr. Greg found a print of the same cut on a title-page of a date later than 1600 showing a narrower width of the crack, and that he at first cited the two instances as proof that the title-page here shown must have been printed later than the other one. Fortunately he looked a little farther and found a print bearing a date earlier than either, in which the crack was still wider. The phenomenon called forth many explanations. I notice that Mr. Sidney Lee's facsimile[1] of the recently acquired Stratford copy of this quarto seems not to show the crack nor the marginal flaws. Whether it was eliminated in this case by the heavier impression and differences in inking could probably be determined by careful measurements under a glass.

XIII. In this plate I bring together some most interesting examples of the paragon line "Written by W. Shakespeare" found in the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, *Pericles*, the *Merchant of Venice*, and the *Merry Wives*. It is to be noted that the second stroke of the second "W" of this line sometimes prints heavy and straight and long, and sometimes light and crooked and short with a decided burr

[1] Sidney Lee, *Shakespeare Quartos*. 1908.

THE
Whole Contention

betweene the tvvo Famous
Houſes, L A N C A S T E R and
Y O R K E.

With the Tragicall ends of the good Duke
Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke,
and King Henrie the
ſixt.

Diuided into two Parts : And newly correcd and
enlarged. Written by *William Shake-*
ſpeare, Gent.

Printed at L O N D O N, for T. P.

PLATE I

A
YORKSHIRE
TRAGEDIE.

Not so New, as Lamentable
and True.

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed for *T. P.* 1619.

THE LATE,
And much admired Play,
CALLED,
Pericles, Prince of Tyre.

With the true Relation of the whole History, aduentures, and fortunes of the saide Prince.

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed for *T. P.* 1619.

PLATE III

THE
EXCELLENT
Hiſtory of the Mer-
chant of Venice.

With the extreme cruelty of *Shylocke*
the Iew towards the ſaide Merchant, in cut-
ting a iuſt pound of his fleſh. And the obtaining
of *Portia*, by the choyſe of
three Caſkets.

Written by W. S H A K E S P E A R E.

Printed by *J. Roberts*, 1600.

PLATE IV

THE LATE,

THE MOST EXCELLENT,
And much admired Play,

CALLED,

Hiftory of the Mer-

Pericles, Prince of

chant of Venice.

Tyre

With the extreme cruelty of Shylocke
the Iew towardes the faide Merchant, in cut-

With the true Relation of the whole Hi-
ting a iuft pound of his flesh. And the obtaining
ftory, aduenture, and fortunes of
of Portia by the choyfe of
the faid Prince.
three chefts.

Written by W. Shakespeare.

Printed by J. Roberts, 1600.

PLATE V

THE LATE,

And much admired Play,

CALLED

Pericles, Prince of Tyre.

With the true Relation of the whole Hi-
story, adventures, and fortunes of
the said Prince.

Written by VV. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed at *London* by *Thomas Cotes,* 1635.

PLATE VI

THE LATE,
And much admired Play,
CALLED,
Pericles, Prince of Tyre.

With the true Relation of the whole Hi-
ftory, aduentures, and fortunes of
the faide Prince.

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed for *T. P.* 1619.

A
Moſt pleaſant and ex-
cellent conceited Comedy,
of Sir Iohn Falſtaffe, and the
merry VViues of VVindſor.

VVith the ſwaggering vaine of An-
cient *Piſtoll*, and Corporall *Nym*.

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed for *Arthur Johnſon*, 1619.

PLATE VIII

M. VVilliam Shake-fpeare,

HIS

True Chronicle Hiftory of the life
and death of King *Lear*, and his
three Daughters.

With the vnfortunate life of E D G A R,
fonne and heire to the Earle of *Glocefter*, and
his fullen and affumed humour of T O M
of Bedlam .

As it was plaid before the Kings Maiesty at White-Hall, vp-
pon S. Stephens night, in Christmas Hollidaies.

By his Maiefties Seruants, playing vfually at the
Globe on the *Banck-fide.*

Printed for *Nathaniel Butter.*
1608.

PLATE IX

THE
Chronicle Hiſtory
of Henry the fift, with his
battell fought at *Agin Court* in
France. Together with an-
cient *Piſtoll*.

As it hath bene ſundry times playd by the **Right Honou-**
rable the Lord Chamberlaine his
Seruants.

Printed for *T. P.* 1608.

PLATE X

The firſt part

Of the true & hono-
rable hiſtory, of the Life of
Sir Iohn Old-caſtle, the good
Lord Cobham.

*As it hath bene lately acted by the Right
honorable the Earle of Notingham
Lord High Admirall of England,
his Seruants.*

Written by William Shakeſpeare.

London printed for T.P.
1600.

PLATE XI

A
Midſommer nights
dreame.

As it hath beene ſundry times pub-
likely acted, by the Right Honoura-
ble, the Lord Chamberlaine his
ſeruants.

VVritten by VVilliam Shakeſpeare.

POST TENEBRAS LVX

Printed by Iames Roberts, 1600.

PLATE XII

1. **Written by W.Shakespeare.**
2. **Written by W.Shakespeare.**
3. **Written by W.Shakespeare.**
4. **Written by W.Shakespeare.**
5. **Written by W.Shakespeare.**
6. **Written by W.Shakespeare.**
7. **Written by W.Shakespeare.**
8. **Written by W.Shakespeare.**

(1) From *Yorkshire Tragedy*, Boston Public Library.   Burred stroke " W."
(2) From *Yorkshire Tragedy*, British Museum.   Straight stroke " W."
(3) From *Pericles*, Boston Public Library.   Burred stroke " W."
(4) From *Pericles*, British Museum.   Straight stroke " W."
(5) From *Merchant of Venice*, Boston Public Library.   Burred stroke " W."
(6) From *Merchant of Venice*, British Museum.   Straight stroke " W."
(7) From *Merry Wives*, Boston Public Library.   Burred stroke " W."
(8) From *Merry Wives*, Stratford Birthplace Library.   Straight stroke ''W."

PLATE XIII

across the end. The Barton copies uniformly exhibit the "W" with the burred stroke. The British Museum copy of the *Merry Wives* also shows this burred "W"; but in the case of the other three quartos, the British Museum copies[1] show the letter with the heavy straight stroke. A more different-looking "W" could hardly be imagined; and yet it must be the identical letter, only differently printed. I give herewith facsimiles of the line as shown in each of the four quartos containing it, first with the burred stroke in the "W," and then with the straight heavy stroke. It is not conceivable that the letter was changed back and forth from forme to forme. The discrepancy may have had not a little to do with diverting the attention of Mr. Pollard and Mr. Greg from the other resemblances in the line.[2] Whether the difference be attributed to conditions of atmospheric humidity or temperature, or of inking, or of wetness in the paper and blanket, or of impression, or what, the fact that both the straight heavy-stroke "W" and the burred-stroke "W" are found in each of these four quartos—in the 1600 *Merchant of Venice* as well as the 1619 *Pericles*, 1619 *Yorkshire Tragedy*, and 1619 *Merry Wives*—would have been proof in itself that these quartos were printed at the same time. As this plate was made without the assistance of the steel rule, and as its purpose is merely to show the difference in appearance between the "W's" mentioned, the several type examples have been only approximately standardized in size with each other.

IV

The plates here presented were made from photographs whose absolute accuracy to scale—or the minutest deviation from it—is demonstrable. Heretofore the photographer's word has been the only check upon his work. The present undertaking required better proof than the photographer's word that his reproductions were

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[1] The reference here is to the reproductions found in Mr. Pollard's *Shakespeare Quartos and Folios*. Two copies of *Pericles* are represented, apparently; the one showing the straight stroke "W" and the other the burred.

[2] Says Mr. Pollard: "I went so far as to place all the nine title-pages in a row, and admitted to myself that their general resemblance certainly made the suggestion [of Mr. Greg as to the date] plausible. But the typography and arrangement of the texts presented differences as well as resemblance. They *might* all have been printed at the same time, but it would certainly be very difficult, if not impossible, I thought, to prove it."—*Shakespeare Quartos and Folios,* p. 93.

true to size.   Heretofore there has been no way of rectifying with
certainty a photographic error, even where it was known to exist.
Work such as this could not be done upon those terms.   My distance
from the quartos necessitated my entrusting the photographing of
these title-pages to a photographer who could not at the best be
expected to attain to the microscopical accuracy attained in the
laboratory among instruments of precision.   This problem was
easily and simply solved by enclosing an accurate unit of measure-
ment to be photographed with the subject.   Such a standard I
believe has never before been used in the photographing of texts.
I found after many experiments that a high-grade flexible steel rule
was as satisfactory a unit as was ready to hand.   The rule had to
be of paper thinness, in order to avoid foreshortening at the ends.
That shown in my plates has whiting rubbed into the lines and
letters, for the purpose of bringing them out more clearly; but it
could have been read without this addition.   It is a 25 cm. tempered
steel rule, subdivided on the one edge into inches and fiftieths, and
on the other into centimeters and half-millimeters.   Whatever the
unit used, it should be as long as possible and absolutely accurate,
with subdivisions sufficiently small to enable the student to compute
measurements (under a glass) within a fraction of a hundredth of an
inch.   As the older type sizes used in England are described by
the number of ems to the foot, the inch divisions with decimal sub-
divisions were found more convenient in this work than the centi-
meter.   I used only the one rule; but it is now clear to me that at
least two should be used, one on each side of the page.   If two rules
are used thus, the slightest twisting of the easel can instantly be
detected, and the foreshortening arising therefrom clearly distin-
guished from the twist in the type page arising from an imperfect
lock-up.   A right-angle or "L" rule would answer the same purpose.
It goes without saying that the camera must be leveled with a spirit-
level, and the easel made absolutely perpendicular to it both vertically
and horizontally.   The pages shown were held flat by a glass plate,
in order to avoid any distortion from the bulging of the sheet.

   This paper furnishes a complete and independent demonstration
that the Shakespeare quartos spoken of as bearing the dates 1600
and 1608 were not printed in those years, but were printed within

a few days of the quartos bearing the date 1619. The establishing
of this proof establishes also the value of the method employed in
tracing it out. I have discussed with Professor Manly so many
times the general method underlying this work, and have received
from him so many suggestions, that if I were to try I should be
unable to distinguish between his contributions to it and my own.
I am happy to think that this demonstration is as much a reflection
of his interest and his ideals of accuracy as it is of mine, and further-
more, that I was led into an examination of the problem at such a
timely moment by his suggestion. I am also indebted to Mr. David
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<div align="right">WILLIAM J. NEIDIG</div>

CHAUCER AND THE *MIROIR DE MARIAGE*

The *Miroir de Mariage* of Eustache Deschamps[1] can certainly not have been finished before 1385;[2] it can hardly have been continued after 1396.[3] There is some reason for accepting 1389 as the approximate date at which its author stopped work on it;[4] it is possible that it was begun as early as 1381.[5] In any case we must assume a considerable period, extending doubtless over several years, during which the poem was on the stocks.[6] But the one *certainty*, as regards dates, is the fact that it was still under way at some time after 1385.

M. Gaston Raynaud, the distinguished editor of Deschamps, believes (it should at once be added) that the *Miroir* did not see the light before the poet's death,[7] which probably occurred in 1406.[8]

[1] *Œuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps* (Soc. des anc. textes fr.), IX.

[2] Lines 11,226–49 refer to the tribute imposed by the Genoese upon Cyprus in 1385. See Raynaud, in *Œuvres*, XI, 198.

[3] The date of the disaster at Nicopolis. Nicopolis would certainly have been included in the list of Turkish victories which Deschamps is enumerating, had the battle occurred before he wrote. For his keen interest in the expedition see the references given by Raynaud, XI, 79–80; cf. 198.

[4] "C'est vraisemblablement en 1389 qu'il faut placer cette interruption due à la prudence et à la prévoyance de l'auteur, qui jugea bon de se taire à une date où déjà il commençait à voir diminuer son rôle de *persona grata*. Plus tard les soucis de sa charge, des voyages à l'étranger, l'âge, les infirmités et aussi peut-être un redoublement de prudence l'empêchèrent de mener à fin ce long ouvrage," etc. (XI, 199).

[5] This rests on Raynaud's interpretation (XI, 165–66) of l. 4,649 of the *Miroir* as a reference to Charles VI, since Charles, who came to the throne in September, 1380, was not fourteen years old until December, 1382. In favor of this interpretation is the fact that l. 4,647 refers specifically to "les princes et les roys." But even so, due allowance must be made for Deschamps's free and easy treatment of the king's age in others of his poems (see my note on this, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 605, n. 2). On the other hand, it is very possible that the line is general, rather than specific, in its application, and may not have the king in mind at all. Young and old are covetous alike, says Deschamps—*even mere children:*

> On ne tent qu'a avoir argent,
> *Du plus jeune jusqu'au plus vieil,*
> Regne couvoitise et son fieil,
> Ne je ne voy fille ne fil
> Qui ne soit au jour d'ui subtil
> Entre les princes et les roys
> De demander la Saincte Crois;
> *Neis ceulx qui n'ont pas .xiiii. ans*
> Sont de demander plus engrans
> Et d'amasser argent en somme,
> Que ne font encor li vieil homme (ll. 4,642–52).

Raynaud's interpretation is a possible one; it is scarcely conclusive.

[6] For the *Miroir de Mariage* is not "opus unius diei, nec ludus parvulorum!"

[7] See Raynaud, in *Œuvres*, XI, 105.   [8] *Ibid.*, 98–99.

He gives, however, no evidence in support of his view, except the fact that the poem is unfinished—a consideration which, of course, establishes nothing either way. There is, on the other hand, what seems to be conclusive evidence not only that the poem *did* see the light before its author died, but also—a matter of distinctly greater moment—that it reached the hands of Geoffrey Chaucer.[1]

I

The central figure of the *Miroir de Mariage* is a somewhat shadowy Franc Vouloir. In the opening chapters of the poem he is addressed by four friends, Desir, Folie, Servitute, and Faintise, who present an array of reasons—conspicuous among which is the approach of old age—why he should take a wife.[2] Franc Vouloir, after hearing the arguments, first hesitates,[3] and then positively demurs.[4] Upon further consideration, however, he takes heart of grace, and even goes so far as to describe the wife whom he would wish to have;[5] but finally decides to submit the whole matter, for counsel, to his friend Repertoire de Science.[6] Repertoire de Science proceeds to justify his name and to refute the others' arguments in an epistle which begins with chap. xiv and runs through chap. lxxv—a total of 7,370 lines. Into its varied misogyny it is not necessary here to enter in detail. But two groups of chapters stand out with particular

[1] This evidence, it may be well to say, was discovered several weeks after my article on "The Chaucerian 'Merciles Beaute' and Three Poems of Deschamps" (*Modern Language Review*, V, 33–39) was in type. Raynaud's opinion regarding the date of publication of the *Miroir* had led me to regard certain resemblances, which I had been aware of for some time, as mere coincidences. The number and the nature of the additional parallels, however, which were disclosed by a rereading for another purpose of the early chapters of the *Miroir*, put their real significance in quite another light.

[2] The rubrics of a few of the chapters may be quoted: ii, "Comment . . . . Desir, Folie, Servitute et Faintise viennent admonnester a Franc Vouloir qu'il se marie pour avoir lignie, afin qu'il puisse continuer son espece"; v, "Des biens qui generalement sont en mariage, supposé que l'en n'eust point de lignie"; vi, "Des femmes de l'Ancien Testament qui ont esté secourables a leurs maris," etc.

[3] Chap. vii, "Comment Franc Vouloir est aucunement esmeu par les paroles des .iiii. dessus nommez, et neantmoins prist certain temps de deliberacion pour respondre."

[4] Chap. ix, "Comment Franc Vouloir pense a la franchise ou il est et considere le servitute ou on le veult bouter"; x, "Comment Franc Vouloir discute en son cuer pluseurs choses pour soy desister de mariage."

[5] Chap. xi, "Comment Franc Vouloir après ces choses pense aux biens de mariage dont il est aucunement entrepris par la promocion des .iiii. dessus nommez, et quelle femme il desire avoir."

[6] Chap. xiii, "Comment Franc Vouloir escript a son vray ami Repertoire de Science pour avoir son oppinion sur ce que les .iiii. dessus nommez lui ont admonnesté."

distinctness. One of them[1] is based directly upon the *Aureolus liber de Nuptiis* of Theophrastus,[2] enriched from Deschamps's own mordant observations upon life. The other[3] contains a spirited and vividly realistic delineation of the machinations of a mother-in-law on her daughter's behalf, and a no less graphic account of how the wife, under her mother's tutelage, becomes past mistress of the art of "beringe on hond" her brow-beaten husband. After this the epistle lapses into mortal dulness for the rest of its interminable course. Upon its conclusion Desir, Faintise, Servitute, and Folie come to Franc Vouloir to learn his decision, and are referred to Repertoire's epistle, against which they at once proceed to urge arguments (chiefly repeated from their earlier harangues) in rebuttal. Franc Vouloir rejoins, and in the midst of a curious digression upon the ills that have befallen France, the poem breaks off, at its twelve thousand, one hundred and third line.

I wish to show that Chaucer made use in the *Merchant's Tale* of the chapters in which Folie and his companions urge marriage upon Franc Vouloir; that the two salient groups of chapters in the letter of Repertoire de Science gave more than one suggestion to the Wife of Bath herself; that the God of Love was indebted to another portion of the *Miroir* for the framework (and in part for the phraseology) of his famous bibliographical homily in the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women;* and that, finally, traces of this same portion of the *Miroir* appear in the *Miller's Prologue* and the *Franklin's Tale.*

II

"It is specially noteworthy," Professor Tatlock has recently remarked, in discussing the "puzzling and graceless position" of the *Merchant's Tale* in Chaucer's works,[4] "that when the poem is barely begun the narrator makes a long and quite independent discourse, unparalleled elsewhere in the *Canterbury Tales*, 126 lines of

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[1] Chaps. xiv–xxv.

[2] Preserved in the letter of St. Jerome *Adversus Jovinianum* (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, coll. 276–78).

[3] Chaps. xxxiii–xl. See Raynaud, XI, 178–79, for a discriminating characterization of this group of chapters.

[4] *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Society, 1907), 200.

veiled and grave irony." This discourse,[1] with its almost obtrusively satirical panegyric upon marriage, is at once supplemented by another passage of sixty-nine lines,[2] put this time into the mouth of the old lecher January himself. And the two together are used, with consummate art, to heighten the caustic irony of the *dénouement* of the *Tale*. Moreover, these opening sections constitute part of Chaucer's own contribution to the development of the tale; no hint of them appears in any of the known analogues.[3] The question of their origin, accordingly, becomes one of unusual interest.[4]

One important source of part of the opening paragraphs, as well as of other portions of the *Tale*, has, of course, long been known. Koeppel pointed out as early as 1899[5] that Chaucer had made use in the *Merchant's Tale* of scattered passages not only from his own *Melibeus*, but also from another work of Albertanus Brixensis, the *Liber de Amore*. And much more recently Tatlock has shown[6] that the indebtedness of the plot of the opening part of the *Tale* to *Melibeus* is also unmistakable. But the borrowings from Albertano constitute but a small portion even of the passage under discussion;[7] and the similiarity of the plot turns on the way in which quite different counsel is asked for and received. For advice about marriage, it is manifest, is not what Melibeus is in search of.[8] That Albertano, in whatever form, is not the sole, or even the chief, source of the opening paragraphs of the *Merchant's Tale* is obvious.[9]

Now the mere fact that in the *Miroir de Mariage* the counsel which is sought and given *does* have reference to taking a wife—a

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[1] E. 1,267–1,392.   [2] E. 1,400–68.

[3] See Tatlock, 215; Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vii, Anzeiger, 163.

[4] Tatlock even remarks, speaking of this and other portions of the *Tale*, that "one is almost inclined to feel that Chaucer was writing somehow from his own experience" (p. 199, n. 5). And there can be little question of the vividness and verisimilitude of the rehearsal. But the facts pointed out below seem to put a somewhat different face upon the question.

[5] *Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXVI, 34–43.   [6] Pp. 215–16.

[7] The longest single passage (E. 1,362–74), too, is really a digression on woman's counsel in general. Rebecca, Judith, and Esther are none of them celebrated as *wives*.

[8] I am not arguing against the undoubted influence of Albertano, and especially of Chaucer's own *Melibeus;* I am simply pointing out that there is room for an additional and more immediate influence.

[9] For Chaucer's use in the *Merchant's Tale* of passages from the *Parson's Tale*, see Koeppel in *Archiv*, LXXXVII, 35–36, 41–43. For borrowings from "Jerome ageyns Jovinian," see Koeppel in *Anglia*, XIII, 178–80; and for a possible reminiscence of the *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum*, cf. *ibid.*, 183. The influence of the *Roman de la Rose* on the *Tale* is treated by Koeppel in *Anglia*, XIV, 257.

young one at that,[1] and with special reference to old age[2]—this fact manifestly does not in itself establish the necessary indebtedness of the *Merchant's Tale* to the *Miroir*. If, however, there is evidence of another sort that such indebtedness does exist, the similarity of situation at once acquires direct corroborative value. And a comparison of passage after passage in the *Tale*, especially from its earlier portions, with lines (again especially) from the opening sections of the *Miroir* seems to offer evidence enough.

The sixth chapter of the *Miroir* begins with an account of how Sara, the wife of Tobias, was "secourable" to her husband,[3] and thereupon urges the danger of undue delay in marrying:

> Or advises que tu ne failles
> D'attendre plus que tu ne doys
> A marier.[4]

This advice is clinched by concrete examples, the first of which immediately follows the lines just quoted:

> *Il fut uns roys*
> *Qui diverses femmes ama*
> Et son propos en ce ferma
> *Que il n'aroit jamais espouse.*[5]

In the light of what follows it is interesting to set beside this the opening lines of the *Tale:*

> *Whylom ther was* dwellinge in Lumbardye
> A worthy knight, that born was of Pavye,
> In which he lived in greet prosperitee;
> And sixty yeer *a wyflees man was he,*
> *And folwed ay his bodily delyt*
> *On wommen,* ther-as was his appetyt,
> As doon thise foles that ben seculeer.[6]

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[1] *Miroir,* ll. 1,074–76:

> Et encores suis je ennortés
> Que je la praingne jeune et riche,
> Belle, douce, courtoise et friche.

[2] *Miroir,* ll. 1,056–58

> Et aussi que, se vieulx devien,
> Que ma femme sousteneresse
> Soit de moi et de ma vieillesse, etc.

[3] On ll. 275–77, which close the account, see below, p. 179.

[4] Ll. 278–80   [5] Ll. 280–83.   [6] E. 1,245–51.

The *Miroir* proceeds to elaborate the ills attending such a course, with further illustration, and then comes to the reverse side of the shield:

> To take a wyf, it is a glorious thing;[1]
> > Si fait bon avoir droicte ligne
> > *Et espouser femme benigne.* . . . .
> > *On a sa douçour et sa joye,*
> > *On s'en remet a droicte voye,*
> > *On en laisse mainte aventure.*[2]

And now it will be simplest to set the parallels side by side.

Mais s'il est vieulx et espanis	*And namely whan a man is old and hoor*;
. . . .[3]	Thanne is a wyf the fruit of his tresor.
Ancor vault mieux tart que jamais	
Soy marier pour avoir hoirs.	
Marie toy, c'iert grant savoirs.[4]	
Et encores suis je ennortés	
Que je la praingne jeune et riche,	*Than sholde he take a yong wyf and a feir,*
Belle, douce, courtoise et friche.	
Pour avoir plus tost des enfans.	*On which he mighte engendren him an heir,*[5]
Et par ce point que je pourray	
Ma vie user et ma jeunesse	*And lede his lyf*
En grant deduit, en grant leesse.[6]	*in ioye and in solas.*
	Wher-as thise bacheleres singe "allas."[7]

But Franc Vouloir is, of course, still a bachelor, and takes the bachelor's point of view:

Suis plus frans que l'oisel du raim,	*They* [thise bacheleres] *live but as a brid* or
Qui puet ou il lui plaist voler:	as a beste,
Aussi puis je par tout aler	
Franchement et sanz nul lien.	*In libertee, and under non areste,*
Or veulent mon eage moien	Ther-as a wedded man in his estaat
	Liveth a lyf blisful and ordinaat
Lier en puissance d'autrui.[8]	*Under the yok of mariage y-bounde;*[9]
	Wel may his herte in joye and blisse
	habounde.
Homs doit par dehors ordonner,	
Femme doit dedenz gouverner:	
Elle est si doulce en sa parole,	
Son mari sert, baise et acole,	*For who can be so buxom as a wyf?*
Et fait, quant il est a martire,	Who is so trewe, and eek so ententyf
Qu'elle le puisse getter d'ire.	
S'il a griefté, celle le garde,	*To kepe him, syk* and hool, as is his make?
	For wele or wo, she wol him nat forsake.
Et piteusement le resgarde,	*She nis nat wery him to love and serve,*[10]
Et mainte foiz par sa douçour	*Thogh that he lye bedrede*
Le retrait de mortel langour.[11]	*til he sterve.*[12]

[1] E. 1,268.   [2] Ll. 369–70, 377–79.   [3] Line missing in the MS.
[4] Ll. 394–98.   With l. 398 compare E. 1,268 above.   [5] Cf. also l. 397 above.
[6] Ll. 1,074–76, 1,078, 1,082–88.   [7] E. 1,269–74.   [8] Ll. 528–33.

[9] Chaucer in the last four lines has shifted Deschamps's point of view (that of the bachelor himself) to fit his own immediate context. In the light of his treatment of St. Jerome in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, this needs no further comment!

[10] Compare also l. 224 above: *Son mari sert, baise et acole.*   [11] Ll. 221–30.   [12] E. 1,287–92.

The lines which immediately follow in Chaucer[1] are based upon Theophrastus (though still, it seems probable, with an eye upon Deschamps), and I wish to defer consideration of them until I can bring them into connection with the Theophrastian passages in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*.[2] The direct citation from Theophrastus is followed by a passage whose composition is peculiarly instructive. Ll. 1,311–14 are a reminiscence of the *Liber de Amore*;[3] l. 1,315 is an echo of the *Parson's Tale*,[4] as is also l. 1,319—a fact which Koeppel does not seem to have noticed:

> Mariage is a ful gret sacrement;
> This [sc. matrimoine], as seith the book, is a full greet
>   sacrement.[5]

It is the following line in the *Parson's Tale*—"God maked it, as I have seyd, in paradys"—which obviously recalls the fuller statement of the same fact on the very folio of Albertano from which Chaucer had just drawn in ll. 1,311–14; and accordingly ll. 1,323–31 revert to the *Liber de Amore*.[6] These, in turn, are followed by three lines whose composition is as curiously complex as that of the longer passage in which they occur. For the *"duo in carne una"* with which the quotation from Albertano closes seems to have recalled at once a phrase—"Ce son *deux corps en union, En une char*"—in that chapter of the *Miroir* upon which likewise Chaucer has just been drawing.[7] The next lines, accordingly, closely parallel the *Miroir* again:

C'est tresdoulce conjunction,	They moste nedes live
Ce sont deux corps *en union,*	*in unitee.*
En une char par la loy joins,	*O flesh they been,* and o flesh, as I gesse,
Qui s'entraiment et près et loins.[8]	*Hath but on herte, in wele and in distresse.*[9]

[1] E. 1,294–1,310.

[2] See below, p. 196, n. 1.

[3] Koeppel, *Archiv*, LXXXVI, 40–41.   [4] *Ibid.*, LXXXVII, 42–43.

[5] I. 915. The two lines which follow (E. 1,320–21) are singularly like a reminiscence of another passage from the *Miroir:*
> He which that hath no wyf, I holde him shent;
> He liveth helpless and al desolat.

Compare, in their context, *Miroir*, ll. 98–99:
> Se tu y entres vuide main,
> Chetis seras et langoreus.

[6] Koeppel, *Archiv*, LXXXVI, 40.

[7] See the parallel with E. 1,287–92 above.   [8] Ll. 217–20.

[9] E. 1,334–36. The explicit statement of the idea of living "in unitee," it should be observed, is common to the *Merchant's Tale* and to the *Miroir* alone. Note also the correspondence (the actual phrasing being modified by the rhyme) of "et près et loins" and "in wele and in distresse."

But even so, it is the *Parson's Tale* which lends another phrase, for the "hath but on herte" (corresponding to "s'entraiment" of the *Miroir*) is suggested by the next sentence but one of the Parson: "It [*sc.* mariage] chaungeth deedly sinne in-to venial sinne bitwixe hem that been y-wedded, *and maketh the hertes al oon* of hem that been y-wedded, as wel as the bodies."[1]   It is obvious that the web which Chaucer is weaving is no simple one!²

It is not surprising, then, to find that Chaucer now passes back to the *Miroir*, and takes up the thread precisely where he had broken it off at l. 1,292:

Elle gouverne son hostel	*She kepeth his good,*
Et son bestail d'autre costel;	
Elle est guettant, saige et apperte,	
Et voit que rien ne voist a perte.	*and wasteth never a deel;*
Espargnier scet et avoir soing	
Pour le despendre a un besoing.	
Matin lieve et se couche tart,	
Car son cuer et sa pensée art	*Al that hir housbonde lust, hir lyketh weel;*
*Tousjours a son gouvernement.*³	She seith not ones 'nay' whan he seith 'ye.'
	'Do this,' seith he; 'al redy, sir,' seith she.⁴

[1] I. 915.   Koeppel seems to have overlooked this fact in his discussion of the parallels with the *Parson's Tale* (*Archiv*, LXXXVII, 35–36, 41–43).   In *Anglia*, XIV, 257, he suggests that the Merchant's lines are reminiscent of the *Roman de la Rose*:

> 16,641   Et quant nous n'avons char fors une,
> Par le droit de la loi commune,
> N'il ne puet en une char estre
> *Fors que uns cuers* à la senestre:
> *Tuit ung sont donques li cuers nostre.*

But Chaucer's use of the immediate context in the *Parson's Tale* makes it clear that this was what was in his mind at the time.   It is very possible, however, that the *Roman* may have suggested the phrasing of the *Parson's Tale*—so far, at least, as the Latin of the *Tractatus de Viciis* gives any clue.   See Petersen, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, 77.

² Compare, for the crowding associations one finds here, and also for the resulting complexity of texture, the *marguerite* passage from the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women* (see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 612–15, 619–21).   A no less striking instance is afforded by the *Fortune* ballad, whose complexity (as I hope soon to show) is even greater than has been recognized.

³ Ll. 231–34, 239–40, 245–47.

⁴ Possibly enough suggested by the racy statement of the opposite situation, as indicated by a pair of Franc Vouloir's married friends:

> Dont l'un dit: "Femme ay debonnaire!
> Elle fait trestout le contraire
> De ce que je vueil et commande."
> L'autre dit: "Quant des poys demande,
> On me fait feves ou poureaux;
> Se harenz vueil, j'ay maquereaux;
> Se je di: Gardez le mesnaige,
> On me faint un pelerinaige:
> Lors fault aler a Saint Denis!"   (ll. 801–9).

Car nulle vraie policie	O blisful ordre of wedlock precious,
N'est sanz mariage assevie	Thou art so mery, and eek so vertuous,
Ne hostel; *et bien le verras*	
En Ethiques, quant tu vourras,	*And so commended and appreved eek,*
Et Pollitiques d'Aristote,	
Qui plus a plain ce nous denote.[1]	
Eureux, se Salemon ne ment,	*That every man that halt him worth a leek,*
Est cilz qui treuve bonne fame!	*Up-on his bare knees oghte al his lyf*
Il puisera de corps et d'ame	
Joye devers Nostre Seigneur.[2]	*Thanken his god that him hath sent a wyf;*
Or garde donc	Or elles preye to god him for to sende
. . . . *que ta femme en tes vieulx jours*	*A wyf, to laste un-to his lyves ende.*[3]
Soit a ta vieillesse secours.	
Naturelment te garderoient	*For thanne his lyf is set in sikernesse;*
Et ta viellesce soustendroient:	
Si ne puez donc estre fraudez.[4]	*He may nat be deceyved,* as I gesse.[5]

The next line—"So that he werke after his wyves reed"—forms a natural transition to the subject of woman's counsel in general, and for ll. 1,362–90, with their *exempla*, Chaucer is again indebted to Albertano, in part directly, in part through his own *Melibeus*.[6] But even here, as I shall have occasion to point out below,[7] the *Miroir* seems also to have been at hand.

In January's speech, however, its presence is unmistakable again:[8]

[1] Ll. 211–16. With Chaucer's *phraseology*, compare:

> Mais, quant chascun s'entraime bien,
> *Mariage est souverain bien*
> *Et sur tous la plus belle vie* (ll. 9,005–7; cf. ll. 9,150–52).

These lines are from another section of the *Miroir*, which, as we shall see, there are grounds for believing that Chaucer also knew. See below, pp. 181–85.

[2] Ll. 248–51. It will be noticed that the last thirty-three lines which have been quoted (in the text) from Deschamps are from a single chapter, the fifth. They constitute, indeed, the entire chapter, with the exception of ten lines.

[3] Compare, in the *Miroir*, two lines before:

> Et que par mariage saille
> De toy lumiere *pardurable* (ll. 420–21).

[4] Ll. 418, 423–24, 435–37.   [5] E. 1,343–56.

[6] *Archiv*, LXXXVI, 36–39, 40–41.   [7] See pp. 181–84.

[8] Its influence is also traceable, perhaps, in the intervening lines which lead up to January's words. With:

> Considered hath, *inwith his dayes olde* (E. 1,394),

compare:

> Et que ta femme *en tes vieulx jours* (l. 423).

One recalls, of course, Gower's message to Chaucer (*Confessio Amantis*, VIII, 2,950*): "Forthi now *in hise daies olde.*" But the phrase in the *Miroir* is not only in a chapter (vi) from which Chaucer has made other borrowings, but the very line preceding this one appears later on (E. 1,621=*Miroir*, l. 422; see below, p. 176). With *"the lusty lyf* . . . . That is in mariage" (E. 1,395–96), compare "Mariage est . . . . sur tous *la plus belle vie,*" and "n'est ce pas donques *belle vie*" of ll. 9,006–7, 9,151. The "vertuous quiete" of E. 1,395 is included in what Franc Vouloir likewise "considered hath" in pondering upon marriage:

> Mais soit bonne et religieuse . . . .
> Amer mon corps, *garder ma paix* . . . .
> *Je n'aray noise* ne contemps (ll. 741, 745, 754).

Mais avoir vueil femme benigne . . . .
Jeune et chaste de bouche et mains . . . .
De .xv., .xvi. ou a vint ans . . . .
Et doulce comme columbelle,
Obeïssant a moy en tout,
Qui n'ait pas le sourcil desrout,
Ne ne regarde par decoste.[2]
[Et que ta femme en tes vieulx jours
Soit a ta vieillisse secours,
Ainsi comme fut la vieille Anne
Au grant Thobie]. Et ne te dampne
De suir en ce temps obscur
Pechié de char, car ou futur
En seroit ta vie abregiée,
Et en la fin t'ame dampnée.[3]

Estrange gent le tien aront . . . .
Serviteresses, serviteurs
Sont leurs hoirs et executeurs.[4]

But o thing warne I yow, my freendes dere,
I wol non old wyf han in no manere.
She shal nat passe twenty[1] *yeer, certayn* . . . .

But certeynly, *a yong thing may men gye,*
Right as men may warm wex with handes
    plye. . . . .
I wol non old wyf han right for this cause.
For if so were, I hadde swich mischaunce,
That I in hir ne coude han no plesaunce,

Thanne sholde I lede my lyf in avoutrye,

And go streight to the devel, when I dye.
Ne children sholde I none up-on hir geten;
Yet were me lever houndes had me eten,
Than that myn heritage sholde falle
In straunge hand, and this I tell yow alle.

The following lines (E. 1,443–55) are referred by Koeppel[6] to the *Parson's Tale,* and its influence upon their phraseology is indubitable.[7] But the influence of the *Miroir* is, I think, also palpable:

I dote nat, I woot the cause why
Men sholde wedde, and forthermore wot I,
Ther speketh many a man of mariage,
That woot na-more of it than woot my page,
For whiche causes man sholde take a wyf.
If he ne may nat liven chast his lyf,

D'autre part cilz vit *folement*
Et contre la Saincte Escripture,
Quant il art ou feu de luxure.
Dont mieulx vault marier qu'ardoir,
Car saint Pol le nous fait sçavoir
Es epistres qu'il nous envoye,
Mariage est moult bonne voye
Qui la prant en entencion
De faire generacion:

Take him a wyf with greet devocioun,
By-cause of leveful procreacioun
Of children, to th'onour of god above,
And nat only for paramour or love;
And for they sholde lecherye eschue.[9]

On en laist maint autre pechié
De quoy on puet estre entechié.[8]

[1] Four MSS—Cp., Pt., Ln., and Hl.—have " xvj."

[2] Ll. 722, 725, 727, 730–33.

[3] Ll. 423–30.   [4] Ll. 91, 103–4.

[5] E. 1,415–17, 1,429–30, 1,432–40.

[6] *Archiv,* LXXXVII, 42.

[7] The passage in the *Parson's Tale,* as quoted by Koeppel, is as follows: "Thanne shal men understonde that for three thinges a man and his wyf fleshly mowen assemble. The first is in entente of engendrure of children *to the service of god,* for certes that is the cause fynal of matrimoine. Another cause is, *to yelden* everich of hem to other *the dette of hir bodies,* for neither of hem hath power over his owene body. The thridde is, for *to eschewe lecherye* and vileinye" (I, 935).

[8] Ll. 106–16.   [9] E. 1,441–51.

It is obvious at once that the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Miroir* agree in giving *the causes why a man should marry;*[1] the passage in the *Parson's Tale* gives the causes for which, *after marriage*, a man and his wife may assemble. Furthermore, the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Miroir* agree in their specific application of their reasons to the case of a man who "may nat liven chast his lyf."[2] And finally, the passage in the *Miroir* follows immediately upon the lines which rehearse how the heritage of a man who does not marry falls into the hands of strangers, and it passes (as we shall see) directly into a figure drawn from the manner in which trees renew their youth. Chaucer's paragraph, accordingly, gives evidence of being the result of a fusion of cross-reminiscences—this time between the *Miroir* and the *Parson's Tale*—strikingly like the earlier case we have observed above,[3] in which Chaucer's memory (and possibly his eye as well) played similarly back and forth between the *Liber de Amore* and the *Parson's Tale*.

The next five lines are directly reminiscent of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue:*[4]

He spak to hem that wolde live parfitly;
And lordinges, by your leve, that am nat I.
I wol bistowe the flour of al myn age
In th' actes and in fruit of mariage.[5]

And live in chastitee ful holily.
But sires, by your leve, that am nat I.
For god be thanked, I dar make avaunt,
I fele my limes stark and suffisaunt·
To do al that a man bilongeth to.[6]

And it is difficult to doubt that the lines which come next in the *Tale* were suggested by the lines which immediately follow those last quoted from the *Miroir:*

Et si voions neis que li arbre
Sur les caillos et sur le marbre
Croissent et font leurs fruiz divers,
Ne n'yert ja nulz si granz yvers
Que leur racine ne s'extende
En terre, et autre arbre ne rende.
Quant aux vieulx leur humeur perie,
Au jeune est forme reperie.
Ainsi se vont renouvellent.[7]

Though I be hoor, *I fare as dooth a tree*

That blosmeth er that *fruyt y-woxen be;*
A blosmy tree nis neither drye ne deed.

I fele me nowher hoor but on myn heed;
Myn herte and alle my limes been as grene
As laurer thurgh the yeer is for to sene.[8]

[1] "I dote nat, I woot the cause why Men sholde wedde. . . . . For whiche causes man sholde take a wyf." (E. 1,441–42, 1445). Similarly the lines in Deschamps are near the beginning of the passage in which Franc Vouloir's friends (as he says)

. . . . pour l'amour
Qu'ilz ont a moy de bon courage
M'ont admonnesté mariage (ll. 84–86).

[2] E. 1,446=*Miroir*, 108.   [3] See pp. 171–72.

[4] See Tatlock, 213, for a not quite adequate recognition of the parallel.

[5] D. 111–14.   [6] E. 1,445–60.

[7] Ll. 117–25. It will be noticed that the last twenty-three lines which have been quoted (in the text) from Deschamps are consecutive.

[8] E. 1,461–66.

The figure of the tree is given by Chaucer a characteristic turn; but its context in the two passages is the same.

It seems clear, then, that in the long and rather puzzling passage put into the mouth of the narrator, as well as in January's speech to his friends, Chaucer has made use of the arguments urged in favor of marriage by Folie and his friends in the opening chapters of the *Miroir*. And one more fact is worthy of remark. In Deschamps these arguments serve simply as a foil for the mordant and vividly realistic picture of actual married life which follows; their office in Chaucer is likewise, and no less distinctly, to heighten the caustic irony of January's actual experience; and the cynical implications of the panegyric are alike in both.

But these are not the only points in the *Merchant's Tale* where the influence of the *Miroir* may be seen. January asks his friends to make no arguments against his purpose,

> "Which purpos was *plesant to god*," seyde he.[1]

So marriage, in the *Miroir*, is

> Belle au monde, *a Dieu agreable*.[2]

January, after he has chosen his bride, thinks of

> Hir *fresshe beautee* and hir *age tendre*,
> Hir *myddel smal*, hir *armes longe and sclendre*,
> Hir *wyse governaunce*, hir gentillesse,
> Hir *wommanly beringe*, and hir sadnesse.[3]

In the *Miroir* the qualities which (it is implied) one doesn't find combined in a wife closely correspond:

> Et diffinit, se *belle* et *tendre*[4]
> Est, *de gent corps et bien parens*,
> *Honneste* et de riches parens,
> Qu'elle soit bien moriginée
> *Et de sa maniere ordonnée*.[5]

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[1] E. 1,621.

[2] L. 422.   This is from the sixth chapter, from which Chaucer has already drawn. See above, pp. 169–70, 173.

[3] E. 1,601–4.

[4] Cf. E. 1,407: "Un-to som mayde *fair and tendre* of age."

[5] Ll. 1,202–6.   Deschamps's lines are a translation of the beginning of Jerome's excerpt from Theophrastus (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, col. 276).

In the *Tale* Justinus warns January that it is no child's play

> To take a wyf with-oute avysement.
> Men moste enquere, this is myn assent,
> Wher she be wys, or sobre, or dronkelewe,
> Or proud, or elles other-weys a shrewe;
> A chydester, or wastour of thy good,
> Or riche, or poore, or elles mannish wood.[1]

In the *Miroir* Repertoire de Science insists:

> A mon propos vueil revenir.
> *Qui prandra femme*, cilz l'ara
> Toute tele qu'il la prandra,
> Soit jeune, vieille, salle ou nette,
> Sotte, boiteuse ou contrefette,
> Humble, courtoise ou gracieuse,
> Belle ou borgne ou malicieuse.[2]

The last parallel is close enough as it stands. But the context of the two passages in their respective poems establishes beyond a doubt the borrowing. Justinus's theme is the taking a wife "with-oute avysement"; Deschamps at this point is elaborating four sentences of Theophrastus,[3] the gist of which is packed into a single line elsewhere in the *Miroir*:

> Veulz tu espouser chat en sac ?[4]

Now the lines which immediately follow in Justinus's speech contain a curious phrase:

> Al-be-it so that no man finden shal
> Noon in this world *that trotteth hool in al*,
> Ne man ne beest, swich as men coude devyse;
> But natheless, it oghte y-nough suffise
> With any wyf, if so were that she hadde
> Mo gode thewes than hir vyces badde;
> And al this axeth leyser for t'enquere.[5]

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[1] E. 1,531–36.   [2] Ll. 1,538–45.

[3] We shall have to come back to these same four sentences later on in connection with the Wife of Bath's use of them. I quote them here for immediate comparison: "Si iracunda, si fatua, si deformis, si superba, si fetida, quodcumque vitii est, post nuptias discimus. Equus, asinus, bos, canis, et vilissima mancipia, vestes quoque, et lebetes, sedile ligneum, calix, et urceolus fictilis probantur prius, et sic emuntur: sola uxor non ostenditur, ne ante displiceat, quam ducatur" (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, col. 277).

[4] L. 8,758.

[5] E. 1,537–43.

The parallel from Albertano which Koeppel cites[1] leaves the specific figure used quite unaccounted for. Its point, however, becomes perfectly clear so soon as one compares Deschamps's paraphrase of Theophrastus's "Equus, asinus, bos, canis . . . . probantur prius, et sic emuntur":

> Se tu veulz achater bestail
> Pour garder ou vendre a detail,
> Soit buefs, vaiches, brebiz ou pors,
> Tu le verras au long du corps,
> Ou ventre, en la queue, en la teste
> Et es dens, s'il est juene beste,
> Et les metteras a l'essay;
> Et des chevaulx encore sçay,
> Quant ilz vendront en ton encontre,
> *Ilz troteront dessus la monstre,*
> Tu les verras et chaux et frois,
> Et soubz la selle, c'est bien drois
> Qu'ilz ne soient rouz ou cassez;
> Et qu'ilz ne soient mespassez,
> Leur tasteras parmi les jointes;
> Sus monteras, et donrras pointes
> Et costez de tes esperons.
> Mais autrement va des barons
> Et des aultres qui prannent femmes,
> Car sanz vir queuvrent leurs diffames,
> Et les prannent sanz ce sçavoir
> Qu'elles font depuis apparoir,
> Comme plus a plain sera dit.[2]

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[1] *Archiv*, LXXXVI, 43: "Nam dixit quidam philosophus: 'Nulla tam bona uxor, in qua non invenias, [quod] queraris, et nulla tam bona fortuna est, de qua nihil possit queri.'" Bell's note (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 358) is to the point—so far as it goes.

[2] Ll. 1,553–75. With the lines that immediately follow in Chaucer, compare the lines that immediately follow in Deschamps:

> *For god it woot*, I have wept many a tere
> Ful prively, sin I have had a wyf.
> Preyse who-so wole a wedded mannes lyf,
> Certein, I finde in it but cost and care,
> And observances, of alle blisses bare (E.1,544–48).

> Quant le povre deduit du lit
> Est passé par aucunes nuis,
> Lors te saudront les grans ennuis,
> Car tu ne pourras achever
> Son delit sanz ton corps grever,
> Qui adonc reposer vouldras;
> *Mais Dieux scet* que tu ne pourras
> Rendre le deu qu'elle demande
> Quant au delit (ll. 1,576–84).

Justinus, it will also be remembered, declares that "al this axeth leyser for t'enquere" (E. 1,543; see above). So Franc Vouloir, after the four friends have urged their argu-

January's jealousy (to continue) is such

> *That neither in halle, n'in noon other hous,*
> *Ne in noon other place, never-the-mo,*
> *He nolde suffre hir for to ryde or go,*
> *But-if that he had hand on hir alway.*[1]

Franc Vouloir's wish for his wife is similar:

> *Mais soit tousjours près de ma coste,*
> *Si non pour aler au moustier,*
> Quant aux jours qu'il sera mestier,
> Et qui ne soit pas enfestée
> Ne de saillir a la volée
> Es rues pour ouir le bruit,
> *Nulle foiz de jour ne de nuit.*[2]

Worthy of note, moreover, are ll. 1,703–7:

> Forth comth the preest, with stole aboute his nekke,
> *And bad hir be lyk Sarra* and Rebekke,
> *In wisdom and in trouthe of mariage;*
> And seyde his orisons, as is usage,
> And crouched hem, *and bade god sholde hem blesse.*

At the end of the account, already referred to,[3] of the "mariage qui fut bon" of Sara and Tobias, occur the following lines:

> *Celle Saire que nous disons*
> *Fut si loyal qu'es benissons*
> *Est nommée et es espousailles.*[4]

It is, however, when we reach Proserpine's retort to Pluto, that perhaps the most striking correspondence in the *Tale* appears:

Et s'elle y estoit prinse apperte,
Mais qu'elle soit tost recouverte,
Tant se scet de sa langue aidier
Qu'elle ara droit par son plaidier
Encontre cellui qui l'accuse.
Il n'est riens que femme ne ruse,
Et se par plaidier ne l'avoit,
Par pleurs et larmes l'obtendroit, ...
Et s'elle estoit prinse prouvée

Et en present meffait trouvée
Avecques homme ou qui que soit,
Cilz qui de ce l'accuseroit,
Par sa langue, soies tous fis,
Seroit menteur et desconfis.[5]

That, though they be in any gilt y-take,

With face bold they shulle hem-self excuse,
And bere hem doun
    that wolden hem accuse.
For lakke of answer, noon of hem shal dyen.

Al hadde man seyn a thing with bothe his yen,

Yet shul we wommen visage it hardliy,
And wepe, and swere, and chyde subtilly,
So that ye men
    shul been as lewed as gees.[6]

ments, "prist certain temps de deliberacion pour respondre" (chap. vii, heading). He actually asks ".vi. jours . . . . de delay" (l. 509). Compare also, from the chapter before, ll. 443–52.

[1] E. 2,088–91.   [3] See above, p. 169.   [5] Ll. 2,949–56, 2,959–64.
[2] Ll. 734–40.   [4] Ll. 275–77.   [6] E. 2,268–75.

The lines which follow in the *Miroir* may also be quoted, for their relevance to the situation which constitutes the *dénouement* of the *Tale:*

> Et de paroles diroit tant
> Que, s'elle estoit ribaude et pute,
> Seroit elle trouvée juste,
> Et faurroit que cilz se teust,
> Supposé encor qu'il sceust
> Tout le certain de la besongne,
> Tant li diroit honte et vergongne.[1]

And the passage as a whole is directly followed by the most vivid and racy sections of Repertoire's epistle.

But the immediately *preceding* context of the lines (2,949 ff.) in the *Miroir* repays a moment's scrutiny. For one thing, this is one of the passages which would inevitably have caught Chaucer's eye. For the lines directly before it rehearse the scurrilous quotation from Herodotus which was among the "proverbs" that Jankin reveled in:

> Erodotes encor raconte
> Que la femme n'a point de honte,
> Pour son grant delit achever,
> *De sa robe prandre et lever*
> *En quelque lieu, en quelque place,*
> *Tant que aucuns sa volunté face.*[2]

Moreover, Deschamps has obviously misunderstood Jerome's citation. His interpretation is that "la femme est un être impudique, comme l'écrit Hérodote, toujours prête à se dévêtir 'tant qu'aucuns sa volunté face.'"[3] But Herodotus, in point of fact, "prétend simplement qu'une fois nue, la femme perd tout pudeur." The result of this misunderstanding is a passage of half a dozen lines which might itself serve as a text for the pear-tree story; and it is this

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[1] Ll. 2,966–72.

[2] Ll. 2,943–48.   Compare D. 782–83:
> He seyde, "a womman cast hir shame away,
> Whan she cast of hir smok."

The passage from St. Jerome's *Epistola Adversus Jovinianum* is as follows: "Scribit Herodotus, quod mulier cum veste deponat et verecundiam" (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, col. 279). See *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 312 (and the note in Migne), for the Greek. John of Salisbury also quotes the passage (*Policraticus*, lib. viii, c. xi, 752*a*), but in a context which shows that he is indebted to Jerome.

[3] Raynaud, in XI, 178.   I avail myself gladly of Raynaud's French.

which is followed at once by the lines which Chaucer has put into Proserpine's mouth. The passage, in other words, affords a perfect point of juncture between the somewhat ribald tale which Chaucer meant to tell and the ironical praise of marriage earlier in the *Miroir*, which was so aptly to be used to introduce it. Indeed, the passage we are considering is almost enough in itself to have suggested to Chaucer the fusion of the two.

Up to this point all the parallels that have been noted fall within the first 3,000 lines of the poem, and far the larger number of them within the first 1,000. They are drawn, that is, either from the argument of Folly and his friends or from the early sections of Repertoire's epistle. There are, however, one or two passages that seem to have been suggested by the later portion of the *Miroir*, in which the four companions reiterate, with additions, their earlier arguments.

Among the *exempla* of a woman's counsel (E. 1,362–74) in the earlier paragraphs of the *Tale* occurs that of Esther (E. 1,371–74). Now Koeppel has demonstrated beyond doubt that Chaucer is using here (as he did not in *Melibeus*) the original Latin text of Albertano, for in the French there is no mention of Mardocheus:[1]

> Simili modo et Hester Judæos per suum bonum consilium
> *simul cum Mardochœo* in regno Assueri regis *sublimavit.*[2]

> Hester par son conseil *esleva* moult son peuple ou royaume
> de Assuere le roy.[3]

> Hester by good counseil *enhaunsede* gretly the people of god in
> the regne of Assuerus the kyng.[4]

> > ' . . . . and loke, Ester also
> > By good conseil *delivered out of wo*
> > The peple of god, *and made him, Mardochee,*
> > *Of Assuere enhaunced for to be.*[5]

But it will be noticed that in neither the Latin nor the French, nor in Chaucer's own *Melibeus*, is there any mention of *delivering* the people of God; in all three their "enhauncinge" (*sublimavit; esleva; enhaunced*) is the only point referred to. Deschamps, however,

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[1] *Archiv*, LXXXVI, 36–38.

[2] *Alb.*, 17, 6.   [3] *Mén.* I, 196.   [4] *Melibeus*, 2290.   [5] E. 1,371–74.

tells the story of Esther in the *Miroir*,[1] and the account closes with
the following lines:

> Mardocheus pour lui [sc. Aman] regna,
> Qui saigement se gouverna;
> Secons fut après Assuere.
> Ainsis Hester, la saincte mere,
> Son peuple sauva et guari,
> Qui estoit dampné et peri
> Par Aman et par fausse envie.[2]

Nor should it be forgotten that Chaucer has already compared May
to Esther:

> Quene Ester loked never with swich an yĕ
> On Assuer, so meke a loke hath she.[3]

So in the *Miroir* Deschamps names Esther's meekness and Ahasuerus
in successive lines:

> Ne rest digne de grant desserte
> Hester pour son humilité,
> Qu'Assuerus tint en chierté.[4]

Moreover, the account of Esther in the *Miroir* is directly preceded
by that of Judith.   Now the other accounts agree in laying stress on
the *deliverance* of the city:

Similiter et Iudith per bonum suum consilium *liberavit* civitatem, in
qua morabatur, de manibus Holofernis, qui illam obsidendo destruere
volebat.[5]

Judith par son bon conseil *délivra* la cité de Buthulie où elle
demouroit, des mains de Holofernes qui l'avoit assiégée et la vouloit
destruire.[6]

Judith by hire goode conseil *delyverede* the citee of Bethulie, in
which sche dwellide, out of the honde of Olophernus, that hadde it
byseged and wolde it al destroye.[7]

> Who yaf Judith corage or hardinesse
> To sleen him, Olofernus, in his tente,
> And to *deliveren* out of wrecchednesse
> The peple of god?[8]

[1] Ll. 9,124–49.

[2] Ll. 9,143–49; cf. also ll. 9,136–37.   [3] E. 1,744–45.

[4] Ll. 9,124–26.   Compare *Book of the Duchesse*, l. 987; *Prologue* to *Legend*, A. 204
(=B. 250).

[5] *Alb.* 17, 6.   [6] *Men.* I, 196.   [7] *Melibeus*, 2285.

[8] B. 939–42.   For the references above, see Koeppel, *Archiv*, LXXXVI, 36–37.

But the account of Judith in the *Merchant's Tale* differs at three points from the account in either the Latin of Albertano, or the French or English versions: in the reference to the *story;* in the assertion that Judith *kept* God's people; and in the statement that she slew Holofernes while he *slept:*

> Lo, Judith, *as the storie eek telle can,*[1]
> By wys conseil she goddes peple *kepte,*
> And slow him, Olofernus, *whyl he slepte.*[2]

In two of the three points, again, the *Miroir* agrees with the *Merchant's Tale* against all the rest:

> Et adonc l'apporta la belle,
> Seulement lui et son ancelle,
> En Bethulie la cité,
> *Ce m'a la Bible recité;*
> Au main fut pandu sur les murs:
> *Si demoura ses peuples surs.*[3]

In other words, precisely as Chaucer in the preceding passage from Albertano (E. 1,311–14, 1,323–31) drew as he wrote upon the *Parson's Tale* as well,[4] so here he seems, as he quotes again from Albertano, to have had the *Miroir* similarly in his mind. And this inference is strengthened by another fact. The *exempla* in the *Merchant's Tale* lead at once to the following statement:

> For which this Januarie, of whom I tolde,
> Considered hath, inwith his dayes olde,
> *The lusty lyf, the vertuous quiete,*
> *That is in mariage hony-swete* . . . .
> For I wol be, certeyn, a wedded man,
> And that anoon *in al the haste I can,*
> *Un-to som mayde fair and tendre of age.*
> I prey yow, *shapeth for my mariage*
> *Al sodeynly.*[5]

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[1] See, on this line, Lounsbury, *Studies*, II, 374: "Here the line may refer to the *Historia Scholastica*, which relates, though briefly, the story of Judith. It seems much more natural, however, to look upon the reference as made by the poet to the apocryphal book which goes under her name."

[2] E. 1,366–68.

[3] Ll. 9,111–16. The familiar idea of the *deliverance* likewise appears, five lines farther on, had Chaucer cared to use it:

> Par ce son peuple *delivra*
> Judith et en paix le livra (ll. 9,121–22).

[4] See above, p. 171.

[5] E. 1,393–96, 1,405–9.

The *exempla* in the *Miroir* are succeeded immediately by the following lines:

> *N'est ce pas donques belle vie*
> *Que d'avoir belle et bonne dame*
> *Et de trover une tel femme?* . . . .
> Or fay donc, *et si te delivre*
> *Que tu aies par mariage*
> *Femme humble, belle, bonne et saige*
> Ainsis que la loy le commande.[1]

But even this is not all. For Chaucer quotes from Albertano once again, and once again he supplements him from another source. And this source once more is singularly like the *Miroir*. The passage is as follows:

> I woot wel that this Jew, this Salomon,
> Fond of us wommen foles many oon.
> But though that he ne fond no good womman,
> Yet hath ther founde many another man
> Wommen ful trewe, ful gode, and vertuous,
>
> *Witnesse on hem that dwelle in Cristes hous,*
> *With martirdom they preved hir constance.*
> The Romayn gestes maken remembrance
> Of many a verray trewe wyf also.
>
> But sire, ne be nat wrooth, al-be-it so,
> Though that he seyde he fond no good womman,
> I prey yow take the sentence of the man;
> He mente thus, that in sovereyn bontee
> Nis noon but god, that sit in Trinitee.[2]

Now Koeppel has shown[3] that the bracketed lines are derived, through Chaucer's own *Melibeus*, from Albertano. But the lines between are found in neither the Latin, the French, nor the English. There is no reason to doubt, I think, that ll. 2,284–85 refer, as Koeppel elsewhere suggests,[4] to Jerome's chapter (*Adv. Jovinianum*, i, 46): *Mulieres Romanae insignes*. But what of the two preceding lines? Jerome does not have occasion, in his treatise, to mention Christian martyrs.[5] *But Deschamps does,* and that too in the chapter immediately preceding the one which contains the accounts of Judith and Esther

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[1] Ll. 9,150–52, 9,156–59.　　[2] E. 2,277–90.　　[3] *Archiv,* LXXXVI, 35–36.

[4] *Anglia,* XIII, 180. Lounsbury (*Studies,* II, 319) and Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer,* V, 368) interpret the lines as referring to Roman history.

[5] And yit they weren *hethen,* al the pak!

that have just been quoted.   He is speaking of the "maintes sainctes dames, Devotes et religieuses. . . . . Qui sont en la genologie,"[1] and he proceeds to recount how

> . . . . saincte Escripture afferme
> Chascune avoir esté *si ferme*
> *En martire*, pour amer Dieu,
> Qu'ains ne departirent du lieu
> De la saincte et vraie creance,
> Qui les bons crestiens advance,
> Mais moururent pour Dieu martir . . . .
> Et encores, pour le voir dire,
> Trueve femmes *en leur martire*
> Avoir esté cent mille tans
> Plus devotes et *plus constans*
> Assez que les hommes ne furent,
> Qui trop plus constans estre durent
> Des femmes, veu et recité
> D'elles la grant fragilité.[2]

And it is the list of martyrs which follows—Katherine, Agatha, Agnes, Marguerite, Barbara [3]—that leads up to the stories of Judith and Esther.[4]   For the third time, in other words, Chaucer appears to have interwoven Albertano and Deschamps.[5]

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[1] Ll. 9,042–45.   [2] Ll. 9,051–57, 9,063–70.   [3] Ll. 9,071–80.

[4] How else Chaucer seems to have utilized both the lines just quoted and the few intervening ones, is pointed out below, pp. 204–5.

[5] It is highly probable, I think, that he did it a fourth time as well.   Placebo, in E. 1,481–87, connects the citation from Solomon, which appears also in *Melibeus*, with January's request for counsel regarding his marriage:

> Placebo seyde, "o Januarie, brother,
> Ful litel nede had ye, my lord so dere,
> Conseil to axe of any that is here;
> But that ye been so ful of sapience,
> That yow ne lyketh, for your heighe prudence,
> To weyven fro *the word of Salomon.*
> *This word* seyde he un-to us everichon:
> "Wirk alle thing by conseil," thus seyde he,
> "And thanne shaltow nat repente thee."
> But though that Salomon spak *swich a word*, etc. (E. 1,478–87).

The same citation from Solomon appears in Franc Vouloir's request for counsel regarding *his* marriage:

> S'ay bien mestier d'avoir advis.
> Et si me samble que je vis,
> Comme je fu enfant d'escole,
> *De Salemon une parole,*
> Qui disoit assez plainement:
> "Se tu faiz rien, fay saigement,
> Et resgarde en tous temps la fin."
> Et ailleurs disoit en latin,
> De quoi le françois veult retraire,
> Qu'om ne doit nulle chose faire
> Sans conseil, car qui de lui euvre,
> A bonne fin vient de son euvre (ll. 493–504).

Chaucer's phrase, "The word of Salomon" (together with the threefold repetition of "word") is particularly noteworthy in the light of Deschamps's "de Salemon une

That the *Miroir de Mariage*, then, was the chief source of the specific and characteristic setting which Chaucer gave to the *fabliau*-like story which formed the gist of the *Merchant's Tale*, seems clear; and the astonishing skill with which its more or less intractable material is interwoven with hints from *Melibeus* and the *Parson's Tale*, as well as with the kernel of the narrative itself, throws fresh and vivid light on Chaucer's artistry. But it is not only in the *Merchant's Tale* that a fusion of the *Miroir* with his own conception has occurred. Chaucer is there drawing not for the first, but for the *second*, time on what had already proved itself to be possessed of uncommonly congenial possibilities.

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<div style="text-align: center">[*To be continued*]</div>

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN *CHEVALERIE OGIER*

MS XIII of the library of San Marco in Venice has been frequently described.[1] From it have been published the following poems:

Berta de li gran Pié, Romania, III, 1874, pp. 339–364; IV, 1875, pp. 91–107 (edited by Mussafia).

Berta e Milone, Romania, XIV, 1885, pp. 177–192 (edited by Mussafia).

Les Enfances Ogier, Zeit. f. rom. Phil., XXXIII, 1909, pp. 536–570 (edited by Subák).

Orlandino, Romania, XIV, pp. 192–206 (edited by Mussafia).

Macaire,[2] edited by Mussafia, Vienna, 1864 (*Altfranzösische Gedichte aus venezianischen Handschriften*, II), and by Guessard, Paris, 1866 (*Anciens poètes de la France*).

The portion of the compilation here published lies between the *Orlandino* and the *Macaire*.

I use the apostrophe to indicate the loss of a vowel, e.g., *'l=el*, *'la=ela*, *ma'* =Ital. *mai* (*ma*=Ital. *ma*).

The accent, also, I use as an aid to the reader. I follow in general the system of Mussafia (*Mac.*, pp. xv–xvi). But it seemed inadvisable to accent forms which seem to be the third person singular of the preterite of verbs of the first conjugation (e.g., *guarda, guarde*) since it is entirely impossible to decide whether the poet intended to use the preterite or the present. In some cases we may be almost certain: e.g., in v. 1537 *olsa* seems to be preterite, but the surrounding tenses do not present an infallible criterion; cf. v. 1240 where *veste* is present and *calçò* is preterite; cf. also v. 650. Neither do I accent the adverb *li*, which very frequently cannot be distinguished from the dative pronoun. *Pote* (*potuit*) may be either strong or weak. I therefore leave it unaccented.

In the use of the cedilla I follow the MS.

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[1] See the editions here mentioned and Ciàmpoli, *I Codici francesi della R. Bibl. Naz. di San Marco in Venezia*, Venice, 1897.

[2] In referring to these poems I abbreviate as follows: *Berta, Ber. e. Mil., Enf. Og., Orl., Mac.* (Mussafia's edition).

The abbreviation for the nasal has everywhere, even before labials, been resolved as *n* in conformance with the practice of the scribe. I do not mean to imply that assimilation has not taken place in pronunciation, but it seemed unwise to write *imperer* wherever there is an abbreviation when the form unabbreviated is always *inperer*. All letters representing resolutions are italicized.

I and *j*, *u* and *v* have been distinguished.

Wherever possible the division of words in the MS has been respected. Hence double forms will be found, e.g., *enprimer* 186, *in primer* 1322; *desor* 270, *de sor* 932; *malora* 414, *mal ora* 464. *Qui loga* 1581, 1729, I leave divided. *Grande siant* 578, 2093, has a strange appearance in the face of the constant use of *esiant* in our MS, but compare *gran sian, Enf. Og.,* 716. I follow the MS in joining the prosthetic *a* to its verb or separating it therefrom.

French *qui* etc. are written *qi;* Italian *qui* is written *qui*. I have corrected the few deviations from this rule, indicating the MS readings by the use of brackets.

The abbreviations of proper names (*K=Charles, R=Roland, N=Naime*) I have printed as they are in the MS. They are readily understood and the declension in our dialect is not such as to insure accuracy in the resolutions.

I have been conservative in the matter of corrections: when the MS reading is intelligible I have retained it even though a better might be obtained by a slight change.

Square brackets [ ] are used to indicate additions to the MS; round brackets ( ) suppressions.

In references to the folios of the MS, *a, b*=recto, *c, d*=verso.

Miniatures occupy portions of the following folios: 64 v° (upper), 70 r° (lower), 73 v° (lower).

Ends of sections of the MS fall at f. 64 v° and f. 72 v°. At the bottom of f. 64 v° is read *Dapois* (cf. v. 24), of f. 72 v° *Li cont .R.* (cf. v. 1514).

[f. 64d]   Grant fu la cort en Paris la cité,
            E questo durò por gran tenpo in até.
            Fato li fo de grandi parenté,
            Qe le dux .N. oit sa fila doné

1. This verse follows immediately the last verse of the *Orlandino.*

5   A li Danois por soa nobilité;
     Donde n'oit un bel filz, saces e ben doté,
     Et oit nome Baldoin, li saz e li me*n*bré,
     Qe plu l'amoit li Danois qe re*n* qe fust né.
     Ma in la cort estoit un qe l'avoit en aé,
10   E quel fu Çarloto qe filz est l'inperé;
     Por ço l'ait e ten l' à vilté:
     Por la bataile qe fo soto Roma la cité,
     Por ço qe le Danois si fo sì ben ovré
     E q'il oncis li dos rois coroné.

         Qui conmença la cha[n]çon coment
         li Danois alò à Marmore.

15   SEgnur, entendés, si'n siés certan,
       Li major rois qi fo unqua d'i Fran,
     Colu' sì fo li bon rois .K. el man.
     A colu' donoit traü tot li cristian,
     Ma Çirardo au Frate por la soa posan,
20   Sì le fe guere e dolo e achan.
     E d'i païn li fo rois Agolan
     Et Helmont, son filz, li qual oncis Rolan,
     Donde el conquis Durendarda li bran.
[f. 65a]   Dapois qe il oit conquisteo li bran,
25   Fo plu només qe non era davan.
     Dapois qe l'inperer oncis Agolan,
     Estoit un Sarasin, pesimo tiran,
     Qe mantenoit Marmore, una cité valan;
     Le Masimo Çudé sì l'apela la jan.
30   Li rois li oit envoié mesaçer en avan
     Qe traü li 'nvoiase al presan.
     Quanti nen envoie fu apendu al van.
     Grant onta n'oit .K., l'inperer man;
     S'el non a li traü no s'apresia nian.
35   Or li vol el envoier mo' à li presan,
     Por savoir da lu' son cor e son talan,
     Por li conseil qe li donoit li Fran;
     Sì s'acordent li petit e li gran
     De invoier li Danois posan,
40   Qe le mior non è en le bateçaman,

10. *Carloto:* *r* inserted above the line.
Rubric, *con*menço.
21. *Agolan:* corrected from some other form: *-ola-* affected by the correction;
l is written over an *r*.
32. *non.* See note.

Q'elo conoit Turchi e cristian;
Sì soit la lengue de Turs e de Persan.

Coment .K. oit gram çoa.

GRan çoia oit .K. l'inpereor;
    Sor tot rois el oit li honor:
45 Grant honor li fait li grandi e li menor,
    Ma li Maximo Çudé sì le fé gran iror:
    Ses mesaçi apendu dont n'oit gran dolor.
    Conselé fu da ses conseleor
    De li Danois envoier li ancor,
50 Qe sor les autres è de gran valor
    L'inperer sì dist al contor:
    'Danois sire, se vos m'avez amor,
    Mon mesaço vu farì ad estor
    Al Maximo Çudé qe ver moi è traïtor.
55 Marmora tent al meo desenor;
    De quela colsa en ò sì gran tristor
    Par un petit qe no moro de dolor.'

Coment .K. parole à li Danois.

'DAinois sire, ço dist l'inperer,
    Eo te voio por Deo proier,
60 E por quant amor qe tu me po' porter,
    Qe tu ne soie par moi mesaçer
    Al Maximo Çudé qe tanto se fa fer:
    El ten Marmore contra li me voler
    Ne nul traü no me vol envoier,
65 E quando e' li ò envoià mesaçer
    Elo li oit fato à stacon apiçer:
    De quel dolor eo cuito ben raçer.'
    Dist li Danois: 'Petito m'avés çer,
    Quant me volez à celu' envoier,
70 Qe non vol à nul homo perdoner;
[f. 65b]   De mia vite poco avez priser,
    Vu no m'amés valisant un diner,
    Quando ve plas el volez otrier.
    Ad altri qe à moi le diçà incarçer,
75 Qe meio vos saverà ste mesaço aporter.'

Rubric, çoo. The second o is half crossed out.
49. Qe.
Rubric, Donis. See note.

Dist li rois: 'Doncha me volés faler
Quando en vos e' ò tuta ma sper?
Se vu me falés, eo vos voio çurer,
En mia vite eo no ve do amer,
80   Quando por paüre vu ve retrà arer:
No le cuitoie mie, qi me l'aüst dito l'autrer,
Qe por paüre vu [ve] faisi lainer.
Daqe non volez in mon mesaço aler
Eo pensarò d'un altro mesaçer.'
85   Quando li Danois li oldì sì parler,
Davant lui se vait ençenocler
E 'Inperer, fait-il, li perdon vos requer:
Li mesaço vos farò, qi ne diça noier.'
Dist l'inperer: 'Vu farì como ber,
90   E se Deo vos dona arer reparier,
Vu n'atendés un molto bon loer.'
Dist li Danois: 'In vu non ò nul sper,
Ma in çele Deo qi se fait aorer:
A lui sì do e mon amor e mon desier.
95   El est quel qi ne po ben aider:
E' lui voi' e aorer e proier
Q'elo me diça secorer et aider.'
Dist li rois: 'Vu avì bona sper.'

Coment li Danois fu dollant.

ORa fu li Danois in gran dubitançe
100   De far li mesaço de l'inperer de France
A cil malvés qe li altri avançe:
De malvasité el ne porta la mançe,
Ço è li Maximo Çudé qi no a tenperançe,
Ne de nul mesaço non a pietançe;
105   Ma li Danois tant oit en Deo sperançe
Q'elo non ait de lui nula dotançe.
Avanti qe il torni, li donerà tel tristançe
Qe çer averà li mesaçer de France
Q'elo oit apendu por avoir nomenançe.
110   El non dota .K., ne lui ne sa posançe,
Ne de ses çivaler à scu ni à lançe.
Or entendés, vu qi avì fiançe,
Coment çesta istolia comançe.

Rubric, *Donois.*

Coment li Danois li otrie.

ENtendés seg[n]ur, qe Jesu beneïe,
115   Le glorioso, le filz sante Marie!
Quant li Danois oit à .K. otrie
Qe li farà tota sa comandie,
[f. 65c]   Li enperer altament li mercie.
Elo li parla e dist cun cera pie:
120 'Aï, mon segnor, quant me sarò partie,
En vestra guarda eo laserò mon fie
Qe amo plus qe nula ren qe sie.
Eo li lairò en la vestra bailie
E san e salvo, sença nula malie,
125 Quant eo serò dal Maximo revertie.
Così me lo renderés e san e delie.'
Dist li rois: 'Ne vos dotés ne mie:
Eo le tirò en ma çanbra pavie,
Como eo farò li mon filz, e' m'afie.'
130 E questa colsa li dux .N. otrie,
Qe cil enfant fo filo d'una sa file.
Ma si saüst ben con fo gran la dolie,
Qe Carloto l'oncis por soa bran darie,
Ne le seria alé par nula ren qe sie.

Coment presenta à Karlon li som fil.

135 LI Danois fu davanti l'inperer:
Baldoin, ses fil, li voit apresenter,
Et ilec estoit dux .N. de Baiver,
Teris d'Ardene e Rolant l'avoer,
Bernardo de Clermont e li altri Beruer.
140 'Segnur, dist il, e' no vos voio noier,
Mon fio laso à .K. l'inperer,
Q'elo mel diça e tenir e guarder:
Quant eo virò dal Maximo parler,
Elo mel diça così san retorner
145 Como li do, veçando li Beruer.'
Dist li rois: 'E così voio otrier.'
Adoncha s'en vait à son oster
E son enfant fait à li rois mener,
E pois prist li conçé demander

Rubric, *la Danois.*
Rubric, *prenta akaro.*
139. *altro.*

150 E li rois li vait li conçeo doner;
      A Deo li rende qe se lasò pener,
      E le dux .N. sì montò à destrer,
      Qe li Danois vait aconvoier
      For de Paris una legua enter.

155 Po' pris conçeo, sì s'en retorna arer.
      E cil s'en vait, n'a en lui qe irer
      E sì lasa son fil e sa muler.
      Por la Proençe li estoit paser;
      E in Lonbardie, quant li vene intrer,

160 A Papie el vene ad alberçer,
      E pois aloit tanto fora por la river
      Q'elo çunçe à Besgore in l'ora del disner.
      Quant fo ilec non pote avant aler;
      Entro quel borgo convene alberçer

165 Tros la deman qe l'auba estoit cler,
[f. 65d] Qe in Besgora se voit aostaler
      Por cella tera veoir *et* esguarder.
      La ville guarda e davant e darer:
      A gran mervile elo la pris laoer,

170 E entro soi e dire e parler:
      'Quest'è la plu fort tere qe se poüst trover
      Par tot li mondo de çà e de là da mer.
      Asa' poroit mo*n* sire çà defors alberçer
      Qe ça dedens el poüst entrer.'

175 El albergò à un bon oster.
      Q[u]el fo Verçilio qi la fondò primer.
      Ma un rois sì l'oit à guarder:
      Rois Alfaris el se fait anomer;
      E li Danois parla como homo straïner

      .   .   .   .

180 De Marmora e dire e conter
      E qi la ten e qi l'oit à guarder.
      Dist l'oster: 'E' no ve l'ò çeler,
      Q'è li plu pesimo ho*n*, quel qi l'oit à guier,
      Qe se poüst en tot li mondo trover.

185 Guardà ve ben no diçà là aler
      Se vu no li volì morir enprimer.
      Un Çarle el maine, rois, enperer,
      Le oit envoié plusor ses mesaçer.
      Çamais nen pote nesun tornar arer:

190 Tot li oit fato por la gorça apiçer.'

168. *El ui le ga.* See note.

Dist li Danois: 'E' m'en ò ben guarder:
El non farà moi, se porò, apiçer.'

        Coment li oster parole.

DIst li oster: 'Entendés ma rason:
        Le Maximo Çudé oit nome çil mal on,
195   E quela tere tene à destrucion.
        Nen poit avoir l'omo ni berbis ni molton
        Qe prima ment non voia li toson.
        De tute ren el vol la reençon.
        Plus le(s) aït çivaler e peon
200   Qe i' non fait serpent ni dragon;
        E vu meesme qe da luntan son,
        Senpre ne tene en risa e tençon.'
        Dist li Danois plana ment à li ron;
        'Entro son cor e nu tal li queron:
205   S'el me fa apiçer e' no voio mais perdon.'
        Da l'oster se partì e fé sego rason,
        Ço qe il oit speso cun tuto l'aragon.
        Adoncha se partì, qe non fé aresteson,
        E sì s'en vait, non trovò homo del mon
210   Qe à lui deïst altro qe ben non.
        Or le conseile celu' qe durò pasion
        Desor la cros por nostra redencion!
        Quant fo preso de Marmore, el vide un stacon;
[f. 66a]   Desor estoit apis plus de trenta hon.
215   Quando le guarde, se cerchò al galon:
        El sì le trova Curtane, sì le dise à baso ton:
        'Aï, Curtane, veez çeste stacon!
        Se da questo non m'en faites delivrason,
        Mais non v'ò apriser la monta d'un boton.'
220   Quando fo à la porte, el fi arestason
        Ne non po avant aler s'el non paga li pedon.
        E s'el non ven la parole prima da li dojon
        Da cil malvés qi n'ait la reençon.
        E li Danois fu sajes, qe non fi se ben non.
225   A cil jent qe ilec guardon,
        Sì le donò di diner à foson
        Par ço qe de servir le fust plu à bandon;
        E un de lor mantenant se sevron;
        A conter vait à son sir la cason:

222–223. A lacuna renders these verses unintelligible.

230   Qe un çivaler desor un aragon
      'Sì vol entrer, s'el vos plait o non.'

          Coment à la porte de Marmore. . . .

      QUant quelle guarde fo arer torné,
          Le Danois trovent sì l'oit aconvoié.
      'Ami, fait il, seguramant entré,
235   Ma una colsa saçà por verité:
      Se vu volez entrar en la cité
      Davanti li segnor serì apresenté;
      Se vu fusi mesaço, en mal ora fusi né.
      Non avez veü qui' qi son apiçé?
240   I' furent tot de la cresteneté
      E mesaçer de .K. l'inperé,
      Qe por traü q'i' li ont demandé
      I' furent toti à quel stacon apiçé.'
      Dist li Danois: 'No so de quel mercé;
245   Se serò apeso, ben e' serò iré.'
      Adoncha s'en vait fora por la cité.
      Li Danois fu grande e desmesuré
      Tuti li guardent, sì s'arotent daré
      Por veoir coment estoit çuçé,
250   Qe ben resenble q'el est envoié
      Por querir li traü de .K. l'inperé.
      Tel mille omes li sont darer alé,
      Li qual li ont e planto e pluré,
      Qe de lu' li paroit gran peçé.
255   Quando fo al degrés qe in palés fu monté,
      Le Maximo trovoit de mala volunté
      Por un falcon qe s'en estoit volé,
      E cun sa çent molto avoit tençé
      E sì n'avoit le milor enavré,
260   Qe voluntera el ne seroit vençe.
      Quando vi le Danois così desmesuré,
A gran mervile li oit reguardé;
      E li Danois fo saçes e doté:
      Davanti lui el fo ençenolé.
265   Avanti q'elo deïst sa anbasé,
      Alta ment li oit salué:
      'Cil Damenedé qe de verçen fu né,
      En Betelen nasu e noncié,
      E por nos el fo crocifié
270   Desor la cros por avoir pieté
                    195

De le son pople qe estoit à morte cuçé,
E por lor durò tanta pena e ferté
Trenta trois ani e d'inverno e d'esté;
Così como el manda la ploça e la rosé,
275 El sì fa nasere li formento e la blé:
Sì salvi e guardi li rois de cresteneté,
Ço est .K. li maine enperé,
Qe de tot li mondo è inperer clamé;
E quel te salvi, toi, qe tu i ten por ton dé!
280 Fel renoiés, como fusi sì olsé,
Quant mon sire t'avoit ses mesaçi envoié
Por querir li traü como estoit devisé,
E plus de trenta tu n'a' apiçé?
Mal le veïstes, cer l'avera' conparé,
285 Se mon segnor po viver in eté!'
Le Maximo l'oldì, fera ment l'oit guardé;
Gran dol en oit por qe tant oit parlé.
Ça le dirà un poi de sa volunté.

Coment li Masimo parlò.

QUando le Maximo olde et intent
290 Qe li Danois parla sì ardia ment
E non par qe de lui el se doti nient:
'Di mo', ami, nol çelar de nient,
E' tu mesaço, di le moi à esient,
De que[l] .K. qe me ten por nient,
295 Qe vol traü avoir da mia çent?
Ben é fol e oit pocha esient,
Quant oit veçu qe nol doto nient:
Tut ses mesaçi e' ò apendu al vent.
Sì faroie de toi, se tu no te reprent,
300 Tel colsa faroie de to[i] non fé ad hon vivent.
Se vo' renoiar Deo onipotent,
Croir in Macon e far li son talent.
Ancora po' tu viver longament;
E questa colsa te faço sola ment
305 Por qe tu me par hon de gran valiment.
Eo t'en prego qe tu non sii lent
A far tot li me' comandament
E qe vu non desdeisi de nient;
E se tu nol fa', saçì ad esient,

308. *desderi.*

[f. 66c] 310   Avec li altri al stacon pendent
         Sera' apiçé oltra to maltalent.'
         Li Danois l'olde e vide tant çent
         Non poit mover q'el no se spavent,
         Ma de parle[r] el no se fé lent.
  315   Quant se porpense de Deo onipotent
         Qe in ste mondo durò pena e torment,
         Por lu' morir no se farà recreent:
         Dever de lui parola ardiament.

        Coment li Danois parole.

         QUant li Danois qe s'apela Uçer
  320   Oldì le Maximo sì mala ment parler,
         Li qual le dist de lui far apiçer,
         Elo li parole cun homes pro e ber:
         'Maximo, fait il, e' no tel quer noier:
         Nen fu' de France ni anche de Baiver;
  325   Dever de Spagne sì fo nasu mun per.
         Ma li rois .K. sì me fé batiçer,
         Sì m'adobò, sì me fé çivaler
         Qe in avant estoia un scuer.
         E' son colu' qe ancis Karoer
  330   E li rois Sandonio el pré enverçer
         Defor da Rome, qi ne doia noier.
         Por cela colsa sì me donò muler
         Et à vos m'oit envoià mesaçer
         Por li traü querir e demander.
  335   Con le poez vos sofrir ni endurer
         De far apiçer nesun mesaçer?
         Nesun çentil hon no s'en dé far priser,
         Qe mesaçer çascun doit honorer.
         Li rois vos ma[n]de tot enprimer
  340   Qe li traü le diçà envoier
         E pois li mendo de li ses mesaçer
         Qe mala ment avì fato apiçer.
         E se nol faites, e' no vos voio noier,
         En vestra vie eo non daria un diner.'
  345   Dist li Maximo: 'Filz putan, liçer,
         Cri' tu de parole far me lainer,

318. *ardia* written twice, the second time canceled by dots placed beneath.
Rubric, *Donois.*
335. *ti* between *vos* and *sofrir:* crossed out.
336. *apiçez.*

197

Qe por paüre de li to enperer
Eo no te faça mantenant apiçer
Sì como traïtes e malvasio liçer?
350 E' vos do termen anco' en ste jorner
Qe me deçà respondere arer
Ço qe volés faire et otrier;
Seno, demanes vos farò apiçer.'
Dist li Danois: 'Eo m'averò porpenser
355 En cest jorno e tota la noit enter,
E deman quant l' aube serà cler.
Davanti vos virò sens demorer;

De mon voloir ve responderò arer.'
Dist le Masimo: 'En vos me voio fiançer,
360 Ma guardés ben no m'açà enganer.'
Li Danois se part, sì se va ostaler
Al mior albergo q'el pote trover,
E cun un osto save à conseler
Qe li 'nsegnò la via e li senter
365 Cun da cil diable se porà guarenter.

Coment li ost parole.

SAçes fu li oster e de bona rason;
   Elo li parole como saço e bon:
'Ami, fait il, dites moi vestro non,
Ne vos çelés da moi si mesaçer estes .K.,
370 O de quela loi qe son li Bergognon.
Saçés qe no son ni Turcho ni Sclavon:
Contra mon voloir eo adoro Macon;
E' creço en Deo qe sofrì pasion.'
Quant li Danois l'olde, sì le parla à bandon;
375 El dist à l'osto: 'Ça no vos çelaron:
Mesaçer sui l'inperer .K.
Envoié m'a à ste malvasio hon
Por querir li traü e tuta mendason
Qe il oit fato quant mesaçer li 'nvoion.
380 Or m'a qui envoié à ste malvasio hon
Qe me menaçe se no adoro Macon
De moi apendere à guisa de lairon;
Mé no sa mie de mon cor la encion,
Qe in ver de moi non faria tençon.'

356. *ti* between *aube* and *serà:* crossed out.
366. *Daçes.*

Coment li Danois parole à li oster.

385　QUant li oster oit la parola oïe,
　　　　Qe li Danois no li consentirà mie,
　　　Ançi q'il croit serà tot contralie,
　　　Ancora apela li oster e dolçement li pr[i]e:
　　　'A, bon oster, e' vo ma foi palentie,
390　Q'eo farò tota ves comandie,
　　　E sì voio eser en vestra conpagnie:
　　　Tant vos donarò avoir e manentie
　　　Rico en serés en tota vestra vie.'
　　　Dist li oster: 'Or ne vos dotés ne mie;
395　Ora farés la moia comandie:
　　　Quant vos serés sor la sala pavie,
　　　El vos demandrà se estes porpensie
　　　De renoiar Jesu, le fir Marie;
　　　Se le poüsés oncir à la spea forbie,
400　E' serò après vos cun una tel conpagnie
　　　Qe de la tera averì la segnorie.'
　　　Quant li Danois oit la parola oïe,
　　　Molt alta ment li oster mercie.

Coment li oster apellò la jant.

　'ENtendés moi, li oster oit parlé,
405　　　Ne ve dotés, qe ben estes ostalé;
　　　Segurament dormì e polsé,
　　　Et eo voio aler fora por la cité
　　　A requerir amis e parenté
　　　E qui' qe so q'è de nostra volunté.'
410　Dist li Danois: 'Alé, ne non tardé,
　　　Qe à la deman quant l'alba ert levé,
　　　Qe al palés eo serò monté,
　　　A cil malvés darò sa destiné,
　　　E in malora me vi intrar in sta cité.'
415　Li oster s'en vait fora por la cité
　　　E vait querando tuta sa amisté;
　　　Quant cil oldent coment ont parlé,
　　　Qe da cil diable seront delivré,
　　　Çascun ne fo molto çoiant e lé.
420　A la deman, quan l'auba fu levé,
　　　Çascun en fu guarni e parilé:
　　　Soto le cape ont li brandi amolé.

Rubric, *laiaut*.

E li Danois no a l'ovra oblié.
Çurtane çinse al destro costé.
425　Sì como l'oster oit l'ovra devisé.
A li palés fu li Danois monté:
Davanti li Masimo el fo presenté.
Quando le vi, sì l'oit aderasné:
'Cristian sire, estes vos porpensé
430　De croir en Macon e renoiar quel Dé
Li qual fo pris e batu e frusté,
E posa fo en la crox enclodé
Cun du' lairon q'estoit malfé?
Fin qe de soi non ave pieté,
435　Como farà lo de toi, malvasio renoié?'
Dist li Danois: 'E vu, con la faré,
Li qual creés en metal e in pré
E in una fantasme qe avés pituré,
Qe da diaboles estoit ençanté?
440　E' vos dono un conseil se prender le volé:
Qe vu venés al mior coroné
Qe soit el mondo apreso Damenedé:
Ço est .K. qi est enperé,
E traü li 'nvoiés à soa volunté;
445　Colsa como no, vu avì mal ovré:
Morto serés, à martirio livré.'
Alora parla li Maximo Çudé
E dist à li Danois: 'Vu si' mal castigé:
Termene vos doné qe fustes porpensé
450　De croire en Macon e lasar li ton Dé.
N'òe repenti: an m' a' tu menacé
E vezo ben tu me ten à vilté.
[f. 67b]　　Nen mançarò sì sera' çuçé,
Con fo li altri qe .K. m'envoié,
455　Qe al stacon furent apicé.'
Dist li Danois: 'Ço seroit peçé,
Qe mesaçer non doit eser destorbé
E qi le fait sì fa gran falsité;
En li baron non doit eser anomé
460　Ne in le mondo honoré ne prisé.
Q(u)i vestre nome primeran vos levé,
E' creço ben qe deïst verité:
Ben dist voir qe vu estes Çué.
Fel renoiés, in mal ora fusi né,

---

424. *ad:* corrected to *al.*

465   Quando .K. tenés à tal vilté
       E son traü no li avés envoié.'

       Coment li Danois por li co[n]seil
       de li bon ost *prist* Marmore.

       GRan dol oit li Maximo, quando s'olde laide[n]çer
              E al Danois dura ment menaçer;
       De dol qe il oit el cuita ben raçer:
470   Par un petit no li vait d'un coltel doner.
       E darer li Danois estoit li bon oster
       Qe spese fois li fait li segner
       Qe tanto no*n* deça cun lui aderasner.
       Mil ani li par q'elo li ferà enprimer,
475   Ma li Danois vol savia me*n*t ovrer:
       A poco à poco se le vait aprosmer;
       Quant le fu preso q'elo lo pote bailer
       Le Maximo le vi pur avanti aler.
       Como el volse dir à sa jent: 'Menà lo apiçer!'
480   El se percoit de lui tot enprimer
       Q'elo avit en soi mal penser.
       E li Danois sì le vait apier
       Por le çavi' en la copa darer
       Por q'el no*n* poüst ni fuçir ni scanper;
485   Po' tra Curtana, so bon brando d'açer:
       Sì soeve ment li voit li çevo coper
       Qe il non poit ni brair ni crier.
       Quando cil le veent qi l'avoit à guarder,
       Çascun trait li brando forbi d'açer;
490   Sor le Danois corent como çingler,
       Quant li secorse li cortois oster
       A plus de mil qe il oit fato asenbler.
       Adoncha veïstes gran estor començer!
       Qi veïst li Danois por li palés aler
495   E qui' gran colpi donar e inploier!
       A qi ne doit irer, ne li estoit plu mester.
       Quant cil le veent qi le volent pier
       Si rustiga me*n*t ferir del brant d'açer,
       Et avec lui veent li oster
[f. 67c] 500   Cun cela jent qe il pote mener,
       Davanti lui se vont à inçenoler
       E sì le prist gran merçé demander,
       Qe tenir le vole à segnor e à per.
       Dist li oster: 'Vu farì como ber.'

505   Quant la novela pote por la tera aler,
      Qe morto estoit quel malvasio liçer,
      Ne le fo cil qi prendese corer,
      Seno toti en servisio de l'oster
      E por li Danois secorer et aider.
510   Qi donc veïst cele jent aroter!
      Ne ge remis peon ni çivaler
      Qe non alast li Danois à guarder.
      Quant le veent così grande e fer,
      Dist l'un à l'altro: 'Quest 'è da honorer.'
515   Non è quel nol clami por meser.
      E li Danois sì fo pro e ber:
      Tuta la tere el doit à guarder
      A Baldoin li cortois hoster.
      Or lasen de lui qi s'estoit à seçorner.
520   El non sa mie li mortel engonbrer
      Qe Çarloto le fi quando s'ave sevrer,
      De Baldoin, son filz, li cortois baçaler
      Qe in braçe li lasò de .K. l'inperer:
      Como l'oncis un çorno à donoier
525   Ad una dame por son cor deporter.

        Coment Çarloto onçis le filz de[l] Danois.

      QUant li Danois fu sevré da Karlon,
        Son filz lasò en sa sobeçion,
      E questo fé por li conseil .N.:
      Filo fo d'una soa fila c'oit nome Floriamon.
530   Quel damisel estoit un d'i plu be' garçon
      Qe fust trové in França ni à Lion:
      Li ocli avoit vari como falcon,
      Li çavi' blondi como pene de paon,
      E de Çarloto estoit conpagnon.
535   Ma cil Çarloto no l'amava un boton,
      Por son pere(r), quant de fora de Ron
      Oncis qui' dos q'era roi; de coron.
      Por ço qe Çarloto no n'oit la loldason
      A li Danois senpre fo en tençon,
540   Ne mais no l'amò la monta d'un boton;
      E s'el va con son fil, non fa se por mal non:
      Por atrovar ver lui qualche cason
      Qe oncir le poüst à traïson.

509. *pot.*
Rubric, first *o* of *Çarloto* inserted above the line

Ma cil damisel qe Baldoin oit non
545 En ver de lui non fasoit so ben non,
Ne de lui non avoit nula sospicion;
Ma una fois, andando à falcon,

[f. 67*d*] I' venent anbi dos à tençon
Por li caçer e por la venason,
550 Sì qe quel Çarloto le ferì el galon
De una spea qe li çé al polmon;
Qe morto caì à tera en le sablon.
E quando oit ço fato, li focì à Lion.
Quant la novela soit li rois .K.,
555 Gran dol en mena con tot le dux .N.
L'e[n]fant tolent e sì le seteron;
Gran dol ne fait çivaler e peon,
Ma sor tuti sa mer c'oit nome Floriamon:
Sberna ses drapi e ses cavi' deron.
560 'Bel filz, fait ela, nen fisi mai se ben non;
Colu' v'oit morto q'era ves conpagnon,
E qe vestre pere, el pré defor de Ron,
Sì le guarì da mort e da preson:
Rendu vos oit malvasio guierdon.
565 Se vestre pere non prende vençason,
El non varà la monta d'un boton.'
Gran dol fait la dame, ma le dux .N.,
Qi è son pere, la castiga e semon
Q'ela taçe e non faça plurason,
570 Qe Çarloto estoit filz l'inperaor .K.
.N. fu sajes, non volse fare nul tençon,
E totefois le dole tros li polmon.
De perdoner à l'infant li conseilo li don,
E questo fait por conplasir à .K.

Coment .N. parole.

575 'MOn segnor, dist .N., entendés mon talant:
        Ço c'ait fato Çarloto nol fé à sentimant;
Por qualche sagure elo li parse avant.
Ben è saço colu' e de grande siant
Qe in ste mondo non aça maltalant;
580 E pois qe l'ovra è fata l'omo n'è dolant.
Se l'enfant est morto no l'è restoremant
Qi volust dare toto l'or d'oriant
E tuto li mondo e darer e davant.

564. Between *rendu* and *vos* an *o:* crossed out.

Perdonez à Çarloto, qe li conseil vos rant.'
585 E dist li rois: 'E' non voio far niant.
Son per sì mel lasò quando fé desevramant;
En tel lois l'envoié qe nesun hon vivant
Ne le pote aler nen fose recreant:
Mais non vi retorner ne petit ni grant.
590 S'elo retorne, qe dir arò de l'infant,
Qe plu amava de nula ren vivant?'
Dist le dux .N.: 'Nu faren saçe mant;
Quel pla lasez à moi de l'acordamant.'
Dist li rois: 'Faites li ves talant;
595 Qe mun filz, qe je amava tant,
[f. 68a] Ma' en ma vie ne li serò ben voiant.'
Tant fi le dux .N. e tant li va proiant
Qe li rois li perdone sa ire e maltalant,
Sì qe in Paris fo retorné l'infant.

Coment fu sagré Marmore.

600 QUant li Danois oit Marmora pié,
E tota quela jent furent conversé,
Toti furent batezé e lavé:
En santo font furent regeneré.
La tera fo da tot part sagré,
605 E morto fo li Maximo Çué
Qe la tenoit en tant aversité.
E li Danois fu saço e doté:
A li oster qe tant li oit amé,
Por .K. el maine, li bon rois coroné,
610 Li dé in guarda quela bona çité,
Dont tote li pople ne fo çoiant e lé.
Quant oit ço fato, el oit pris conçé,
Aler s'en vole ver Paris la cité,
Mé avanti q'elo fose sevré,
615 Un mesaço prist, sì l'oit envoié
A .K. el maine, contando la verité:
Como el oit pris Marmora la çité,
E sì oit oncis le Maximo Çué.
Quant li mesaço fu à li rois alé,
620 E la tera oit vezu e guardé,
Da una part fo gran çoia mené.

590. diraro.
602. Second e of batezé added above the line.
607. Between fu and saço an e: crossed out.

Quando de son filz i' se sont reme*n*bré
Quela çoia fo in dolor torné,
Ne le fo nul, ni çoveno ni barbé
625 Qe de l'infant no*n* aça pluré;
Ma le dux .N. le oit reconforté,
Sì dist à li rois: 'E' l'ò tropo ben pensé:
Quando li Danois serà qui arivé,
E de son fil averà demandé,
630 Et eo à lui diré la verité,
E Çarloto sia mantenant parilé,
Davanti lui soia ençenolé,
La coreza à li colo el averà porté,
E sì le quera merçé e pieté;
635 Et eo serò ilec apresté.
Li Danois oit en si tanta de bonté
L'ira el maltalant li serà perdoné.'
Dist li rois: 'E sì sia otrié;
Plu saçes ho*n* de vu non è in crestenté.'
640 Adonc fu Çarloto apelé;
Ço qe il doit faire il ont dotriné,
Et elo l'otrie ma no de bona volunté.

Coment li Danois s'entorne.

SEgnur baron, por Deo entendés çà:
QUant li Danois da Marmora se sevra,
645 A li oster la tera el lasa
Qe por li rois .K. el sì la guarda:
Jamais hoster milor no se trova.
E li Danois pa[s] se non repolsa;
Dever Paris elo se çamina;
650 Lonbardie pase e Proença pasa.
Quant fu près de Paris, mesaçer envoia,
Como el vent e como l'esploita.
Adoncha li rois à cival monta,
E le dux .N. qe forment l'ama.
655 Plu de mile baron par lu' sì monta.
Nian .N. l'ovra non oblia:
De Paris ensirent, al çamin camina.
Çarloto li fu qe molto dolent li va,
Qe del Danois forment se redota.
660 Quant s'aprosment e q'i' le trova,
Gran fu la çoia qe çascu*n* demena.
Ma li Danois atorno se guarda;

Quando no*n* vi son fil, forme*nt* se mervila:
.K. demande e sì le apela:

665   'O' est mon fil qe à vu eo lasa'?
En vestra guarda eo le delivra'.'
Li rois l'inte*nt*, ben ni mal no*n* parla,
Ma li dux .N. adoncha li derasna:
'Bel filz, fait il, çeler ne se porà:

670   Por smenaventure la qual enco*n*tra,
Çarloto l'oncis oltra tuto son gra.
Jamais nul ho*n* non fo ni no*n* serà
Qe plu de lui pasion nen porta.'
E sì cu*n* .N. le dise e li dota,

675   Davant da lui Çarloto s'ençenola:
Cun la coreça al colo perdon li demanda.
Oçer li guarda, de dolor larmoia,
Por amo[r] .K. elo li perdona
E del dux .N. qi doncha li co*n*sela.

Coment li Danois perdone à Carloto.

680   GRan dol oit li Danois, no l'oit onqua greg[n]or
        A Çarloto perdone por amor l'inperaor,
Ma tal dol oit ne*n* pot muer ne*n* plor.
Adoncha parole dolçe me*nt* por amor:
'Çentil rois sire, ben ò fato ves labor;

685   Eo sì ò morto quel malvasio traìtor
Qe ves mesaçi oit ape*n*du à le for.
La tera avés à li vestre honor,
Sì l'oit en guarde un hoster le milor;
Qe me donò e l'aï el secor

690   Donde de la tere eo fu vinçeor.

[f. 68c]   Le Maximo Çué sì ne fo perdeor:
La testa li trençé sor li palés major,
Donda ne poés loldar le Segnor;
Qe quela jent aora le Criator,

695   Li qual clamava Macometo por segnor.
Se avi çoia en lora à quel jor,
Tornà sì m'è in doia e in tristor;
No l'ave tel onqua me' antesor:
Perdu ò mun fil in cui avea gra*n* baldo(l)r;

700   Par un petit non moro de dolor.'

680. *o* of *gregnor* inserted above the line.
689. *Qo.*

Coment li Danois parlòe.

'MOn segnor, dist li Danois, e' no vos quer noier:
 Preso ò Marmore e morto quel malfer
Qe no ve voloit li traü envoier,
E questo por li conseil d'un cortois oster
705 Qe m'ensignò la via e li senter
E coment devoie cela ovra afiner,
E sì fi tanta çent asenbler
Qe qui' del Maximo no me pote contraster,
E s'el non fust, non aüst ma' torner,
710 Q'el m'averoit fato del tuto apiçer.
La tera oit in guarda quel cortois oster;
Par vos la ten, sì la fa guarder,
E se vorés por mon conseil ovrer,
Vu mandarì à lui ves mesaçer
715 Qe por vos la deça tenir e guarder.'
Dist li rois: 'E' sì le voio otrier.'
Adoncha li rois nen volse entarder;
Demantenant prese du' mesaçer
E à Marmora li 'nvoiò à li oster,
720 Da part li rois dir e nonçer
Qe à çisti du' mesajes diça la foi çurer.
Quant li oster vide li mesaçer,
A gran mervile li fait onorer
E de riçe vestimant li fait adober;
725 Sì alta ment le prist ad honorer
Nen saveroit plus querir ni demander,
Et à çascun donò palafroi e destrer;
E quant [è] li termen qe s'en volent retorner,
Nen volse l'oste mie l'ovra oblier:
730 El oit fato .XV. somer carçer
D'oro e d'avoir e de çoie molto çer,
E por traü l'invoia à l'inperer.
L'oster oit un son fil q'el ten molto çer:
A li rois l'invoie con tot li somer,
735 Qe avec li rois el diça demorer
Por quela tere meio asegurer,
E q'el nol vole traïr ne enganer.
Quant(i) li mesaçi s'en retornò arer,
t.'[68d] E à li rois presenta li somer
740 E le infant qe estoit baçaler,

723. *i* of *li* written over an indistinguishable letter.

Çascun sì corse quel traü à guarder.
Le rois vi le Danois, sì le prist apeler:
'Sire Danois, ben vos do agraer:
Molto è sajes e cortois li oster;
745   Molto li do amer e agraer,
Quant traü m'a fato envoier
E li son filz por meio asegurer.
Sì m'aï Deo, el n'averà bon loer.
Nen plaça Deo, li voir justisier,
750   Qe cil enfant voia tenir ni guarder;
Tot prima ment e' l' farò çivaler
E posa li farò à son pere envoier.'
Dist li Danois: 'Vu n'averì bon loer.'

Coment fait li rois.

KArlo li rois non demorò niant,
755   Quant da l'oster oit reçevu li present:
Por li conseil del Danois, çivaler fé l'infant,
Sì le donò arme e guarnimant
E bel destrer e palafroi anblant.
Quant a ço fato non fé arestamant;
760   A son per l'invoiò molto legro e çoiant.
Quant cil le verent qe sont ses apertinant,
Dist l'un à l'altro cortois e vere mant:
'Li enperer à chi France apant,
No le doit falir hon qi soia vivant.'
765   Adonc li oster da cela ora en avant,
Quant il oit sì fo à ses comant;
E guardò la tere e ben e lial mant.
Ne le fo quelo, ni çoveno ni ferant
Qe le desdeise la monta d'un besant;
770   E li oster s'estoit legro e çoiant:
De .K. maine tenoit li casamant;
Traü sì li 'nvoiò çascun anno bel e çant.
Ora diron de .K. qe ten sa cort grant;
A lui declinent Françeis e Alamant.
775   Gran çoia moine Françeis e Normant.
E li Danois sì fo pro e valant,
Dever Çarloto non oit mal entant;
Così le serve como fasoit davant;
No se remenbrava de son fio niant.
780   E çel Çarloto senpre avoit mal entant;
No amava li Danois la monta d'un besant.

741. *l* between *sì* and *corse:* crossed out.

Tant era li Danois cortois *et* avena*n*t
Qe no*n* curava de son ennoiamant
E spese volte çugava sego e sovant,
785   A schachi et à tables por çir se sbanoiant;
Et una fois i' çugent ensemant

[f. 69*a*]   Ad un çogo de schachi o' aloit arçant,
E li Danois sì era plu avant;
Le çogo vinse dont çil ne fo dolant;
790   El dise à li Danois por ire e maltalant:
'Tu çoghi mego por far moi ennoiamant,
Sì me guaagni mo*n* or e mo*n* arçant;
Ma une fois te digo aperta mant,
De toi farò qe fi de ton enfant
795   Qe eo oncisi cun un coltel trençant.'
Quando li Danois l'oldì, *non* ma' [fo] sì dolant.

Coment li Danoisis onçis Çarloto.

QUant li Danois oit Çarloto regardé,
   Son dol li conte qe il avoit oblié,
Qe por amor de .K. li avoit perdoné,
800   E del dux .N. qe li avoit proié;
Se il oit dol or ne vos mervelé.
Le tavolés saçe dont avoit çugé,
Por ira e maltalant el l'oit pié
E sor le çevo tel n'oit à Çarloto doné
805   Qe ocli e cervele li est del çevo volé:
Morto à tera el est trabuçé.
'Oltra, fait-il, fel traïto renoié,
Moi ne altrui çamai no onçiré;
Qe de mon filz qe m'a' areme*n*bré,
810   Qe eo m'avoie del tot oblié,
De quela ovra vu ne fi' sì paié
Q'eo non quero avoir altru' mercé.
Se eo serò morto, ançi qe sia pié
A plus de .X. n'ert le çevo coupé.'
815   Adoncha se driçe, sì oit trata la spé,
A un canton del palés fo acosté.
Quant la novela fo à .K. porté,
Tal dol n'oit par poi non desvé:
Cria à sa jent: 'Alé, sì mel pié,
820   Qe demanes el serà apiçé!'
Ad arme corent totes, e bon e ré;

Rubric, *Donoisis.* See note.

Ver li Danois i' se sont alé.
Li Danois escrie: 'Por mal avant vené;
Se v'aprosmés tant cun est longa ma spé
825 Men esiant vu avrì mal ovré:
Li meltre de vos in mal ora fo né.'
Quant cil l'intendent, furent trati aré;
Mal aça quel qe li sia aprosmé.
Le remor aloit fora por la cité,
830 Por li Danois fo gran dol demené,
Ma de sor tuti .N. li oit pluré,
Ma por paüra de .K. non oit moto parlé.
Atanto .R. al palés fo monté,
Qe da caçer estoit reparié.
[f. 69b] 835 O' vide li Danois, quela part est alé.
Quant li Danois vi .R., tuto fo spaventé;
De ver de lui n'averoit nula duré,
Ma soa vite avoit sì bandoné
Qe por morir ne le daroit un pelo pelé.
840 Mais .R. no l'oit pais adesté,
Ançi le dist bela ment e soé:
'Dainois sire, quel brando me doné,
Qe ben vos ert salveo e guardé,
Ne non serés morto ni afolé,
845 E segura ment i[n] moi vos fié.'

.   .   .   .

'Ma una ren ben voio qe vu sacé:
Non è nu[l] hon in la cresteneté,
Se no à vos, à qi dese ma spé.
Or la prendés da qe vos la volé.'
850 E quela jent qe estoit ilec asenblé
Le volent corer sovra por mala volunté,
Quando .R. sì le oit escrié:
'Ben guardés qe vu no le toçé,
Como avés caro li ocli de le çé.'
855 Çascun de lor sont trati daré.
Davanti .K. .R. l'a presenté.

Coment .Ro. presenta li Danois à .K.

LI rois guarda li Danois, iré por maltalent.
'Danois, fait-il, fato ai tradiment:

A Çarloto perdonasi la ire el maltalent;
860 Ora me l'a' tu morto male ment.'
Dist li Danois: 'De ço sui ben dolent;
Ço q'e' ò fato, fé contra me maltalent,
Quant el me dise: Fel traïto puelent!
Qe de moi faroit tot li somient
865 Q'elo fé de mon filz q'el oncis noirement.'
Dist li rois: 'Questo ne vos defent
Qe vos non siés morto à li present.'
Dist .R.: 'Vu non farì nient!
Non po morir nen mora cun lui ensement.
870 Quando me dé sa spea, eo le fi sagrament
De lui defendre da mort e da torment.'
Li rois l'olde; par poi d'ire non fent.
Elo dist à .R.: 'Fel traïto seduent,
Non po aler così à ton talent
875 Q'elo non sia morto e recreent,
E se vu plu parlé en avent,
Avec lui serì sor li stacon pendent.'
R. l'oldì, plen fo 'lo de maltalent,
Quant dux .N. sì se fait en avent.
880 A li rois parole molto bele ment:
'Çentil rois sire, farés li mon talent
Çarloto, ves fi, no ave asient
[f. 69c] Quando questa ovre começò primement,
E li Danois li perdonò en avent
885 Quando 'l oncis son enfent;
Ma s'el è morto, el n'oit cason grent,
Quando li menaçò de fare ensement
Qe de son filz avoit fato altro tenp.'

Coment li Danois estoit en preson.

'MOn sire, dist .N., e' vos voio conseler
890   Qe al Danois deçà perdoner,
Ma no portant por nos cor saoler;
E' vos conseil qel façà presoner.
Veez qe .R. l'a tolto à defenser;
Non est en vestra cort tant ardi çivaler
895 Qe ver .R. olsast arme bailer.'
.K. l'entent, se prist à porpenser:
'Eo li farò in tel preson fiçer

862. Correct: *contra me talent* or *oltra me maltalent.*

Qe petito tenpo elo li porà durer
Q'elo non aça à la mala mort finer.'
900 Lora dist à .R.; 'Or mel faites bailer,
A mon voloir li farò enpresoner.'
Dist .R.: 'Quest' è ben da otrier.'
E li rois [le] comande à una preson mener,
Qe estoit una cave mervelosa e fer,
905 E comandò à qui' qi[l] dovoit guarder
Qe çascun jorno le deça un pan porter,
Una peça de carne e de vin un bronçer:
Tanto cun viverà non diça altro mançer,
Et in çesto molinois justisier.
910 Adoncha li prendent, sì le fait amener,
E in quela cava li voit enpresoner.
Or oez qe fi .R. l'avoer:
Lo comando li rois el volse otrier;
Por çascun jor li fasoit un pan porter
915 Qe asa' n'averoit de quelo dos baçaler,
E una peça de carne sì grande e plener
Qe in du' jorni no la poroit mançer,
E un sì gran bronçer de vin li fait porter
Qe ben se poit de[l] toto saoler;
920 Sì qe de bon vide mançer no se deça doter.
E una colsa fasoit .R. li avoer,
Qe çascun jo[r]no cun di altri çivaler
Elo li aloit lui à visiter,
E questo fasoit çascun jorno enter.
925 Or se comença d'un altro çanter,
D'un malvasio rois qe oit nome Braier:
Non è al mondo de çà ni de là da mer,
Qi le deüst ben por rason çercher,
Un peçor hon non poroit trover
930 Por cristian confo[n]dere e mater.
[f. 69d] E cil malvés a fato sorte çiter,
Qe de sor tera non trova çivaler
De qi el se deça de niente doter.
Dist Braier: 'De ço non poso dubiter,
935 Qe homo morto me posa engonbrer;
Doncha pos e' segurament civalçer
Por crestentés e davant e darer,
E li rois .K. fare desariter;
En çe Paris far moi coroner.
940 Non serà homo qi m'en posa contraster.'

Coment li rois Braer fi so ost.

LI rois Braer nen demorò ne mie:
    Fé asenbler tota sa baronie;
Trenta rois oit en sa conpagnie;
Conseil demande à qui' qe plu se fie:
945 Plus de cento ne moine ad un conseil prive;
'Segnur, fait-il, nen lairò nen vos die:
Por arte e por sorte fato son strolomie;
Qui' qe l'ont fato non trova nule vie
Qe me posa doter d'omo qe vivo sie,
950 E qe soto tera est colu' par cui serò perie.
S'el è de soto tera doncha no è 'lo en vie,
E de hon morto no me doto ne mie.
Doncha poso e' ben menar mia baronie
Trosqua à Paris en França la guar[n]ie,
955 E prender li batesmo e la cristianie.
Conselés moi por vestra cortexie,
Qe de quelo e' vos semono e prie.'
Li primeran qe parla fo un roi d'Almarie
Qe molto estoit e veilo et antie.
960 El dist al roi: 'Nen lairò nen vos die:
Conseio demandés et eo le otrie,
De paser mer in França la guarnie:
E quel rois qe l'oit en bailie,
Guarni estoit de bona civalerie,
965 De la milor qe in çesto mondo sie;
Unde e' vos pré qe nen tardés ne mie:
Un mesaço prendés de nos loi ensenie,
Sì l'envoiés in França la guar[n]ie,
A celle rois qe l'oit en bailie.
970 S'el vole laser sa loi e à la vestra se plie,
Lasé le viver ancor en aïe;
S'el vos dona traü no l'obliés ne mie:
Bona est la pax, qe no la contralie;
E questo e' vos do et otrie.'

      Coment envoia à .K. mesaçer.

975 UN altro rois s'est levé en estant,
    O' il parole alta ment en oiant:
'Entendés moi, çentil rois avenant;
f. 70a] Pois qe avì veçu l'inçantamant,
Qe non ve dotés d'omo qe sia vivant,

977. *mois: s* crossed out.

980 Qe non prendés vos cil mesaçer erant,
Sì l'envoiés en França et à Brusbant ?
Novele vos aporterà qe li rois oit en talant,
S'el no vol croire Macon e Trevigant
E Apolin e Jupiter li grant.'
985 Dist li rois : 'Vu parlez saçe mant;
O' s'è quel mesaço qi ne prenda li guant(o) ?'
Ne le fo cil ni canu ni ferant
Qe à li rois se faïst en avant,
S'el non fo un, nez fo d'oriant
990 Et oit nome Tanfur in la lo' mescreant:
Saçes homo fu e ben aconosant,
Sì soit parler de França e de Normant;
Por mesaço aporter ça milor non demant.
Davant Braer s'est presenté davant.
995 'Çentil rois sire, or me donés li guant;
Vestro mesaço sì farò saçe mant
Qe vos savrés ben de loi li convenant.'
Dist li rois: 'Bon guierdon n'atant:
A[l] retorner eo te farò çoiant;
1000 Tant te donarò avoir e besant
Richi fara' tuti li to' parant.'
Dist Tanfur: 'Dites moi al presant
Qe diroie à li rois d'i Franc.'
Dist Braier: 'Quant li sera' devant,
1005 No le saluar mie, ma di li apertamant,
Se tosto ne renoie la lo' o' è creant
Et adori Macon e Trevigant,
[f. 70b]   En soa vite non daria un besant;
Ma s'el aora Macon e vene al me comant,
1010 El po ancora vivere ben longo tanp.'
Dist Tanfur: 'Non parlé plu avant;
Ben farò ço qe à l'ovra apant.'

              Coment li rois Braer fi scriver
              brevi por envoier à .K.

        LI rois Braer non volse demorer;
              Fé breve scrivere e letere sajeler
1015 Qe à li rois .K. volt envoier
        Por questa colsa dire e noncier.

985. *parler.*
995. *guando.*
Rubric, *scirner.*

E quel pris li conçé, sì s'en mis à erer.
De ver de Françe se mis à çaminer.
D'un çorno e d'altro tant se fait pener
1020 Q'elo çonse à Paris una festa princer.
Sor le palés se vait apoier,
Davant .K. se vait arester,
Et alta ment li comença à parler:
'Mesaçer sui li fort rois Braier;
1025 A moi comandò, quando da lui m'ave sevrer,
Qe da sa part no ve deça saluer,
E por questa cason, no vel voio çeler:
Qe non volez Macometo orer;
Ma se volisés Deo arenoier,
1030 Croir en Macometo qe ben vos po aider,
Ben vos porés ver de lui acorder.'
E dist .K.: 'Estes vos mesaçer?'
'Oïl voir, sire; no so altro mester,
E servo li rois de mesaço porter.'
1035 Dist li rois: 'Vu me si' molto çer;

Par un petito ne vos faço apiçer.
Con fus tu olso tel mesaço aporter?'
Dist li mesaço: 'Mon segnor è tan fer—
Creçando nos la verità conter—
1040 Quando mun sire virà à çivalçer,
Quatro cento mil homes porà in canpo mener.
S'el vos atrova çà entro ad alberçer,
El vos farà l'asedio fermer,
Ne vos lairà ne broilo ni verçer,
1045 Casa ni mason ad arder e à bruxer;
E vos meesme, s'el vos po atraper,
El vos farà à mala mort finer.'

Coment li rois parole al mesaçer.

'MEsaçer frere, ço dist li rois Karlon,
Tu t'en anderas e nu qui romaron
1050 A ton segnor dira' questa rason:
Qe no le doto valisant un boton;
Non lairò mon Deo por aorer Macon,
E s'el ven in Françe el nega trovaron.
R. l'atende qe fo filz de Milon,
1055 E sì a Durendarda qe fo li rois Helmon,
Et avec lui li doçe conpagnon.'
Dist le païn: 'Vu parlé à perdon,
215

Qe li rois Braer è de sì gran renon
Elo non dota Frances ni Bergognon;
1060 El a plu força qe quatro altri Sclavon.'
Dist li rois: 'E nu ben li veron.
Se elo ven en çesta region,
E nu el troverà à Paris o à Lion,
E no li faren nula traïson
1065 Seno de lançe o de brandi da galon.'
Quant cil l'intent sì fronçì li gregnon;
Conçé demanda à l'inperer .K.,
E cil le done q'el s'en vait à bandon,
Ne da .K. non porte nul reençon.

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[To be continued]

THE TECHNIQUE OF BRIDGING GAPS IN THE ACTION OF GERMAN DRAMA SINCE GOTTSCHED

PART I: UNTIL THE DEATH OF LESSING

I. INTRODUCTION

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In *Romeo and Juliet* Friar Laurence explains to Juliet and to us his plan to summon Romeo to rescue his bride from the Capulet tomb. Balthasar brings his master the news of Juliet's death and burial, but no message reaches Romeo from the Friar. Instead, in Act V, scene ii, Friar John, the messenger, relates to Laurence his attempt and failure to communicate with Romeo.

Now the actual placing of Juliet in the tomb and the miscarriage of the Friar's plan are necessary to the dramatic action. Nevertheless they do not take place upon the stage. Were they omitted entirely, they would leave gaps in the action of the play. Such "gaps in the action" upon the stage are filled out or "bridged" by a narrative account or *report* of the parts of the action which do not take place before our eyes on the stage.

"Reports" of this nature are employed with remarkable frequency and from particular causes in the German drama of the time of Gottsched and Lessing. It is the province of this discussion to examine the technique used by the German dramatists of this period (in round numbers, 1730–80) to present such action to the spectator or reader; and secondly, to determine if there were innovations and important changes in methods of technique, either in the work of individuals, or between authors of different periods, or under different literary influence.

Strictly, the examination should be confined to those "reports" that add a detail without which the "action" properly so called would be incomplete. This has been the guiding principle in determining what and how much should be considered as "report," and deviations will be pointed out when they occur. Such exceptions are based upon the following consideration: there are three elements

which enter into the composition of a drama: action, character, and the author's human philosophy—his *Weltanschauung*. The "action" is, for this examination, of greatest importance. But an episode, even though "reported" and not seen, is of interest for us if it makes clear a trait of character which in turn motivates "action." Much further removed from consideration here is an episode introduced primarily to give point to the author's philosophy. More justified is the use of some part of the "dramatic action" as a background. Bodmer, for instance, contrives with the minimum pretext of "action" as a basis of "reports" to introduce a maximum amount of philosophy.

Any examination of the so-called "exposition" is excluded.

B. THE SCOPE OF THIS EXAMINATION

The period examined begins about the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The rising influence of Gottsched marks the gradual abandonment of the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* and the substitution of the dignified "regular" drama. Having no adequate German foundation to build upon, Gottsched borrowed ideas and models from the contemporary French drama, which meant at that time to a large extent Corneille. The stiff formality of the French "regular" drama was the opposite extreme from the boisterous stage of previous years in Germany. Before this time it was impossible to speak of "regular" drama in Germany. But now began a period of production, at first entirely under French influence.

With the last years of Lessing's life essential changes in the technique of narrative "reports" had taken place. Largely through his activities, French literary criteria ceased to be the only standard of perfection, and new conceptions, indicating especially English influence, were introduced into German literature and drama. There ensued a conflict of the old and new standards, of French and English ideas, in which the latter finally gained the victory. This epoch of change, almost of revolution, deserves examination as distinct from the later *development* of those ideas which did gain the upper hand; and a knowledge of this period serves as a foundation for the study of such further development. It is desirable to pause here before passing to the time of "storm and stress" and to the

classical period. It is my intention, as the title of this paper indicates, to continue the investigation upon this basis through the succeeding periods of the German drama, inasmuch as this phase of dramatic technique has to all appearance remained untouched as yet.

As will appear from the list of works studied, the texts examined were selected with the intention of making them representative, so far as they were procurable. Tragedy, comedy, operetta, and pastoral play are represented in some, at least, of the leading authors. The authors are men of various literary inclinations, from dramatist and actor-playwright to epic poet and learned professional man. They represent widely different districts of Germany, and different literary influences. While by no means complete, the list of texts examined includes those plays mentioned with most approval by contemporary critics, and those most popular at the time, together with others less so. The works of the men most important for the development of this period have been examined with especial thoroughness.

II. The Dramatic Use of the Report

A. its technique

1. *External form: a*) *Monologue.*—For practical purposes "reports" may be considered in classes, as monologues or dialogues. Those scenes are reckoned as monologues where one person appears alone, or where several occupy the stage, but one speaks "aside."

Not many examples are found of reports in the form of monologue. The reason is apparent—more especially for Gottsched and his followers, but in a modified sense for this whole period, including Lessing's earlier work: namely, *Wahrscheinlichkeit.*[1] As early as 1730 Gottsched published what he had no doubt for some time taught, that the use of the monologue was a gross sin; that only seldom could even a great writer make use of the monologue without giving offense to the discerning critic, and that with a little added application and determination the author would always find that the use of the monologue might be evaded. To quote:[2]

[1] A term variously rendered in the following pages by verisimilitude, truthful imitation, faithful reproduction of originals, probability, as the sense seems to require. As used in the statement of theory by Gottsched, and as practiced by Frau Gottsched, *Wahrscheinlichkeit* smacks somewhat of the more modern naturalism.

[2] Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst.* 2. Aufl., II, 11, par. 19. Leipzig, 1737.

Da ich von Scenen handle, so muss ich auch der einzelnen gedenken wo nur eine Person auftritt. Bey den Alten hatten diese mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit als bey uns; weil nemlich da der Chor allezeit auf der Bühne stund, und mit für eine Person anzusehen war. Und also redete da die einzelne Person nicht mit sich selbst. Bey uns aber ist die Bühne leer; und die Zuschauer gehören nicht mit in die Comödie: Folglich hat die Person niemanden, den sie anreden könnte. Kluge Leute aber pflegen nicht laut zu reden, wenn sie allein sind; es wäre denn in besondern Affekten, and das zwar mit wenig Worten. Daher kommen mir die meisten einzelnen Scenen sehr unnatürlich vor; und ausser der ersten im Geizhalse des Molière, wüsste ich fast keine zu nennen, die mir gefallen hätte. Man hüte sich also dafür, so viel man kann; welches auch mehrenteils angeht, wenn man dem Redenden noch sonst jemanden zugiebt, der das, was er sagt, ohne Gefahr wissen und hören darf. Eben so übel steht es wenn jemand für sich auf der Schaubühne redet, doch so, dass der andere, der dabey steht, es nicht hören soll; gleichwohl aber, so laut spricht, dass der ganze Schauplatz es verstehen kann. Was hier für eine Wahrscheinlichkeit stecke; das habe ich niemals ergründen können; es wäre denn dass die anwesende Person auf eine so kurze Zeit ihr Gehör verloren hätte.[1]

Note that the verisimilitude here urged is in reality external and formal and confines itself to the scene presented *by* the stage, as distinguished from the scene, conceivably out of another century, presented *upon* the stage. The only attempt to support his argument by deeper reasoning sounds very naïve: " Kluge Leute aber pflegen nicht laut zu reden," as if that mere statement were final without further qualification or argument. In other respects, also, the idea of probability (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*) was applied rather to the scene of the presentation than to the presented scene. Various items of Gottsched's dramaturgical faith may be cited in support of this statement. First he argued that there could be no change of scene; how could there be? The audience could not be so suddenly transferred from one place to another. That is, in the minds of Gottsched and the other critics the action presented was so closely associated with the presentation before a fixed audience, and the fact of the

[1] Corneille attributes the use or non-use of monologue to custom and bears witness to the occurrence within his own time of a change of literary taste from the use to the avoidance of the monologue: "Les monologues sont trop fréquents en cette pièce [*Clitandre*]; c'étoit une beauté en ce temps là: les comédiens les souhaitoient, et crayoient y paroître avec plus d'avantage. La mode a si bien changé, que la plupart de mes derniers ouvrages n'en ont aucun. . . . ."—Corneille, *Clitandre*, Examen, *Œuvres* (ed. Marty-Laveaux; 1862), I, 273.

presentation was so immanent in their consciousness, that the *Wahrscheinlichkeit* of the "action" was slighted, out of deference to the present occasion. Thus it was all-important that the stage should not be left unoccupied for an instant,[1] and that long pauses should not ensue. But apparently no improbability was felt in making a man tell his profoundest secrets in a public hallway, for example, a room with several entrances, leading to apartments occupied by persons whom it was the object of this individual to deceive, and who were likely at any moment to enter this public passageway without warning. All of these details occur in Brandes' *Gasthoff.*[2]

Of the same nature is the requirement of unity of time, preferably only a few hours, otherwise the audience—again the *audience*—would have to imagine itself as having eaten and slept.

In a period of formalism, the doctrine of verisimilitude (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*) appealed to everybody, and with comparatively few exceptions[3] monologues were avoided. The cure was simple and easy: a confidant (*Vertrauter*) was introduced, who listened willy-nilly. What Gottsched really did was to justify as well as he could by analogies with the Greek Chorus the usage which he took over from the French theater.

Gottsched followed his own rule: in his *Cato* (written 1730) by copying parts of plays which could pass the muster for unity of time and place, etc.; and later (1745), in his more original *Agis*. In the latter, the scenes II, i, V, ii, might as well have been addressed to the audience. The single reason for the presence of the second person on the stage is obvious: to secure the *form* of dialogue, that is, probability (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*). The second person has, in part, the office of the Greek Chorus, at first fifteen or even twenty in number, later reduced to three or two or even one. The Chorus is somewhat modernized, perhaps, but its characteristic features are plainly recognizable. Gottsched says of the use and purpose of the Greek Chorus:[4]

Diese Leute nun fanden sich bald in der ersten Handlung auf der Schaubühne ein, und behielten ihren Platz bis ans Ende des ganzen

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[1] *Crit. Dichtkunst*, II, xi, par. 18. [2] III, 5 (1769).

[3] Especially rare is the occurrence of monologue used to report action which has taken place elsewhere.

[4] *Crit. Dichtkunst*, II, x, par. 7.

Spieles. Sie vertraten daselbst die Stelle der Zuschauer, die bey der Handlung, so man spielte, zugegen gewesen, als sie wirklich geschehen war.

The part of the confidant then, who was substituted for the chorus, was first of all to watch and listen—to act as audience. In short, Gottsched's theory was that in the Greek drama the chorus represented fellow-countrymen, interested listeners, an artificial audience, and psychologically, at least, the audience of the amphitheater. For the latter followed the story of the messenger with the same interest as the stage audience. In like manner in his *Agis* the second person expresses in his speeches nothing but the thoughts or feelings of a spectator or listener—of any listener, anywhere, even in the audience. For example, V, i, when Agesistrata expresses her surprise and dismay at the report that Leonidas has regained the royal power by an unexpected *coup*, her words are only those of anyone in Sparta[1] or anyone in the audience, who might be permitted to speak. And when Lysander concludes, she hopes, with us all, that the successful tyrant will not be too severe with the patriots. Thus the chorus character of the second person is evident. This person is in effect the spokesman for the individual public; the personified interest of the audience granted the right to speak. Sometimes the two persons exchange rôles, performing the chorus service for each other in turn. Thus in V, i, occurs a report, with "chorus," of $6+9+16+41+12$ lines, excluding the rôles of the "chorus" of 4 lines each. This technique occurs often in the plays of Gottsched's imitators and pupils.

An even more striking illustration of the use of one man as "chorus" is found in Brawe's *Brutus* (1757). The old man Servilius opens Act IV, and his twenty-line monologue informs us that the battle has begun between Brutus and the enemies of the Republic. He reflects upon the situation, waiting for news of victory or defeat. Just why he waits in a place where he cannot at least look out over the battlefield we are not told. At all events, he fills the part of the Greek Chorus awaiting the event. Suddenly the tribune rushes in, sent by his superior to warn the old senator, Servilius, to flee. Very naturally the warning message must be supported by a statement

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[1] The scene of the play.

of fact, at first short, excited, then a more detailed account (in all forty-one lines) of treachery in the army. Throughout this long report Servilius maintains his character as "chorus." The choral responses consist of exclamations, or a few simple questions, such as: "Treulosigkeit in Brutus' Heer?" The tribune is easily recognized as the messenger of the Greek play. The technique is very similar. The purely epic nature of his report is somewhat concealed by the personal interest in the message[1] and by the excitement of an eye-witness just come in haste from the battle. The historical present runs through the whole report, after the first sentences.

Several years earlier, Elias Schlegel in his comedy *Der Geheimnissvolle* (1746) uses one real monologue report. Abgrund, the mysterious man, suspicious of all friends, talks aloud to himself: "Schlangendorf lässt mich zu Gaste bitten! Nein, dahinter wird etwas stecken! Das muss ich ausforschen:—Aber . . . ." etc. There follow fragmentary sentences, questions, exclamations: "Ist es möglich?" "Nein!" "Sachte!" "Zum Teufel!" Coming at the first of scene and act (III, i) the short report in monologue form gives a new turn to the thought and a new impulse to the action. Abgrund proceeds to reprove himself audibly for his habit of reflecting aloud— an apology to *Wahrscheinlichkeit*, perhaps, but in this case quite in keeping with the morbidly introspective character of Abgrund.

By this time (1746) Schlegel had just about completed his emancipation from allegiance to Gottsched. He had already entered into correspondence with Bodmer and may well have allowed himself greater freedom in the use of monologue, as he did in other details of technique.

To observe the gradual movement toward freedom from the use of confidants even at the cost of using the monologue, let us examine the plays of Christian Felix Weisse (1726–1804), who begins his career as a writer of tragedies with strict adherence to the established rules.

Weisse in his *Edward III* (1758) apparently stands helpless before the necessity of bringing his action or lack of action to a close. So he requires Nordfolk to report (V, ii) how everything turned out, and forces Archbishop Seewald to stand over opposite him and listen to

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[1] Flammius sends warning to his *friend* Servilius.

it all.   Nordfolk begins by complaining that his own late arrival has
caused the death of the king and others.   Seewald politely inquires
what delayed him, and upon this hint, Nordfolk launches into details
and relates to him and to us the catastrophe of the action, $5+20+13$
lines.

In *Richard III* (1759) Weisse introduces a short report into
Richard's monologue (V, iii).   Richard is just returning from the
murder of the princes with his bloody dagger in his hand.   The
mother and sister force their way past him to the tower room where
the bodies lie.   Richard makes his own remarks about the person
who left the door unlocked, and recalls then for us in his monologue
how Tyndal did not have the heart to strike, when the princes
begged for mercy.   The whole monologue, including the report, is
passionate and bloodthirsty, the mechanical technique correspond-
ingly energetic.

In *Mustapha* (1761) there is one monologue report (II, i) and in
Die Flucht (1769–70) there are two (V, i; V, ii), all three occurring
under the stress of strong excitement, so that the persons are almost
beside themselves temporarily.   These plays, especially the last-
named, were written at a time when Weisse was more familiar with
English ideas coming to him through Lessing and Nicolai,[1] and his
later dramas show distinctly in many details the desire to follow in a
conservative and safe way the leadership of Lessing in introducing
English dramaturgical ideas into German practice.

Thus Weisse registers a tendency (after about 1760) to substi-
tute to a limited extent the monologue for the unmotivated confidant.

Inquiry as to whether the monologues of this period are used to
communicate the progress of some severe inner conflict, of importance
for the action, and impossible to transmit otherwise than by means of
a monologue, must generally be answered in the negative.   In
Richard III the action reported is something external, a fact, a
deed.   Likewise in *Mustapha* and *Die Flucht*.   In Brawe's *Brutus*
(IV, i) the old Roman Servilius enters alone musing upon the battle.
He reports something entirely external, which is, however, the
starting-point of his following reflections.   But in the monologue
reports there is no inner conflict.

[1] Minor, *Weisse*, chap. v, 246.

Probably the most frequent use of the monologue occurs in Brandes' comedy, *Der Gasthoff* (1769). The host, Pips, has six monologue scenes, one very long, of two pages, in which he listens at a knot-hole and reports what occurs in the apartments of one of his guests. Lorchen has one of ten lines, the Baron one of nine lines, and two other characters each have one monologue. Some of these serve only as transition scenes from one situation to another. But most of them are used to communicate something; either to report what has been done, to comment upon the situation, or to give plans for the future. The host has a comical rôle, reminding one of the host in Lessing's *Minna*, who doubtless served as a pattern.

To illustrate the nature of these monologue reports: in III, v, Baron Thoreck has just spoken with Lorchen, who leaves him in uncertainty whether or not Frau von Dormin loves him or can be led to do so. In this uncertainty he meditates aloud, in the common hall or sitting-room:

Aber—wenn sie die Wahrheit gesagt hätte? Wenn auch! Wir wollen es auf kein Gerathewohl ankommen lassen. Mein Plan— —bald kömmt es zur Entwickelung. Der Befehl. . . . .

and he reviews then briefly the steps last taken to remove by treachery the husband of Frau von Dormin.

Evidently the Baron has no aversion to discussing his plans on the stage for the benefit of the audience. Notice here the use of exclamations, of the dash, and of interruptions. But care is usually taken to have the sentences grammatically complete before inserting a dash or other interruption. The language is not fragmentary. In the report cited above no attempt is made at any deeper motivation of the monologue than merely to acquaint the audience with the Baron's thoughts. Certainly his character as a maker of dark plots against persons high in rank and influence would not suggest such carelessness on his part.

Now Brandes was an actor himself, and he wrote not for art's sake but for effect. Apparently for the sake of simplicity and brevity in communicating certain necessary information to the audience he chose repeatedly the simple expedient of a monologue report, which he forced to serve his purpose; although he left it as unmotivated and poorly supported as ever the confidant had been. Here therefore

over-use and abuse of the monologue replaced the bad use of con-
fidants—so far had Brandes drifted from the versimilitude (*Wahr-
scheinlichkeit*) of Gottsched.

b) *Dialogue.*—The dialogue admits of a much less restricted use.
And it is in this form that by far the most of the "reports" occur.

Proceeding at once to a study of the technique, the following
details offer themselves for discussion: (*a*) the selection of characters
to make "reports"; (*b*) the introduction of "reports"; how con-
ducted; (*c*) the length of individual "reports"; (*d*) the number of
"reports" in the drama and the proportion of "reports" to the
whole; (*e*) the distribution of "reports" throughout the drama;
(*f*) the use of "alarms" to accompany "reports"; (*g*) the employ-
ment of "false reports."

2.   *Characters*

Theoretically the selection of any particular character to make a
report is closely connected with the motivation of the report itself,
just as the development of the action is of necessity dependent upon
the character of the action.   In those dramas where action and char-
acter are most closely interdependent, there the reports which occur
bear the most stamp of character, are motivated not merely exter-
nally, as reports from servant to master, from inferior to superior, or
even from an eye-witness, but there is a deeper psychological urgency
for the report.   Thus even Eph. Krüger in his *Vitichab und Dank-
wart* (1746) has given us one character whose actions are well moti-
vated as compared with others of this period.   The character of
Fredegunde is carried through consistently as that of a timid, loving
girl.   Always solicitous for those she loves, she is overwhelmed with
fear and trembling when she hears of the plot to kill the prince,
her betrothed, and both the manner and the matter of her report
on this occasion and elsewhere are not only in harmony with her
nature as indicated by other details of the action, but have their
origin in her character and gain their motive force therefrom.   There
is here deeper motivation even than mere passive harmony of the
technique and matter of the report with the character of the bearer
as presented in the drama.   Such motivation, if crude, is the begin-
ning of a more psychological treatment.   The deeper the psychologi-
cal urgency in the character, the better motivated is the selection

of just that person to make the report. However, there is much variation in the suitability of the characters chosen for the reports. Some are quite evidently dragged in against their will. Others carry off the part well. Sometimes the characters report because the author requires it of them. The reports of others accord well with their character, their manners, speech, and actions elsewhere in the play. Gebler in his *Adelheid* (1774) uses eight persons in making twelve reports. In spite of the fact that many report and much is reported, the thing is done in an everyday, offhand way and often the narration is covered by good motivation or clever technique. Hedwig's long report (I, vi, 15 lines) about a message from a stranger to her sister-in-law harmonizes well with her jealous, impetuous nature. Or, when the servant Gotthard brings the news of Siegmar's madness he is simply doing his everyday natural duty as valet or old house servant, and his character remains consistently that of a servant. Even the part of Dahlen as Siegmar's confidant is not entirely to be condemned. He is a house friend, and is by no means so colorless as those of the old Alexandrine plays.[1] He feels, and tries to think and act for his friend in his time of need. The two *Kammerfrauen* are more stereotyped, but they have together only about five lines of report, and these short speeches are directly to the point, in answer to questions. In fact, the author has covered his use of many persons to report with a fair degree of probability—i.e., of harmony of the character with the part given it to play.

Thus, if there is any relation at all between the character and the "report" of which it is the bearer, one finds at first usually an external harmony, with occasionally an inner psychological necessity for the report. But the tendency toward psychological motivation gradually asserts itself.

What determines the choice of the person to make the report?

In many of the Alexandrine plays of this period there is apparently no reason whatever why one person rather than any other one should have been selected to report.[2] However, in many cases there is an

[1] For a good characterization compare Minor's *Christian Felix Weisse*, Innsbruck, 1880.

[2] For example, in *Vitichab und Dankwart*, Gundomad, a thane, never enters except as a bearer of news. What reason is there why just he should have been chosen to report, rather than some person of more importance in the action? He is merely a type, representing any thane.

external motivation of the choice.   In Gottsched's *Agis*[1] we have an example.   The persons who report are, in all cases but one, persons of importance in the action, though not necessarily those of the highest social rank.   These "active" characters come together before our eyes, one or the other reports occurrences of which he has been an eye-witness, or a chief actor, the group of persons present then consult upon the situation, make plans, and separate to put them into action.   Later, in an assembly of like character, we perhaps hear the outcome of this very action, planned before our eyes.   Thus the action occurs almost entirely elsewhere, but is reported to us by those chiefly involved.   In the one instance, V, ix, where a servant reports, he is the only person available; for since the enemy has been victorious the leaders of the patriot party are all either dead, imprisoned, or scattered, and the servant here might say, like the servants of Job: "And I only am escaped alone to tell thee."

Elias Schlegel's characters report, as a rule, what they have themselves experienced, that is, the active characters do the reporting. Even when unimportant characters are made to report they are usually well chosen.   Thus in the tragedy *Orest*,[2] the priests, who elsewhere have no part in the action, report to the high priest the theft of the statue of Minerva and the ensuing struggle at the seashore. As priests they had been close by at the pretended cleansing of the statue after its pollution by the presence of the mad Orestes in the temple: thus they had been able to see for themselves all that happened, and we get the news on good authority.   When hostilities began, after the seizure of the image, the priests, not being warriors by profession, ran away and told their master the high priest.   So we have their report, somewhat breathless and excited.   Nevertheless their connection with the report is largely external, they execute their office, and report to their superior what happens on that occasion, nothing more.   But the manner of the report, the excitement, the haste, are the beginnings of psychological treatment of reports.

Gellert likewise chooses characters to report who have themselves been chief actors.   In the *Betschwester* (1745) Simon, the prospective

[1] Printed 1745 in the *Schaubühne*, VI (*Die Deutsche Schaubühne, nach den Regeln und Exempeln der Alten*, Leipzig, 1740–45, 6 vols.).

[2] *Orest und Pylades* (final form, 1745).

bridegroom, and his representative (*Brautwerber*), Ferdinand, call upon the very pious but equally stingy mother of the young lady to arrange the marriage-settlement, and in honor of the occasion coffee is served, a most unusual extravagance. Unable to contain his amusement at the ridiculous manners of his future mother-in-law the unfortunate Simon bursts out laughing and his cup of coffee slips to the floor. The result is a tirade from the pious lady, all negotiations are declared ended, and the gentlemen retire in disgrace. The two young men relate the experience to Lorchen, the young lady who is "managing" the action, after the fashion in the comedies of this period for some one person, usually a servant or confidant, to direct the activities of the other characters.

Weisse in most of his tragedies and comedies and Lessing in all of his early dramas, and even in *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), base their selection upon external connection with the matter of the report. Mellefont reports his own experience in following the unknown person, who wished to see him on important business. Norton is sent as a servant to find his master, and reports his experience. Betty's report about the assistance of the Marwood woman in preparing the "medicine" depends upon her position as servant. As a further illustration: Gebler in his *Klementine* (1771) uses in all some twenty reports. These occur quite uniformly in the discharge of regular duties. The house-servants report according to their position, the physician, upon the poison discovered, the police commissioner's clerk, upon the result of the investigation of the premises and the examination of persons suspected of poisoning the Baron.

Thus, in this period, the choice of the character to make the narrative report usually depends upon purely external motivation. From the plays already cited we can draw conclusions as to the types of characters who report. In Gottsched's *Agis* with one exception all are important characters from the standpoint of the action. In other plays cited we have messenger-rôles: Gundomad, in Ephr. Krüger's *Vitichab*, who appears only three times and always to make a report; and the tribune in Brawe's *Brutus* with his long report and the choral responses from Servilius. In Gebler's *Klementine* we have taking part in the reports many characters of all ranks, and of all grades of importance in the action.

But until the influence of *Miss Sara* began to make itself felt, we have in the *tragedies* usually *reports by persons of rank who have themselves taken part in or been eye-witnesses to* the action reported. The exceptions are usually of the dignified and strongly epic messenger variety. In the *comedies* prior to *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767) and later the servants do most of the reporting. The explanation is that in the tragedies previous to *Miss Sara*, it was the people of rank and importance who were made the heroes of tragedy,[1] it was considered honorable and dignified to take part in the action of a noble tragedy, hence active parts were assigned to the important characters; and in the times when there was little action upon the *stage* the result was that these characters were forced to report action.

In comedy the situation was different. For the fundamental idea in comedy prior to *Minna von Barnhelm* was to make a vicious action (*lasterhafte Handlung*) appear ridiculous. Even citizens of the middle class (*Bürgerleute*) were too respectable to be laughed at, or to be represented as vicious, so that often the entire action rests in the hands of servants and confidants.

Before discussing the use of confidants in comedy, a word may be said about their appearance in tragedy. They are used frequently in the tragedies of this period, and sometimes to carry the burden of the action. But confidants are of two kinds, according to the use they are put to: they may be used to talk to: "ein Vertrauter spitzt die Ohren, damit das Publikum höre," as Minor says of them; or they may themselves really carry the action. Both kinds of *Vertraute* are found in tragedy and comedy of this period; but the first kind is more common in tragedy, the latter kind in comedy.

The undisguised use of confidants is bad, but there are degrees of badness. To illustrate in the tragedy: In Gottsched's *Cato* the confidants simply do messenger service in most cases; they report

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[1] Cf. Gottsched, *Crit. Dichtkunst* (2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1737), II, ii, par. 19, p. 22: ". . . . Das macht, dass dort (tragedy) fast lauter vornehme Leute; hier aber Bürger und geringe Personen, Knechte und Mägde vorkommen: dort die heftigsten Gemüthsbewegungen herrschen, die sich durch einen pathetischen Ausdruck zu verstehen geben; hier aber nur lauter lächerliche und lustige Sachen vorkommen, wovon man in der gemeinen Sprache zu reden gewohnt ist." These ideas, together with many others expressed in the *Dichtkunst* are exactly like those of Corneille. Cf. "Discours du poême dramatique," *Œuvres* (ed. Marty-Laveaux, 1862), I, 23 ff.

to their masters or friends, as in duty bound to do, what they have seen or heard affecting their masters' cause.[1]

Their relation to the report is purely external, mechanical. There is no deeper connection between the report and the bearer of the report. This external mechanical nature is characteristic of the whole play. There is little action. What action there is, is there merely to form a background for the expression of sentiment, to create situations which permit the characters to portray their emotions. These outpourings of sentiment even are stilted, wordy, formal, that is, of the same "external" nature. There is no deep inner motivation of emotion, because action is lacking.

Essentially different is Brawe's use of a confidant in the report[2] where Brutus, the depth of whose character we have already come to know somewhat from the play, warned by a letter of the treachery of the young man whom he loves as a son, horrified and disgusted at the suspicion directed against him, cries out as it were in his mental struggle, when his whole noble nature rebels against base suspicions of so close a friend. And so we have in seven lines to Messala, his confidential friend, a really effective dramatic monologue, a mental process under the stress of a crucial moment, saved to *Wahrscheinlichkeit* by the use of a confidant. In this case the report is motivated from within, is psychologically justified. We learn from Brutus' horrified exclamations, really more to himself than to Messala, the nature of the contents of the letter.

As for the use of bold servants[3] and intimate friends in reports as well as to carry the action, this is so common as hardly to deserve illustration. The early plays of Lessing are of this type. In *Damon* (1747), *Der Freygeist* (1749), *Die alte Jungfer* (1749), the servants are active and do much of the reporting. Remember Just, even, and Franziska, in *Minna von Barnhelm*. However, there is little report except in *Der junge Gelehrte* (1748), until we come to *Miss*

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[1] They are not servants in a base sense, but men of rank: Cato's son, and Caesar's general.

[2] *Brutus*, III, iv.

[3] Only the slightest acquaintance with early eighteenth-century German dramas and their French antecedents is necessary to enable the reader to recognize the type of shrewd, resourceful, usually vicious, often witty servant, upon whom the master relies as well for the plan as for the execution of action. Doubtless the most attractive character of this obtrusive and generally unpleasant type is Lessing's Franziska.

Sara Sampson. In any one of Weisse's earlier comedies the con-
fidential servants have reports and usually direct the action: In
Die Matrone von Ephesus (1744) Dorias, in the *Poeten* (1751) Henri-
ette and Johann. Here the bold, resourceful servant-maid and the
obedient daughter are fused into one personality, Henriette. Minor
has made a study of Felix Weisse's comedies, discussing among other
things the types, as well as the stereotyped characters and motives
used by him in his comedies.[1] With this study as a point of depar-
ture, I have compared Weisse's use of stereotyped characters and
motives, and his technique of reports in his comedies.

Weisse's activity as a comedy writer extends from 1744–69.
He was conservative in his literary views, but, as editor of the
Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freien Künste (after 1759)
and as correspondent of Lessing, Nicolai, Winckelmann, Hagedorn,
Gerstenberg, and others he was well informed of movements taking
place in German literature. In Leipzig he was Lessing's friend,
but the latter soon outgrew him. Yet Weisse always looked to
Lessing as a leader. His revisions show that he worked hard to
perfect his powers, but that he lacked the genius as well as the radical
courage to follow Lessing except afar off. Thus his dramas show
fairly the average for his period, registering innovations only when
they had become safe. For this reason I have chosen them by
way of illustration, and shall use them from time to time for that
purpose. Moreover, the period of his activity as a dramatic writer
is a long one, including most of the time from the appearance of the
Schaubühne[2] until Lessing's death.[3]

For this examination I have selected four of the types pointed
out by Minor: (*a*) the bold, active servant; (*b*) the letter or similar
means of bringing about the *dénouement;* (*c*) type of the stingy,
selfish, or quarrelsome parents, opposed to the marriage and the
happiness of the daughter; (*d*) the virtuous, obedient daughter.
With reference to these types, especially, we find a first period of
strict adherence to them: *Die Matrone* (I;[4] 1744), *Die Poeten nach
der Mode* (III; 1751), *Die Haushälterin* (V; 1760), *Der Misztrauische*

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[1] Minor, *Weisse*, chap. iii, "Weisse als Lustspieldichter."
[2] First ed., Leipzig, 1740–45, 6 vols.   [3] 1781.
[4] I, III, V, indicate here the number of acts in the play.

gegen sich selbst (III; 1761).   Then after three years (1764) comes a comedy of one act, *Der Naturaliensammler*, which shows marked differences in detail, though still retaining the old types; e.g., there is only one servant to act, and the daughter, while absolutely incapable of deceit, is herself resourceful and determined enough to carry the action to a successful termination.   The next year (1765) appeared the *Amalia* (V), showing unmistakably the influence of *Miss Sara Sampson*.   Here the problem of the play is different, there are new types of servants, who have interests of their own for which they work.   English names are used, etc.   After this daring departure, Weisse returns, in the *Projektmacher* (V; 1766), to a modification of his former types; and from this time on there is a gradual change to new types—always types, of course— in *Freundschaft auf der Probe* (V; 1767), *List über List* (V; 1767), *Weibergeklatsche* (I; 1767), *Grossmuth für Grossmuth* (I; 1767), *Walder* (I; 1769).

Examination showed that in that first period of adherence to old types, under the influence of the French, of Gottsched, and of Schlegel, Weisse *made the most use of active confidants to report, as well as in other ways.*   But in the one-act comedy *Naturaliensammler*, showing a change in types, there is no report by anybody, and in *Amalia*, which reflects the influence of the English and of Lessing, likewise.   With Weisse's return to his heathen gods, the old types, in the *Projektmacher*, comes a return to the report by the bold servant, in one place eighteen lines.   In *Freundschaft auf der Probe* there is probably only one character original with Weisse[1] and that is the character of Woodbe, the very bold, trusted servant who carries the intrigue and has one long report about forty lines in all.   In the next comedy, *List über List*, the confidant reappears, who however has nothing to report.   And in the following comedies there is nothing at all to note.

Thus there is considerable variation on this point with Weisse, and on the whole progress is evident toward discarding the use of servants and intimate friends to make reports, parallel with like changes in the employment of other types.   This change is characteristic of this period, although not fully carried through at the time of Lessing's death.

[1] See Minor, *Weisse*, chap. iii, par. 12.

3. *The Introduction and Conduct of Reports*

In examining the technique of introducing and conducting individual reports, let us consider first different kinds of introduction in general. Sometimes, indeed, like many another misfortune, the reports come unexpectedly and quite without introduction.[1]

If introduction there is, one form often made use of occurs at the opening of a new scene[2] and is accompanied by emotion. The new arrival rushes in, strongly excited, so that the first words are of the nature of an exclamation. Then follows, perhaps, a short direct question from someone present; the report is now begun with much excitement still existing; after two or three lines, a second question, or remark, or exclamation of the hearers interrupts, and by this time the bearer of the "report" has sufficiently collected himself to pronounce thirty lines or more of narrative without interruption.[3] In Krüger's *Vitichab und Dankwart* (1746; II, i), Fredegunde comes upon Vitichab, whom she has been seeking. She is in great fear for his life, for she has overheard the princes making plans to kill him, and he is her promised husband. Her first warning is a cry, but after three and one-half lines of soothing words from him, she is able to acquaint him with details of the plot to the extent of thirty lines.

Sometimes the entrance is abrupt, with a short prelude by way of introduction to the report. In the same tragedy by Krüger (III, ii), Willibald, the faithful old thane of Fredegunde's father, Siegmar, has received a commission from his master to take her away secretly and devote her to the service of the goddess Hertha. Willibald comes upon Fredegunde unexpectedly, interrupting her complaint at the bitterness of fate. Without greetings on either side, he excuses in four lines the unpleasant news he brings, and then announces to her his mission and her fate: "Vernimm dein hart Geschick! Dein Vater . . . . ," and the message follows.

At a time when the action was habitually elsewhere than on the stage, it is conceivable that a report might be of such consequence

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[1] Witness Ephr. Krüger's *Mahomed IV* (1751).

[2] Naturally, since the entrance or exit of a person was the basis of division into scenes.

[3] Frequently such long reports *are* interrupted by the hearers or by the speaker himself. The technique of interruptions will be considered later.

to the author that he would take especial pains to have it well presented. Of very significant reports even the introduction itself might be much expanded. Such an important announcement occurs in Krüger's *Vitichab*, II, v. The author has prepared for it by the false report,[1] in the previous scene, of Siegmar, that the battle against the Romans has been lost. Siegmar's news is followed by a state of high excitement in the German camp. Now Gundomad is seen returning from the battle: "Ein neuer Flüchtling kömmt?" "Ich seh aus seinem Blicke, Und dem betrübten Gang des Vaterlands Geschicke." This is the introduction of the oncoming messenger, before he arrives within our view, and is therefore still in the above scene. The new scene opens with his actual appearance. He hardly has time to begin: "Ach Fürstin!" when he is cut short by the queen with angry reproaches, that all have proved themselves so cowardly. During this harangue, he stands astonished. When he hears what Siegmar has just reported, his anger grows against him. In the exchange of words which follows he reports a victory with one word only, although his whole speech bears that implication. Finally he begins to report, first five lines, then one and one-half lines, each time interrupted by an outbreak of joy from Adelheid, the old queen, first one line, then seven lines. This latter interruption ends with the direct demand for a full report: "Warum säumest du, mir selbst den Sieg zu melden?" The real report then follows in twenty-three lines. As Gundomad comes in his narrative to the supposed death of Vitichab, he hesitates, until the courageous words of the queen-mother (two lines) require him to tell all. Then follows (thirteen lines) the report of Vitichab's death and how his body was rescued. Here the epic or narrative element is strong but well enough disguised to be not very noticeable even to the reader. The strong excitement, the mutual reproaches, and the many interruptions tend to break the monotony and destroy the narrative effect.

In plays where there is apparent effort at conversational style various schemes are employed to avoid formality in the introduction of reports. One example will suffice. In Frau Gottsched's *Testament* (1743; III, iv), Frau Tiefenborn, the aunt, comes in with an exclamation of displeasure and drops into a chair; her two

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[1] I.e., reported action which has in reality not taken place. Cf. *infra*, under "False Reports."

nieces start up with questions which are answered first by another expression of disgust, before the real cause is given: "Alles was mir verdrieszlich ist, wird mir heute auf einmal vorgebracht. Da kömmt der Wagenmeister und hat die Frechheit, ... " and the report follows. The report is continued in the same fashion, the situation being developed by conversation of a most natural kind.

Another detail should be mentioned here. Especially in the years from 1730 to 1755, or thereabouts, stage directions printed separately as such were almost entirely lacking. Much that was later, and is now, printed as stage directions was at that time spoken somehow by the actors. Even the commonplace " Enter X " was then expressed by some character of the action, thus: "Ah! here comes X, he is just the one who can tell us what we want to know!" In Gottsched's *Agis*, the bearer of news is greeted thus:[1] "Mich dünkt ich höre schon Lysanders Stimm erschallen: Er kömmt und bringt vielleicht erwünschte Nachricht mit"; or,[2] "Hier kömmt Agesilas; Der weis, was vorgegangen"; or,[3] "Wie froh bin ich, von dir die Nachricht zu empfangen! Mein Bruder, lehre mich wie alles zugegangen" —a request which the brother fulfils in a report of sixty-two lines. This greeting serves the double purpose of a formal introduction of the new arrival to the audience, and of necessary stage directions.

This older form was intended primarily for the listener, who had not seen a text of the play. To judge from the printed stage directions, many modern plays presume that the spectator has studied the printed play before witnessing the production on the stage. In this wise are communicated details of the presentation of such a nature or in such numbers as would escape the mere spectator, even though carefully observant, who had not been previously coached as to what to expect.

The tendency to omit the explanatory remarks by the characters and to substitute stage directions becomes noticeable even in this period.[4] Directions for the movements of the actors, for instance, formerly verbal and expressed in the speech of a character, are later printed quite generally apart from the dialogue. The old method was taken over bodily from the French at the beginning, and was

[1] V, x   [2] III, i.   [3] II, i.
[4] Cf. Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*.

retained apparently because of self-satisfied dilettantism, which had not yet reached the point of serious study of technique; that came with Lessing.[1]

A method of procedure in formal reports not often found in this period is illustrated by the following examples, taken from the plays of Elias Schlegel and of Brawe, two men whose early death cut short lives of great promise for dramatic literature in Germany; in fact, almost the only men in this field who developed ideas of their own in advance of Lessing.

In the first case, the scene opens after at least the beginnings of the report have been made, thus shortening the narrative by eliminating all introduction and mere formality, and proceeding at once to the subject of the report. In Schlegel's *Orest und Pylades* (II, v), a report of nineteen lines occurs. Orestes has, in his madness, attacked an unoffending shepherd youth, and now the father comes to the king to make complaint. In this scene little more than the omission of the introduction is gained. All details are recited, although part of this same matter has already been given in two separate reports. The scene opens with Thoas' question: "Wer durfte dieses wagen?" referring to the attack upon the innocent youth and showing that the complaint had already been made. Very similar is the technique in Schlegel's *Canut* (1746; III, i, or IV, i). The person receiving the report opens the scene with an excited demand betraying what and how much has already been communicated and at once requiring further report.

Somewhat different is Brawe's technique under similar circumstances. In the scene referred to above,[2] the communication has been made to Brutus in his tent in the form of a letter, read before the scene opens, and warning Brutus of Marcius' treachery. In the succeeding conflict of emotions, Brutus discusses the letter half to himself, half to his confidant, Messala. Note the form of Brutus'

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[1] This is borne out by the fact that persons of every rank and profession believed themselves capable of writing dramas. To be sure, it was considered helpful to have the criticism of an actor friend, who could even at times introduce the author to stage life. It was well if the author had a skilful friend who could make useful suggestions as to form or meter, a service often rendered to Weisse by Ramler and others. And of the writers of dramas many followed other professions, and produced dramas "by the way." Even Felix Weisse was a government official (*Kreissteuereinnehmer*) in Leipzig from 1761 on, and wrote his plays in his spare time (Minor, *Weisse*, 42 f.).

[2] *Brutus*, III, iv. See p. 15.

speech: first an exclamation, then his answer to the suggested sus-
picion; then the content of the letter in questions, answered each
time negatively by Brutus to himself: "Messala! nein, man will
uns hintergehen! Mein Freund, mein Marcius, Der sollte treulos
sein? Nein! Verborgener Neid Schrieb den feindsel'gen Brief.
. . . ." Here absolutely all unnecessary formality has been excluded,
and far from being a mere report for its own sake, it presents a lively
inner conflict, in a play even of that early date (1757). To be
sure, the importance of this report for the audience is the knowledge
gained that Brutus has been informed of the conspiracy. For the
plot itself we already know. Nevertheless, here is greater brevity
and greater forcefulness, based upon inner motivation, than else-
where outside of Lessing, up to this time.

The use made of letters in the plays of this period cannot be dis-
cussed here except in so far as they report a part of the "action"
in the strict sense of the word, as in the above illustration. Far
more commonly is the *dénouement* dependent upon a letter which
arrives unexpectedly, enlightening the characters upon events per-
haps long past. Let one illustration serve for all, before passing.
In Gebler's *Adelheid von Siegmar* (1774) note the mechanism to
bring the climax and the end. In IV, vi, Adelheid receives a letter
which discloses to her events long past, and causes her to attempt to
leave her husband, horrified at the discovery that he is the murderer
of the man to whom she had given her love. The false friend had
hired assassins to kill the happy lover, and the grieving bride had
married the friend. The leader of the assassins, mistreated, deter-
mines to have his revenge, and finally plays this letter into the hands
of Adelheid. The end is brought about by the old father of the
bandit, now a hermit, who has learned the identity of the sender of
the letter, and comes to prevent further calamity by explaining
everything. Thereupon Siegmar, the husband, is so overwhelmed by
a sense that his sins have found him out, that he takes his own life,
and the tragedy—or rather, the bloody scene—is finished.

These mechanical means—a letter, or a person returning with
knowledge—were common in this period. Consider, too, the use
made of the letter by Lessing. Even as late as the *Minna* a letter
from the king plays a part, though by no means an important one.

Yet the device is retained, and at the last the solution is brought directly by the arrival of the Count of Bruchsal, the uncle, who now makes his first appearance.

Upon examination of the *epic nature* of reports of this period, several clearly defined types of treatment are noticeable.   First, there are those frankly narrative in nature.   Apparently the author is entirely innocent of any suspicion that narrative is not drama. He introduces many details not essential, but intended to make the picture more real, more vivid.

Another type of treatment, while none the less baldly using the narrative as a legitimate means of presenting action to the audience, abandons the simple directness of the first type, and endeavors to make the narrative account attractive, that is, forceful, effective, in itself.   Thus, the report is expanded and given a dramatic form within itself.   Sometimes the report is divided among several persons, the form balanced, each report supplementing the others.   Or the report is repeated for emphasis or suspense.   Excitement is introduced, either very strong at first and becoming more calm with expression, or growing with the report to a climax.   Such technique is now and then very elaborate.   In reports of the second type, questions, usually direct, play an important part.   By this means excitement is raised, by adding new fuel to the flame; or time is given the bearer of the report to collect himself, and to proceed more calmly.

Thirdly, there is an evident conscious effort, while retaining the narrative as an indispensable means of presenting action, to conceal as far as possible the means used; to cover up the narrative in various ways.   The report is brought in quite by the way, while the main interest of the speaker seems to be upon something else; or interruptions, more or less well founded, break a large report into parts and relieve the monotony of a long, connected account.   This ruse appears most threadbare, or formally successful, according to the author's skill.   Or further, an attempt is made at imitation of conversational style, often with considerable success; this, of course, is more commonly found in comedies.

Between these three classes of narration, and the following group, there is an essential difference.   The preceding types of treatment

imply in common a recognition of the narrative as either a legitimate means of presenting the entire action, or any of its parts; or as being indispensable, even if undesirable and to be concealed and avoided as far as possible. But here and there a technique is found, in outward form similar to the third group above, but with the great step in advance that the whole report as well as the various speeches are much more truly motivated psychologically. In outward form, then, reports of this kind do not distinguish themselves strikingly from others formally skilful; they may be "by the way," conversational, excited, successfully concealed. But here discrimination not merely formal has been exercised in determining what shall be reported. Under certain circumstances there can be no objection to narration even in drama. Many actions can be told conveniently and to the point, saving time and change of scene. This subject will be discussed below.[1] It is enough to say here that in this class of reports essential actions are seen on the stage, unessentials are reported, and that psychological treatment appears also in the technique of the individual report. By far the best examples of this group are the reports of Lessing.

As an excellent illustration of the first type above indicated, Bodmer's *Karl von Burgund* is almost unique among those plays examined. Bodmer's plays were not written for the stage, and so far as I know, they were never presented. *Karl* is interesting because it so clearly shows the model used[2] and so well illustrates the dramaturgical theories of the author. Bodmer wrote national dramas; he knew Shakespeare's historical dramas. But his object was to teach and to moralize. Shakespeare was too boisterous for his taste.[3] He thought it ridiculous to present battle-scenes upon the stage. For him the characters were most important, with their sentiments and philosophy, and the action was subordinate.

In *Karl von Burgund* he adhered closely to the Greek model. Similarities are: little action upon the stage; account of the battle by a messenger; return of the chief personage, who has lost the battle. In Aeschylus there is the Chorus, in *Karl* the three old

[1] Cf. *infra*, under "Substance of Reports."

[2] Aeschylus, *Persians;* cf. Seuffert, *D. Lit.-Denkmale des 18. Jh.*, IX, Introd.

[3] Im 2. *kritischen Briefe*, 1746.

men; in the *Persians* the mother of the king receives him returning; in *Karl* the daughter, Maria, greets her father. There are other similarities. But note especially the technique of the report. Maria is at first not present when the messenger, Chaligny, arrives. He is received by the Chorus, and begins his sad report of the battle with the Swiss, which is punctuated throughout by exclamations of dignified sorrow over the terrible loss inflicted upon the Burgundians. The speeches of the messenger (two to four lines) are weighed off against the words of the three old men in turn, equal in gravity and dignity and length. This is scene i of Act II. The report runs through eight pages, two scenes, all but one page of the entire act. In the second scene, Maria arrives, called from her devotions by the cries and lamentations of the people, as she explains, over the sad news. In an address of fifteen lines, she describes her devotions, her fear and trembling at the warning sounds of weeping, and finally bids the messenger speak, nor conceal aught; he obeys literally in a report of six pages. Of two of his speeches each is over one and one half pages in length, uninterrupted. The better to arouse his hearers to the full extent of the misfortune, the silver and gold vessels and other valuables lost in the campaign are carefully described—a finder might from the description return the lost articles to the owner. There is an attempt at imitation of the simplicity and dignity of Aeschylus.[1] At the last, Maria, good housewife that she is, reminds herself that Chaligny must be tired and hungry and invites him to go and refresh himself. This enables the author to remove Chaligny peacefully from the stage. Maria then feels justified in inviting our attention to a minute examination of the state of her feelings.

Here the author has deliberately chosen a bald descriptive narrative in the place of action. This play stands alone, so far as this examination has gone, in substituting one unadorned connected account for a complicated action.

There are many examples of plays where practically all the action is narrated, but piecemeal, in several reports. This treatment is well illustrated in Gottched's *Agis*, already referred to. The report is formally introduced as information desired and needed by certain *dramatis personae* in deciding a course of action. A full report is

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[1] Cf. Seuffert, *D. Lit.-Denkmale des 18. Jh.*, IX, Introd.

asked for and received, not in short statements, nor in answers to questions, but in long, connected paragraphs with, perhaps, questions between the paragraphs. Such a paragraph of thirty lines is not uncommon.

Usually some sort of elaboration of the report is used for greater dramatic effect, though narration is still deliberately chosen as the means of presentation. The elaboration may be merely formal. The style of long narratives is often elevated. The author embraces the opportunity to make a small finished work—the words are well chosen and phrases well turned. The finished product is polished and set up to be admired. Revisions of Weisse's plays made several years after the original publication show changes mainly of a formal nature. Phrases have been filed into better form. But the technique remains fundamentally the same.

In comedy, expansion of reports into a *laughable situation* is common. The idea of comedy was at that time to present a succession of situations, each one of which, independently of the others, was ludicrous. Thus in Gellert's *Betschwester*,[1] already cited, Simon's mishap with the coffee cup is developed until it can be told with the effectiveness of a good story. The report itself, in so far as it was necessary to the action, might have been told in a very few words.

In a similar way, in tragedy a report may be emphasized and used for all its immediate effect, without much regard to its relative importance in the fabric of the action. Thus in his *Richard III* Weisse's chief stock in trade is the murder of the Princes in the inner prison. He approaches this subject from every possible point of view, and makes use of all phases of its consideration. First we see Richard and Tyrel rush off to the room of the Princes, with the express purpose of murdering them, and a few moments later, mother and sister of the children, standing upon the stage, hear the boys scream (though we do not). This might suffice. But later we see Richard, with bloody dagger and hands, retiring from the finished deed. The Queen and the Princess at the sight push past him through the unlocked door and we hear the agonized screams at the spectacle which meets their eyes. In his bloodthirsty manner

[1] See pp. 12 ff.

Richard reports the death scene. This at least should close the incident, one might think. But Tyrel,[1] as the second eye-witness, recalls the scene of the murder in a short monologue (eight lines), and when immediately afterward Stanly, on his way to the Queen with news of the victory of Richmond's army, surprises Tyrel in these thoughts, the latter detains him while he reports to him in eighty lines the details in full of the murder (trying at the same time to remove all blame from himself). To this long report I wish to call attention. But as though this death scene had not yet been sufficiently emphasized, the sister and especially the mother mourn loud and long whenever occasion does not prevent. Especially at the beginning of V, vii, the mother's words are truly affecting. Finally, in the last scene, Richmond must needs step to the door of the Princes' room, whence he, still upon the stage, can see the little bodies lying in their gore. With this the author closes his treatment of the incident.

Weisse's original was doubtless Shakespeare, whose *Richard III* he tried to improve upon, as he later confessedly attempted to do with his *Romeo und Juliet*.[2] In Shakespeare's drama the tragic end of the Princes is subordinated to the action of the play and is reported in about thirty-five lines in all. The complaint of the mother, too, is comparatively short and is supported by other moments. In Weisse's so-called drama, the affecting presentation of the murder scene is end and object of the whole play, calling forth the touching plaint of the Queen. Hence this long, expanded report, of eighty lines, of a part of the action already sufficiently described and emphasized. One situation, in itself effective or even powerful, is expanded and stressed beyond all proportion to the rest of the drama. And here is a striking instance where this is done by means of a long report.

The expanding of a little material into a long narrative may have its origin in a desire to make the situation impressive, to make an excited report, with the excitement as end and object, or to make the report a small work of art in itself, with rising interest and a climax perhaps. There may be other reasons. The author may attempt to conceal the report, and to that end may use technique of various kinds: extraneous material may be brought in to break the continuity of the narrative; the use of conversational style at

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[1] V, v.   [2] *Beytrag z. d. Theater*, Theil V, Vorrede.

first meant great expansion of the report. For at first all the details were introduced in any case, and were simply surrounded by conversation, by the talkativeness of the reporting character, or otherwise.[1]

The result of the expanding of reports is usually either to destroy the relative proportion of the situations to the action, or in case the author aims at concealment of the narrative, the effect depends entirely upon his skill, and is sometimes extremely circumstantial and plodding, sometimes suggestive and spirited.

The *elaboration* of individual reports into a more or less *dramatic form* is interesting and pronounced enough to note. Sometimes within the limits of such a report can be distinguished an introduction, a rising interest, considerable suspense, and a miniature climax. Or the gradation is reversed, with the most tense excitement at the beginning, and gradually growing less. Much more commonly found is the latter technique, so much so that it hardly requires illustration. Any example will do: as in Brawe's *Brutus*, the tribune rushes in with confusion and shouting to warn the old man, Servilius: "Entflieh! Entflieh!" The use of exclamation, short sentence, dash, repetition of word or phrase, indicates extreme confusion and excitement, which soon moderate as the tribune settles to the author's business of reporting the battle. The construction of this excitement is mechanical, formal. On the other hand, while Lessing uses the same technique exactly in his *Emilia Galotti*, yet, because he makes us feel that his characters are human beings and not types, we find no objection to his application of the identical device: (II, v) "Emilia (stürzt in einer ängstlichen Verwirrung herein): 'Wohl mir! Wohl mir! Nun bin ich in Sicherheit. Oder ist er mir gar gefolgt? . . . .'" Here, as there, is excitement to the point of confusion. In both cases the first word is an exclamation; here the one thought "saved!" there the one thought "flee, save yourself." In neither case is at first the thought of a report in the mind of the person entering. In both plays, following the excited entrance of the bearer of the report, come questions leading to the narrative, which in each instance is very long.[2] In the one case, questions and

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[1] E.g., Frau Gottsched's *Testament*.

[2] In *Emilia* about thirty lines, twenty-five without interruption from the listener.

report are stiff and undisguisedly narrative in character; the conduct of the whole situation with Lessing is psychologically well founded, and the effect is dramatic.

So much for the type of gradation where the greatest excitement comes at the beginning of the situation.

Consider now Weisse's *Befreyung von Theben*.[1] Most of the action is reported, but there is constantly an effort to conceal artificially the means used, by giving the narrative an artistically effective form. Thus in Act II, scene i, is the monologue of the mother of young Kallikrates, who meditates in her anxiety how at least to save her son's life from the dangers threatening his father, Charon. At the time the patriot leaders are assembled in Charon's house, to carry out that very night a long-planned attack to overthrow the tyrant of Thebes, Archias. The boy, Kallikrates, wished to join the conspirators, but was sternly commanded by his father to betake himself to his mother, that he was too young for such labors. Beside himself, the boy insulted the tyrant before his own house, an action which might be fatal to Charon and the plot. All of this the author wishes to communicate. He prepares for the report by the monologue of the mother. The boy enters, the mother attempts to persuade him for his father's sake to leave Thebes and go to Athens or some other safe place. This leads to an outbreak of discontent and rage on the boy's part, during which he complains bitterly of his father's treatment of him as if he were a child, and relates boastingly his adventure at the palace of the tyrant. Thus the report is carefully prepared for a whole scene in advance, for the mother's monologue is not to be explained otherwise.

Act III, scene iii of the same play furnishes a better illustration of a climacteric scene, and at the same time is the sequel to the incident just cited. Phillidas, one of the patriots, has deceived the tyrant with his pretended friendship, and the latter is, upon this night, banqueting at Phillidas' palace with a company of his creatures. Here the patriots hope to surprise and overwhelm them in the midst of their drunken debauch, provided that the plan carries. But the insult of the boy without the palace is rumored about at the tables, and the merriment suddenly ceases. Phillidas succeeds in diverting

[1] 1764.

the minds of his guests, and the drinking goes on. Suddenly a soldier enters and reports to the tyrant that rumors are current in the city of soldiers being smuggled in at the gates, and of conspirators concealed at the house of Charon. Again there is a hush, and this time genuine alarm, with consequent danger for the plot. Phillidas cleverly suggests that enemies have started the rumors to disturb the feast. The drunken company agrees this time less readily, until Archias commands the arrest of Charon, and the searching of his house. Here, then, is the end. All will be discovered. Again Phillidas gains time, by offering to go himself to make the arrest. Thus he appears suddenly among the conspirators. His unexpected presence is enough to arouse intense agitation, a fit beginning for a significant report. Starting with this degree of excitement, each succeeding episode of the above report heightens the tenseness of the suspense. And as Phillidas suddenly concludes: "Nun sprich, was willst du thun?" one feels that while the words are not so confused or excited, the *situation* has step by step become desperate until there seems to be no way to turn with hope of anything else than death. Here the gradation of interest is secured by combining into one report a succession of incidents belonging to the action, each one of which renders the situation more desperate than its predecessor.

Lessing carefully leads up to a report in *Emilia Galotti*, Act III, scene i. Marinelli prefaces the report of his new plan for securing possession of Emilia by clever diplomacy until the beginning of his communication is emphasized by the sound of a shot from without. With Lessing little is said or done for effect only; the action is rapid, and, the suspense raised by this report, goes quickly over to the report by the assassin, Angelo, all of which belongs to the full account of the occurrence, and closes the incident of the attack for us.

Even Bodmer in his stiff, laborious way makes use of this technique in Act IV of his *Brutus*.[1]

Of the examples just cited, Weisse uses the reports to communicate the chief action of the play; Lessing subordinates all to the action,

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[1] For Bodmer's dramas compare his *Neue theatralische Werke*, I. Band (Lindau im Bodensee, 1768); "Politische Schauspiele" (1768); "Der Vierte Heinrich, Kaiser, und Cato der Aeltere, oder der Aufstand der römischen Frauen. Zwey politische Dramata" (1768).

every important step of which he causes us to see. Lessing uses as careful, and a more successful, technique for the important parts of the action as his predecessors did for the emphatic incidents.

The use of excitement in reports has been discussed in part; the gradation of interest up to or down from a climax, and why and how this technique is employed. There remains to examine the more mechanical means used to secure the effect of excitement.

The mechanical means of lending excitement to a report are of various kinds and of various degrees of effectiveness. "Flieh, edler Greis! Schmach, Knechtschaft, Tod Umringen dich! Beflü- gelt eilen sie; Entflieh!"[1] In these first words of the tribune to Servilius, (a) the short sentence urges a single thought, "flee"; (b) the meter assists the thought (*Schmach, Knechtschaft, Tod*); (c) the use of exclamations and, in the printed text, of exclamation marks, and the repetition of the important word "Entflieh!" assist. The answer of Servilius interrupts, with exclamation and questions; now follows a report with several ideas in confusion; after a second interruption, half exclamation, half question, succeeds the narrative in more connected form, changing quickly to the historical present for vividness, using mostly short sentences; several times requiring a dash as the sign of a break in the thought, with here and there an exclamation. The means already enumerated are the ones chiefly used in the reports examined: short sentences, bearing one thought at a time, meter and choice of words, use of exclamations, repetition of important words for suspense, interrup- tions in the form of urgent questions or exclamations, confused expres- sion of thought, use of dash, use of historical present.

The employment of such mechanical means increases the effective- ness over such a passage as: "Noch einmal, Herr, Entbrennt der Kampf, vor unsers Lagers Wall, ..."[2] which introduces a call to arms, is intended therefore to be excited and exciting, is so in content, but to the ear is as melodious as a hymn.

The element of excitement is introduced into almost all reports of any length, from the stiff, formal plays of Gottsched and his fol- lowers to the revolutionizing plays of Lessing and those of his imi- tators. This is true in large part of comedy as well as of tragedy,

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[1] Brawe, *Brutus*, IV, ii. [2] *Ibid.*, IV, ix.

from the *Testament*[1] of Frau Gottsched on.   The difference is in the skilfulness, rather than in the technique applied.   Instances of more successful application of this technique occur only here and there in this period.   For instance, in Bodmer's *Pelopidas*, II, ii, it is reported that a messenger from the tyrant is at the door inquiring for Charon, the chief conspirator.   There is a rapid succession of short sentences. II, vi should be exciting, but there is little internal evidence.   The quotations are direct in all cases: "Und Phillidas fuhr fort: 'Hast du nichts gewisses gehört,'" etc.; but the sentences are rather long, with too many subordinate clauses to be effective.   In Gebler's *Adelheid*, I, vi, the impetuous passion of Hedwig asserts itself and carries us easily through an uninterrupted speech of fifteen lines. There are no exclamations in her statement; her remarks are a rapid succession of crisp short sentences, each one well directed. No words are wasted.   In later reports a different technique is used: in IV, vi, Dahlen trembles with uneasiness and dread when he knows that Adelheid has received a letter.   "Ha! Meine Furcht trifft zu.—Es ist geschehen. Eine Todespost!—Ach; Christine! zittere sie mit mir."   Now we hear a cry from the next room, and Adelheid has fainted.   Then follows commotion, and Christine's excited report (after her return) about her mistress.   There is much use of dash and exclamation mark.   Other reports are similar: V, i, ". . . . und der gnädige Herr, der bey meiner Erzählung blasz wie der Tod wurde! wütend nach Dahlen's Zimmer lief!" Here the sentences are not complete.   Or, V, ii, "Ha, er entführt sie!—seine Zimmer leer; kein Geräthe, kein Bedienter; alles fort, in der Stille fort; hinter dem Garten der Wagen bestellt!—Umsonst! Ihr entrinnt nicht! . . . ." etc.

To choose perhaps the best example of this technique of the whole period, compare Emilia's report of the meeting with the Prince in the church.   Here again Lessing's technique excels, because it is based upon human nature.   We hear and feel the human being, not the words alone.   The mechanical technique is similar in many respects to that of the passage from *Brutus* referred to above.[2]   Brevity of expression at first, secured by choice of a word implying much: "Wohl mir!"; the use of exclamations, the repetition of important

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[1] Published in 1745; written in 1743.   [2] P. 21.

words: "Ist er . . . . ," and the confusion in expression—all these means are found to be applied with the highest skill. But these externals, while none the less effective, are forgotten in our human interest in the individual, Emilia.

As to the nature of the excitement thus produced, notice that almost always, except in Lessing's later dramas, the excitement is synonymous with vivacity or activity, rather than the result of suspense. For instance, an eye-witness comes from the scene of action, and in his report the signs of physical excitement appear in his words—the excitement or incoherency of unusual activity, rather than the uncertainty of suspense or of mental disquietude.

Lessing begins here and advances. Emilia opens the scene in extreme physical agitation. She rushes in with wild looks and anxious confusion, accompanied by rapid movements, throws back her veil, and then casts herself into her mother's arms. This uneasiness communicates itself to her language. But back of this physical excitement, one feels here a high degree of mental disquietude, which arouses the eager desire in our minds to know the cause. This suspense is appreciably increased when the wished-for communication is postponed for nearly a page, until Emilia finds the necessary self-command in response to her mother's injunction: "Fasse dich!—Sammle deine Gedanken so viel dir möglich.—Sag' es mir mit eins, was dir geschehen!" Here the interest of the reader is psychologically, not merely mechanically, aroused and sustained, and the excited form of the dialogue has its origin, not in physical agitation alone, but to a great extent in the mental state of the heroine.

Brief mention of some details of the mechanical technique discussed above may be justified.

The *historical present* is used only here and there. Curiously enough, the examples noted are in plays of earlier date, e.g., Krüger's *Vitichab*, and Brawe's *Brutus*. Lessing in *Miss Sara*, *Minna*, and *Emilia* avoids the historical present even in long reports, where we might naturally expect to find it.

Exclamations are very common in reports throughout this period. But later the use made of them changes greatly. Occasionally, as in *Vitichab*, they are employed early in the period, to show real excitement, in the report as elsewhere throughout the drama. But often,

as in Gottsched's *Cato*, exclamations are very stilted. Otherwise, as in Bodmer's plays, they are merely direct address to the gods, or the like: "Groszer Gott!" or "O Vater Romulus!" Actor-playwrights, such as Brandes, made frequent use of exclamations, although in many cases they are only distinguishable from declarative sentences by the presence of an exclamation mark. Those used in Lessing's reports, in *Emilia*, for instance, are of the character of true exclamations, recognizable as such with or without distinguishing punctuation.

Infrequent, too, is the use of *rhetorical questions*, all examples noted being in the early period when any means to the end of formal perfection, however pedantic, was eagerly seized upon.

The evident development in the use of the *dash* is of interest. Gottsched uses none in the reports of *Cato*. Every sentence must be formally complete. Even among his immediate followers, however, the dash makes its appearance. Ephr. Krüger uses it frequently. In the camp of the enemy, Bodmer employs it often. But with few exceptions in these plays, the sentences, or at least the thoughts, are quite complete before the dash is introduced. That is, the break in the continuity of the thought cannot be said here to denote excitement or extreme agitation. Often the dash is quite meaningless, as used, not even indicating a break in the thought, and might as well be a comma or a period.[1] Compare on the other hand from Lessing's *Emilia*: "Ist er, meine Mutter? Ist er [mir gefolgt? . . . . Nein, dem Himmel sei Dank!" or "Eben hatt' ich mich— weiter von dem Altare, als ich sonst pflege. . . . ." Here are the broken sentences of real emotion and excitement.

Only here and there occurs repetition of a word or expression, at first in a somewhat rhetorical fashion for emphasis, later in Lessing directly for emphasis and suspense. Thus *Vitichab*, III, iv: "Ich bins . . . . nein! . . . . Ich! Ich Verräther bins, der dir den Sieg entwandt! Ja, ich wich . . . . Ich wich," and the report follows of his desertion (Siegmar's). Again, with less stiffness and more effectiveness, Brawe uses this technique in his *Brutus*, III, iv.[2] He opens and closes the report with a decided "Nein!" and gains force for the second negative by letting it answer the three rhetorical

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[1] Cf. Brandes, *Gasthoff*.   [2] Cited above, p. 22.

questions just preceding, this being repetition of the rhetorical form if not of the words. In IV, ii the repetition "Flieh, edler Greis! . . . . Entflieh!" is emphatic. Compare here the uneasiness and suspense gained by repetition of words in Emilia's report of her encounter with the Prince in the church (II, vi).

For various reasons the author may prefer, instead of putting the whole into the mouth of one charatcer upon one occasion, to let him *supplement* his own report on a different occasion, repeating part or all, and adding details; or one or more characters may be detailed to assist the first one, either reporting jointly with him, or complementing and supporting his report by theirs. Thus in Krüger's *Vitichab*,[1] Fredegunde has made a full report to Vitichab of the treacherous plans of the plotters. In the third and fourth scenes of the same act we hear from Vitichab and Gundomad not only the confirmation of her report, but the further detail of the execution of the traitors, closing the episode. It may just suit the author's purpose to show in this way that the same information is possessed by different persons. It may be his intention that each report shall correct something false about the preceding one, and shall add new information, more or less correct, as in *Vitichab*, III, iv, v,[2] IV, i, where the intention very clearly is to play upon the sensibilities by a succession of good and ill reports. Or the reports may supplement each other in such a way as to build up a complete situation in dramatic form,[3] with introduction, rising action, and climax.

In this last category belongs a situation in Bodmer's *Brutus*[4] built up out of three scenes, based upon reports by Caesar, Antony, Calpurnia, and the priest or augur. The question is: Shall Caesar go down to the Capitol on that day?

There is a general introduction in IV, i, to the whole situation. From the beginning the theme of the scene is the great event to happen upon that day, the crowning, and the actual and prospective circumstances. But the introduction of the subject of supernatural signs or omens is by a sudden and somewhat abrupt transition, separated from the foregoing by a dash. Antony has just finished a report about persons and events—facts, and thereupon predicts

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[1] II, i; cf. above, p. 18.
[2] Cf. above, p. 19.
[3] See p. 23.
[4] IV, i, ii, iii.

a successful outcome of Caesar's plans.   Caesar answers, with abrupt change of topic: "Ich danke dir, Consul.—Wenn ich viel auf Prognostika hielte, so könnte ich glauben dass mir Unglück bevorstünde.—" And then he tells of his dreams and of the mysterious voices calling him. He has this on his mind, and it troubles him. Hence the abruptness. But when Antony undertakes to talk of such things, Caesar cuts him short in the middle of a sentence: Antony speaks of "Krieg in den Wolken, Regen von Blut—" omens seen in the preceding night. Here Caesar interrupts with a jest; when the earth gets a king, even the heavens express their astonishment. Then Antony with a bit of flattery determines Caesar's resolve to make light outwardly of the whole matter. Caesar's pride is appealed to: Ant.: "Du bleibst dir allemal gleich, ohne Furcht vor allen Elementen, und viel mehr Furcht einzujagen gebohren."

Next comes Calpurnia with her anxiety because of dreams. Caesar, manlike, is inclined to jest at her misgivings. Yet it is not pure jest. He says himself: "Es ist nicht leerer Scherz." Since a certain runaway, when his life was spared after a prayer breathed in the moment of danger, he has lived "wie die Ceremonien der Religion es befehlen." It is clear then that Caesar is not unimpressed by the events of the night. He is jesting at his own misgivings as well as at those of his wife. And at his wife's request he calls the augur, again of course covering his action with a jest about being familiar with the priests' game, having himself often "inspired" the augurs by means of generous gifts.

The climax to the reports comes when the priest, his report of the auguries laughed at by Caesar, throws himself at the dictator's feet and implores him not to disregard the warning, recounting in a long speech[1] the various wonders reported. Caesar still scoffs at all warnings and entreaties, but at the first loophole which presents itself, he decides to remain at home. His wife begs him to stay as a proof of his love for her. Here is something that he can do. The godlike Caesar refuses to be moved by omens or warnings; but to please his wife, and incidentally to show his power, he can cause the Senate to await his pleasure even to crown him. Or he may have

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[1] Two-thirds of a page.

been secretly relieved to find some excuse to avoid what he believed to be impending danger, an excuse which would save his pride. For the Caesar of the play does not free himself from the charge of being susceptible to supernatural omens. The reports are interspersed with much entreaty and argument; yet they form the groundwork of the retarding moment, and produce a somewhat labored suspense.

Supplementary reports may very effectively be used to conceal the narrative by not only parceling out the material to a number of individuals, but also by distributing the various contributions in wider intervals throughout a conversation. For example, in the younger Stephanie's *Deserteur*[1] the men in the guard-house discuss in an off-hand way the desertion of the hero, Holbeck, one offering this, another that, bit of information, coming back to the subject from time to time as occasion wills. Marder, the officer of the guard, knows most about the official prosecution of the case; the men have more to report about the details of his capture. Weisbard, on guard at the door, reports the execution of the punishment upon the runaway. Thus the report proceeds quite spontaneously and naturally.

Mention has already been made of reports where the author evidently attempts to *avoid* the effect of *unconcealed narrative*. Various means are used to cover the report. The news may be communicated indirectly, by the way merely. Or, in what is really a report, some other phase than the facts to be communicated may be emphasized in order to divert attention from the manner of communicating the news. Or the dialogue may take on a conversational character, at first very crude.

A few ponderous attempts at reports "by the way" are found in plays in the early part of this period. The method is to give the character a special message to deliver, and to let the remainder—the real report—seemingly come by chance. Thus in *Vitichab*, Fredegunde ostensibly comes to warn Adelheid to save Vitichab, whose life is threatened, but in the course of this communication her mind reverts to the scene of her father's duel to the death with Tiberius, and, overwhelmed with grief, she describes how her brother

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[1] III, i; written in 1773, printed in 1775.

attacked the murderer of his father, and the outcome. This, the real narrative, occupies over thirty lines of report, and is easily recognized in its true character through the slight mask.

Again in the same play, for example: after the battle in which the Romans have been defeated, there is a generous strife between Vitichab and Rando, each assigning to the other the chief honors of the day. The report is inserted in the dialogue between the persons chiefly active in the occurrences. Vitichab thanks Rando for having saved his life and the victory, and offers him his own office of *Herzog* as his just due, thus indirectly reporting some details. The veiled report in Rando's answer is more direct: "Das Glück war uns geneigt, der Feind ergriff die Flucht, Und deine Sicherheit war unseres Sieges Frucht. Durch unserer Aerzte Fleisz erholtest du dich wieder . . . ," etc. At the last of his indirect account, the ostensible theme is again emphasized, namely, the friendly strife: "Nun sprich; ob du mir noch dein Leben schuldig bist? Und ob der Deutschen Sieg durch mich erfochten ist?" thus completing the attempt of the author to cover up the narrative character of the report, by emphasizing some other phase of the conversation.

In Bodmer's plays the report often disappears under a deal of philosophizing, as in *Brutus*, III, iii.

The most successful method of veiling the narrative in reports is by the use of conversational style of dialogue. This was attempted very early in comedy. Frau Gottsched succeeds in her *Testament* (1743) in producing a conversational style which is so "natural" as to be unpleasant or even coarse; but she is so successful in making the reports a part of the conversation that they lose all narrative effect. Thus one[1] report is inserted in the middle of a four-page scene, is begun and carried on in an off-hand conversational style, and is given by three persons in the same manner in which any group would recall an incident which they had witnessed together, the remarks of each speaker supplementing those of the others. Each expresses only one idea in a speech, as is commonly the case in rapid conversation. In earlier dramas of this period, in reports as elsewhere, a single speech was a whole paragraph.

But even when elsewhere the conversation moves easily, the

[1] III, i.

technique may fail utterly in reports. In Ayrenhoff's *Postzug* (1769), the scene is very well planned for conversation in groups at two tables, and between groups. But II, i, where the report of the dinner party is made, the author in true Alexandrine style introduces the steward (*Verwalter*), who reports in conversation with Lisette as they lay the tables for the after-dinner coffee. As the two spread the table covers, the "conversation" moves along, with just enough questions from Lisette to keep the report in progress, such as "Wie so?" "Na, und wie bezeigt sich der Bräutigam dabey?" occurring between descriptions of two–seven lines from the *Verwalter*. This scene is important for the action, and had to be presented in some way by the author. So that we understand well enough what is meant when the steward says in leaving: "Nun weis Sie genug, Lisette, ich will wider hineingehen, sonst möchte mich die Herrschaft vermissen." This again is true Alexandrine motivation of the arrival and departure of characters on the stage.

In many comedies after *Minna von Barnhelm*, the conversation is much better, in reports as elsewhere, especially in the works of actor-playwrights like Brandes and Stephanie the younger.

Because of the serious nature of the subject, the dialogue of tragedy is more inclined to long speeches, comprehending more than one single thought. Yet the introduction through *Miss Sara Sampson* of the middle-class tragedy (*bürgerliches Trauerspiel*) meant progress in this direction because it introduced as material more of the everyday life, which can be discussed in conversational dialogue. In the report of Angelo to Marinelli in *Emilia* III, iv, we have completely the conversational style in reporting action.

MAR. Und wie lief es sonst ab?
ANG. Ich denke ja, recht gut.
MAR. Wie steht es mit dem Grafen?
ANG. Zu dienen! So, so!—Aber er musz Wind gehabt haben.
    Denn er war nicht so ganz unbereitet. . . . .

Briefly stated, there is sufficient evidence to show that, following early attempts resulting in a somewhat threadbare veiling of the narrative in reports, came a distinct advance with the use of the conversational style in reports; and that by the time of Lessing's death this technique was successfully used not only in comedy but

also in tragedy. This was one phase of the development of the idea of truthful imitation (*Nachahmung der Wahrscheinlichkeit*) so much discussed at that time and not settled at the present day.

The use of *questions* in the mechanism of reports is general throughout this period, but the technique changes essentially toward the last. By "question" is meant any sort of demand, not necessarily of the interrogative form. The question serves many purposes, thus: (*a*) to introduce reports, or (*b*) to develop the narrative even to the extent that the interrogator directs the whole report with his questions, or (*c*) to increase the excitement, or (*d*) to allow the bearer of the report time to collect himself. (*e*) "Questions" serve to break the monotony of long reports. Again, (*f*) questions often contain parts of the report in themselves, and require only to be confirmed by a word.

To recall the division of reports made above: of the reports evidently considered indispensable by the author instead of direct presentation, three groups were found: (*a*) broad, frankly epic narrative, (*b*) embellished narrative, (*c*) concealed narrative. In addition, it appears that Lessing especially no longer felt bound by pedantic rules for presenting certain action only through the medium of reports. He followed his own keen sense of what was of human interest and of logical importance in the dramatic action. This he presented on the stage, and such reports as occur are required by reason, not by rule.

Following these groups in the order named, it is noted that certain kinds of questions are more commonly found in certain ones of these groups. Thus the broad narrative reports of the early type of drama are quite generally introduced by a direct invitation to impart the desired information. Thus in Bodmer's *Pelopidas*, II, vi, Pelopidas demands (direct question) that Charon relate what befell him at the house of Phillidas. A report of a whole page follows, without an interruption. Often in those plays in which the central characters are personages of high rank, the "question" takes the form of a direct command from a superior to his subordinate.

A notable exception to the introduction of reports by a direct demand for information is the case of Mortimer in Weisse's *Edward*

III. Mortimer reports repeatedly, but in accordance with his rôle as the "manager" of the action, as the active character, he never waits to be asked, but uses his reports to drive other characters to action.[1]

In long reports with formal embellishment eager questions assist in increasing the excitement to a climax; or longer questions combined with remarks allow the bearer of the report time to collect himself for a calmer narrative.[2]

Among the first attempts to veil narrative may be reckoned the questions which themselves impart information. The listeners assist in the report as in Weisse's *Theben* (1764), V, vi. Later, as the dialogue approaches the conversational style and single speeches become shorter, the "question," often the direct question, is used to interrupt and break the monotony. A special use of the direct question is found, moreover, in Weisse's *Die Flucht* (1770), III, i, and in Gebler's *Klementine* (1771), IV, ix. In the *Flucht* Karl worms from his brother's trusted servant, Joseph, the details of the plan for Sophie's flight with Karl's brother. Karl's methods are those of a modern police inspector. First he threatens, then promises leniency.

KARL. . . . . so werde ich und mein Vater euch in Schutz nehmen.— Was wiszt ihr also?

Jos. Je nun, der Major Worthall und meines Herrn Leutenant sind auf dem nächsten Dorfe.

KARL. Ah! Gewisz, das Fräulein zu entführen?—Aber wie wollen sie ihr beykommen?

Jos. Das weisz ich nicht.

KARL. Auch nicht die Zeit, wie, wo, wann?

Jos. Ich soll über Hals und Kopf dem Major einen Brief überbringen. . . . .

KARL. Einen Brief? Einen Brief? Habt ihr ihn schon?

And under threats he finally gains possession of the letter, which he opens.

Similarly the broadly comic scene in *Klementine.* The police *Kommissar* is questioning Jakob, the respectful old house servant, concerning the identity of a gentlemen suspected of having sent

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[1] III, vi; IV, v.   [2] Cf. p. 23.

the Italian poisons of which the Baron, the head of the house, has just died.

KOMMISSAR. Ist es eben der Fremde, der vor etlichen Monaten hier war?

JAKOB. Ja, Gestrenger Herr; doch spricht er jetzt deutsch, und trägt sich weltlich.

KOMMISSAR. Mit dem Klementine sich damals oft allein unterredete? [Klementine was suspected of having administered the poison to the [Baron.]

JAKOB. Ja, Eure Gestrengen, doch ich glaube, in allen Ehren. Er ist schon ein Mann bey Jahren.

KOMMISSAR. Darum fragt man euch nicht.

JAKOB. Nein, Eure Gestrengen.

KOMMISSAR. Schweigt einmal mit euren Gestrengen.

JAKOB. Wie soll ich Sie sonst nennen?

KOMMISSAR. Antwortet jetzt einen Augenblick gescheid. Verlangte der Fremde mit Klementine zu sprechen?

JAKOB. Er stieg im Wirtshause ab. Ich sasz mit Dalheims Friedrichen vor der Thüre; wir tranken zusammen eine Flasche Wein, um uns von der Angst zu erholen. Der fremde Herr sieht mich; seine erste Frage war, wie es dem Baron, wie es Klementine gienge? Ich sagte: schlecht; der eine ist schon ganz todt, die andere halb, er erschrak. Ich muszte ihm die völlige Geschichte erzählen. Er begehrte mit Eurer— zu sprechen. Er wartet im Vorhause.

KOMMISSAR. Lasst ihn herein kommen (*Jakob geht zur Mittelthüre ab*)

This citation illustrates as well to what extent the length of a report was increased, in order to preserve the indirectness and circumstantiality characteristic of the old servant.

In the fourth class of reports of this period, as illustrated in Lessing, many such uses are made of questions as are described above.[1] But the technique is so refined that it loses all formality and is felt to belong naturally where it occurs. And the final more subtle step belongs again to Lessing.

The *interruptions* of reports deserve notice. In some early plays[2] reports, even long ones, are seldom interrupted. In Gottsched's *Cato* the reports coming all eventually from French models, interruptions are moderately frequent,[3] but not successful. In Ephr. Krüger's plays, however, there are many short interruptions in long

[1] *Emilia*, II, vi; III, i, ii, vi; IV, iii.
[2] E.g., Pitschel's *Darius* (1752).   [3] Four times in a twenty-six line report.

reports. The long reports in Elias Schlegel's plays are often interrupted. And this is true of longer reports generally. Sometimes these interruptions are quite of the nature of chorus interruptions in Greek plays.[1] Occasionally in metrical plays the interruptions come at regular intervals,[2] and are themselves of regular measure, two lines or four lines.

Interruptions are sometimes drastic, as when in Melchior Grimm's *Banise* the report of the soldier angers the Emperor, who interrupts him in the middle of a sentence by hewing at him with his saber.

Later, in the real and near conversational style of report, the narrator may interrupt the active report by his own talkativeness, rambling from the theme and returning to it more than once in the course of one speech.[3] Or with a definite break in the connection, the narrator may turn from his own report to something else, as in Ayrenhoff's comedy, *Der Postzug*, I, xii. The affected and effeminate Graf v. Blumenkranz, who is incapable of any connected thought, or even of finishing properly one remark, interrupts his account of his terrible accident to recognize each member of the assembled company, or to call for a mirror and to arrange his powdered wig and face. Such interruptions are largely for the purpose of characterization. In Gebler's *Klementine*, Lenore interrupts the narrative of the dry old court clerk continually. In harmony with her more impetuous character, she anticipates his remarks repeatedly by divining what he is about to say, and thus she robs him of his well-prepared climaxes, much to his disgust.

GERICHTSSCHREIBER. . . . . Von ohngefähr komme ich in die Küche und treffe Blanden an, der Pappiere in das Feuer wirft. Ich ziehe sie schnell heraus; sie waren zum Glück nur hier und da versehrt. Es ist ein Testament, Bland erschrickt heftig.

LENORE. Ohne Zweifel das rechte Testament des Barons. Ja, Gewisz! darinn wird nichts von einer Heyrath mit Blanden zu finden seyn.

GERICHTSSCHREIBER. Geduld, Frau Lenore, das ist schon das zweyte mal, dasz Sie meine Erzählung unterbricht. . . . . Also in meiner Erzählung fort zu fahren. . . . .

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[1] Cf. above, pp. 5 ff.; as an illustration compare Gottsched's *Agis*. As a further illustration see Brawe's *Brutus*, IV, ii, where the old man, the recipient of the news, expresses from time to time surprise, confusion, or astonishment.

[2] E.g., Weisse's *Theben*, III, iii: $2 + 2 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 16$ lines.

[3] Cf. Weisse, *Der Misztrauische gegen sich selbst*, II, iii.

In comedy the interruptions in the conversational style of reports occur early, in fact in Frau Gottsched's own plays. The skilful handling of such interruptions develops with the other technique of conversation. Some of the more crude beginnings have been mentioned.

Interruptions are by no means always indicated by the use of the dash, even where they cause a direct break in thought.

The motivation of such interruptions of reports is, at the beginning of the period, superficial or altogether lacking. Here and there they are better founded, e.g., in *Vitichab*, Fredegunde's most prominent characteristic throughout the play is anxiety for her loved ones, which prompts her numerous interruptions of reports. Lenore's premature remarks in *Klementine* have their origin in her natural impetuosity. In Bodmer's *Italus*, III, ii, iii, Suanhuita interrupts Alboin, whom she despises, out of anxiety, impatience, anger, grief. Cundilo she allows to speak for a long time uninterrupted, for he brings good news, he is a friend whom she respects. The interruptions which do occur here are expressions of relief, joy, rejoicing.

In Lessing's reports, interruptions are usually motivated by strong excitement.

Enough has been said above to make it evident that Lessing's use of reports has more foundation than that of his predecessors. Others followed formal pedantic rules as to what kinds of action could or could not be properly shown on the stage and, like Weisse when in *Theben* and in *Krispus* he changed the scene in the fifth act, they trembled at the least violation of precedent; whereas Lessing with perfect self-reliance admits action to the stage or chooses to report it, according to its relative importance in the dramatic structure of which it is a part.

The use of the report once determined upon, the problem arises of *motivating* its *appearance* and *conduct*. Here also the progress is considerable within the period under discussion. In the early technique, many reports simply happen. To all intents and purposes they are purely accidental. To illustrate with an extreme example: when in Bodmer's *Tarquin*, III, i, ii, the tyrant and his wife Tullia are in the last extreme of anxiety they admit that their only hope is the army miles away; at the word the general of that

army suddenly appears and tells them that the army has gone over to the new republic and will not support them, thus removing the last hope. The author supplies a quasi-motive later when he says that the general is here to report the new oath of the army to the senate. But in the first place, such motivation is tardy and obvious, and therefore unsatisfactory; and secondly, it is insufficient. At the best, accident plays too important a rôle. Such groundless reports occur throughout this period. In *Klementine*, II, xi, there is no reason in the world why the two servants Jakob and Friedrich should be introduced in the scene by themselves. The author advances no reason. He simply desires to present certain matter in a certain light and suddenly introduces the report to serve his own purpose.

With few exceptions such motivation as does appear is external and superficial in nature. There are frequent reports to a superior upon command. Compare Melchior Grimm's *Banise,* or Pitschel's *Darius*. Here military affairs are reported by military men. Or again persons report who have been charged with a duty. It is the exception when a report is psychologically as well as formally justified. Moreover, reports are at times, considered alone, skilfully presented. But taken in their connection as parts of a drama they are without dramatic justification. In the matter of skilfull presentation, aside from motivation, there was great progress in the work of others as well as in that of Lessing.

With Lessing the report is an organic part of the action. The foundation is carefully laid so that not only the use of a report upon a particular occasion, but the use and conduct of the particular report is thoroughly and psychologically motivated. Consider how correctly and carefully[1] Marinelli's report of his latest *coup* has been planned and prepared for.

In all the reports considered the action makes progress, but nowhere with more sureness and with less machinery than in Lessing's dramas.

4. *Length of Individual Reports*

Many conditions work together to increase the length of individual reports. Brief mention of some of them follows.

[1] *Emilia*, III, i.

Note the differences between long reports among themselves. Some are nothing but report, giving full details and making no pretense or attempt at concealment; others, intended to be less purely narrative, have a different machinery for reporting. Now the "machinery" has to be included here as a part of the report, for that constitutes the manner of the report. The actual data communicated cannot be lifted out and considered without the setting. It is just the setting that is of interest, so that a garrulous person may require half a page with several speeches to convey to us information that conceivably could be given much more compactly. This effort to secure verisimilitude (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*) accounts for the length of many of the later reports.

If the action reported is long or important or detailed, the report is usually long, even where the style of the author is terse and suggestive.[1]

Attempts at elaborate technique, such as have been discussed above, to give the report dramatic effectiveness, usually resulted in greater length of the report.

The elaborate diction of the Alexandrine plays carried through the reports gave them often bombastic emptiness; many words, little content. The possibilities for high-sounding phrases were exhausted. Thus, *Cato*, II, vii, the simple report is in effect complete in the last line of the report: "Und kurz: es zeiget sich ein allgemeiner Friede." Yet this simple statement is expanded into eleven lines.

More frequently in Bodmer's plays than elsewhere, the reports of action are made the framework for moralizing and philosophizing remarks by the characters. For to Bodmer the expression of patriotic sentiment and philosophy was the real end of play-writing. The introduction of so much reflection resulted in drawing out the length of the report.

The growing use of conversational style in reports and the employment of garrulous persons to recount action not seen on the stage indicate one phase of the attempt at truthful imitation (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*), which motivates in many cases the length of reports. Some characteristic of the bearer of the report is sufficiently emphasized

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[1] E.g., *Emilia*, II, vi.

throughout the drama to give foundation to the length of his reports; so the talkative Frau Drummer in *Der Misztrauische gegen sich selbst*, the solicitous Fredegunde in *Vitichab*, the crafty and relentlessly logical Ulysses in the *Trojanerinnen*, the unsophisticated and timorous Emilia, and others, both in the comedy and the tragedy. These characters consistently bear throughout the reports the traits which appear elsewhere in the drama, and which motivate to a certain degree the technique and therefore the length of the report. Such motivation gives a psychological justification of the length of reports.

As to the length of individual speeches in reports, there seems to be a loose agreement with the character of the bearer of the report, greatly modified on occasion by the matter to be reported. Thus reports of soldiers are usually brief and pointed. But in Brawe's *Brutus*[1] the tribune's one speech of thirty-five lines falls out of the rôle.

Here again, with the increased use of the conversational style, the tendency becomes apparent in the reports to make a single speech consist of one or two ideas rather than of a whole paragraph;[2] and, especially in Lessing, to present the essentials only of the report in words, but suggestively, leaving the rest to be felt by intuition, in place of broad narration. Compare, for instance, Angelo's account of the attack on the carriage,[3] or Marinelli's report of the arranged plan,[4] with the shepherd's account in Elias Schlegel's *Orest*[5] of Orest's attack upon the herdsman's boy. To be sure the marvelous terseness of Lessing's diction in *Emilia Galotti* is characteristic only of himself, and is in some instances too epigrammatic to be natural. But just such an example was needed to counteract the tendency of the early dramatists to broad circumstantiality.

5, 6. *The Number of Individual Reports; Their Extent Compared with That of the Whole Drama*

The number of reports, long or short, made use of, and the proportion of the reports to the whole drama depend upon both the subject-matter of the play and the technique chosen.

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[1] IV, ii.

[2] Even when the speech is long, the individual sentences composing it are short, and comparatively free from dependent clauses. The use of syncopated sentences is frequent. Cf. *Emilia*, II, vi.

[3] *Emilia*, III, ii.   [4] *Ibid.*, III, i.   [5] II, v.

The proportion of the drama devoted to narrative presentation of action, counting in of necessity the machinery used in the technique of the report, varies greatly not only with different authors of the same period, but even in different plays of the same author. Thus Gottsched's *Cato* contains about 75 lines, his *Agis* about 365 lines of report out of 1,500 hexameters. Ephr. Krüger's *Vitichab* has about 290 lines, his *Mahomed IV* about 115 lines of narrative. Melchior Grimm's *Banise* uses only about 35 lines of report. Aside from his *Karl von Burgund* (one-fourth report), Bodmer's plays vary in amount of report from one line in *Timoleon* (44 pages) to fourteen pages in *Brutus* (100 pages). Elias Schlegel's plays, both comedies and tragedies, have little report, the comedy *Der Geheimnissvolle* heading the list with 68 lines. Chrn. Krüger uses little. Weisse's comedies range from nothing in four short ones to 50 lines in *Der Projektmacher*. In his tragedies 11 is the least and 177 the greatest number of lines.

In Lessing's early plays there is little report with the exception of *Der junge Gelehrte*, with about 90 lines. In *Miss Sara* there is somewhat more report, and in *Emilia* much more.

Shallow imitators as well as careful students of Lessing vary greatly in this regard. The young Goethe in his *Götz* makes very great use of the narrative. The actor Brandes uses comparatively little, and the younger Stephanie likewise.

Thus not much regularity can be discovered in the proportion of reports to the whole drama. More can be said of the number and proportion of long and short reports, in the plays mentioned above, for instance. For in general it is true that the proportion of long reports tends to become smaller with the tendency to introduce conversational technique, especially in comedy. However, very long reports occur at times, as in *Emilia*, II, vi. But in Gebler's *Adelheid* or in his *Klementine* there are many short communications. Not much more than a general tendency becomes clear here.

More distinctly noticeable is the inclination to distribute reports over more space, or throughout a conversation, rather than to introduce them as a compact narrative.

7. *Distribution of Reports in the Drama*

It is of interest to note how reports are distributed in the drama, whether they are scattered uniformly throughout the whole drama,

or especially grouped in some particular act or scene, or at the beginning or end of act or scene; and what principles, if any, govern such distribution. This applies also to the parceling out of details of one and the same report to several individuals, extending through several scenes, thus making one report consist of a group of partial reports.

It seems to be only accidental that reports should occur with approximately the same frequency in the different scenes of the same act, or in the different acts, excluding the "exposition." Such division seldom occurs. The usage appears to be: where there is much action there are either many or long reports. This is natural in a time when the stage presented the *feelings of individuals under certain circumstances* rather than their action under those conditions. This principle applies to Gottsched and his followers, to Bodmer, to Cronegk, to Wieland and Klopstock, in large measure to Weisse (with the exception in a certain sense of *Jean Calas*), as well as to Lessing's early dramas. Elias Schlegel must be reckoned as belonging to this list also.

Further it is characteristic of the French Alexandrine drama and hence of most of the German drama during the first half of this period[1] that much of the so-called action occurs at the very last of the play, *in the fifth act*, indeed. Thus in Weisse's *Richard III*, of a total of 11 reports of 177 lines in all, 8 reports and 138 lines are found in Act V. In Gottsched's *Agis*, of a total of 330 lines reported, 135 are in Act V. Of these 32 are in the very last scene. This is very natural, for the fate of the king had to be reported to his anxiously waiting wife, not to mention the audience. The same principle holds true of Gottsched's *Cato*, of Pitschel's *Darius*, of Krüger's *Vitichab*, and of his *Mahomed*. Here about as much is reported in Act V as elsewhere altogether. In Gebler's *Adelheid* 5 reports of 24 lines occur in Act V, more reports and more lines than elsewhere. In his *Klementine* there is nearly twice as much report in V as in III, the next in rank. Thus although Gebler's tragedies are prose, and an attempt is made at extreme verisimilitude in conversation in reports and elsewhere, Gebler seems to be overcome by the mass of detail, and where there is most detail, there he makes the most use of reports.

So much was the fifth act burdened with "action," that in spite

[1] Especially before 1755. But such conservative writers as Weisse continued this practice for many years after the appearance of *Miss Sara Sampson*.

of a change of scene in that act, more had to be reported still than in the other acts. In the often-cited *Agis* of Gottsched, the end came elsewhere than on the stage and had to be reported; likewise in Weisse's *Richard III*. But this was felt to be less effective than to have the end seen upon the stage. Weisse therefore changes the scene in the last act of the *Befreyung von Theben*. But even then he uses three reports, in all 72 lines, to gather up the threads and close the action. In his *Krispus*, published the same year (1764), he actually takes us into the prison to the deathbed of Krispus. But here we still have two reports of 16 lines in all.

Depending upon the principle stated above that most "dramatists" of this period preferred to present the sensations rather than the action of men, is the following detail of technique, often made use of. A part of the action occurs elsewhere than on the stage and is reported by some character with many words and much show of sentiment, frequently calling out expressions of like nature from the hearers. Plans are then made for further action, which in its turn takes place elsewhere than on stage, only to be reported back to a similar consultation. Since in this period the division of a play into scenes corresponded with the entrance or exit of a character, it follows that when this person comes to bring a report, the report naturally comes early in the scene. Thus to cite one example for a great many: in Pitschel's *Darius* (1752), scene after scene is opened by a report: II, i; III, i, ii, iii; IV, ii, iv, vi; V, i, ii, iii. The few words of introduction serve, where they occur, as transitions from what has just preceded to the report itself. A number of these reports furnish the material and determine the character of the whole scene, and often of the whole situation consisting of several scenes.

This last principle is more evident in reports which open acts and in doing so furnish the energy and determine the direction of the action for the given act. In *Darius*, cited above, notice that Acts, II, III, V open with reports, and these reports are among the longest and most important of the play. In Gottsched's *Agis*, of 90 lines of report in the second act, 78 lines occur in scene i; out of 54 in Act IV, 35 are in the first scene; and of 135 in V, 85 are found at the beginning of the act. The reason is simple. The division into acts corresponds to stages in the working out of the

action.   In these older dramas the division was rather into situations calling for the expression of sentiment of some kind.   The natural starting-point of such situations or successions of minor situations would be some new and important event, some *coup* of the enemy, a battle, a duel, or the like.   Hence a long report at the beginning of the divisions into acts, describing the important action which motivates the succeeding situation.   Thus in Brawe's *Brutus*[1] a report of two lines by the old man, Senilius, introduces us to a new part or division of the action, the battle itself.   This short report is complemented by the long one in the following scene, and the subject of the battle, then, fills the whole act.

Lessing in his *Emilia Galotti* has refined this technique essentially and in two instances uses the report to give the ground tone, the theme of a whole act.   Act III opens, after an introduction, with a report of Marinelli's new scheme to gain possession of the person of Emilia; and the whole act concerns itself with just that, and stops as soon as possible after that is effected, namely, when Claudia rushes into the inner room to join her daughter; as soon as possible, because it would have been impossible to close the situation before Claudia as well as Count Appiani had been temporarily disposed of. Act V opens with Marinelli's report of Odoardo's attempts to control himself before re-entering the house to regain possession of his daughter, and his unsuccessful effort to this end entirely fills out the fifth act.

Moreover, Lessing made these reports more concrete and effective by the introduction of some action observed from the stage.   This point will be taken up under the discussion of "alarms," so called.

This instance may be used to illustrate in what way and how fundamentally Lessing's technique of reports differed from that of his predecessors.   While retaining the older technique where it was serviceable, he removed the emphasis from unimportant externalities to vital, human interests, from wordy expression of sentiment to the reality of action, from the reflection of completed action, in the feeling of individuals, to the actual stress of conflict.   He gave an inner motivation to the forms which he retained.   In determining what shall be reported and not seen in his later dramas, there is evident the same keen power of discernment of that which is essential,

[1] IV, i.

as will be seen later. In this particular detail of technique Lessing uses the report effectively to *introduce* the ensuing *action* of the division or act. His predecessors generally used the report at the beginning of the act not simply to make a new stage or new turn of the action but primarily to *present* the action itself.

Much less often than at the beginning of scenes, occur reports at the end of scenes. Such technique is more difficult, inasmuch as more skill is required to lead up to a well-prepared climax than to come forth bluntly with the news, and let the situation work itself out as it will. In the report of Gundomad, already referred to in Krüger's *Vitichab*, there is a formal approximation to this technique, when Gundomad, approaching the camp of the Germans sadly, with news of victory but also of the death of Vitichab, is at first reproached with being a coward fleeing from the battle. After this a dialogue ensues between him and Siegmar, in which he upbraids the latter for bringing false news. Here and there the victory is indicated, but the full report comes only toward the end.[1]

Contrast with this rather superficial technique the diabolical cleverness of Marinelli[2] as he first drives the prince to despair, then secures permission to undertake any measure which will be effective, with the pledge in advance of immunity from punishment in case of unfortunate event. And just in time. For almost immediately a shot is heard, and Marinelli's plan, already put into effect, is reported as it is being executed. Here is no mere attempt at formal climax, by leaving an important communication till it has been carefully prepared for; on the contrary, the psychological interest grows with the presentation.

More often than at the end of scenes, reports occur in the last scenes of acts. Again to cite one example for all: in Weisse's *Richard III*, we learn V, vi, that Richmond has beaten Richard's army in battle, but it is only with the appearance of Richmond himself for the first time, in the very last scene, that we hear of the death of Richard—a tame account as compared with Shakespeare's *Richard III*.

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[1] III, v.   [2] *Emilia*, III, i.

[*To be continued*]

ELCKERLIJC-EVERYMAN: THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY[1]

I will present first some arguments from the versification of the plays, Dutch and English, which Professor Logeman has noted, without, however, emphasizing them as strongly as they seem to deserve.

1. Throughout the plays, with very rare exceptions, when the Dutch has a line of verse divided between two speakers, the English has regularly a full rhymed line in place of each portion. This points strongly to the priority of the Dutch, expecially when one considers that in general the correspondence of English and Dutch is a line-for-line correspondence and that in the Dutch these fractional lines begin at the left margin of the page, exactly as the full lines do. Apparently the English translator has treated every line of his original as a full line, without regard to length or lack of rhyme. This conclusion, probable as it is, is made practically certain by the curious relationship of *Ev.* 114–18, *El.* 99–101.

Ev.	I know the not what messanger arte thou
Deth.	I am dethe that no man dredeth
	For eueryman I rest and none spareth
	For it is goddes commanndement
	That all to me sholde be obedyent. (*Ev.* 114–18).

El.   Wie bist du bode

Die doot.   Ick ben die doot die niemant en spaert.
             Maer elckerlyck sal bi
             Gods beueele doen rekeninghe mi.   (*El.* 99–101).

The lines are wrongly divided in the Dutch and the effect of the wrong division is perceptible in the English. The lines should read:

El.   Wie bist du, bode?

Die doot.   Ick ben die doot,
            Die niemant en spaert, maer elckerlyck sal bi
            Gods beveele doen rekeninghe mi.

The curious condition metrically of *Ev.* 87–100 becomes easily explicable when viewed in this light, and affords support to the theory here advanced. Other striking passages might be cited, but these may suffice.[1]

2. Professor Logeman calls attention (pp. 156–57) to the fact that in two places the Dutch has very complicated stanza-forms, in 549–77 three elaborately rhymed stanzas with a refrain, in 837–53 two triolets.[2] The English passages corresponding to these do not present any notable variations from the prevailing rather irregular mode of rhyming. It seems hardly possible that a translator would, or indeed could, have erected on the basis of the English such elaborate structures as these stanzas and triolets, whereas nothing would be simpler or more likely than that a translator, with the Dutch before him, should overlook or disregard the elaborate structural features of his original. Compare the passages:

[1] See Logeman's Index, under "Typografiese dispositie als bron van verkeerde vertaling."

[2] Logeman is wrong, I think, in excluding from these triolets ll. 840, 842, 843, and ll. 848, 850, 851. They form integral parts of the triolets. And the precisely similar distribution of the speeches of Elckerlijc and Duecht in the two triolets is an argument of no little weight that we have in the Dutch passage an original composition rather than a translator's modification.

The three stanzas (*El.* 549–77) were apparently intended to be exactly alike in structure; the second and the third are, with the slight but certain emendations of *scat* to *saet* in 558 and *wilt . . . . ontfaen* to *wel . . . . ontfaet* in 564; the first lacks a line after 555, and ll. 549–51 do not conform to the rhyme-scheme of the other two stanzas. As there is considerable evidence that corruptions are present in the Dutch text in several places, it is possible that this stanza is badly corrupted; but it is equally possible that it was not written correctly in the first place.

O levende leven! o hemels broot!
550 O wech der waerheyt! o godlic wesen,
Die nederquam, wt sijns vaders schoot
In een suver maecht gheresen,
Omdat ghi elckerlijc wout ghenesen,
Die Adam onterfde bi Yeven rade!
555 O heylighe triniteyt wtghelesen,
Wilt mi vergheven mijn mesdade,
Want ic begheer aen u ghenade!

O godlijc tresoer, o coninclijc saet!
O alder werelt toeverlaet!
560 Specie der engelen sonder versaden!
Spiegel der vruecht daert al aen staet,
Wiens licht hemel ende aerde beslaet,
Hoort mijn roepen, al yst te spade!
Mijn bede wel inden troen ontfaet!
565 Al bin ic sondich, mesdadich, ende quaet,
Scrijft mi int boeck, des hemels blade,
Want ic begheer aen u ghenade!

O Maria, moeder des hemels almachtich,
Staet mi ter noot bi voordachtich!
570 Dat mi die viant niet en verlade,
Want nakende is mi die doot crachtich!
Bidt voer mi dijnen sone voerdachtich,
Sodat ic mach gaen inden rechten pade,
Daer die wegen niet en sijn onrachtich.
575 Maect mi uwes kints rijc delachtich,
Sodat ic in sijn passie bade,
Want ic begheer aen u ghenade!

O eternall God!   O hevenly fygure!
O way of ryghtwysnes!   O goodly vysyon,
Whiche descended downe in a vyrgyn pure,
Bycause he wolde every man redeme,
585 Whiche Adam forfayted by his dysobedyence!
O blessyd god-heed electe and hye deuyne,
Forgyve my grevous offence;
Here I crye the mercy in this presence!

O ghostly treasure!   O raunsomer and redemer!
590 Of all the worlde hope and conduyter!
Myrrour of Ioye, foundatour of mercy,
Whiche enlumyneth heven and erth therby,

Here my clamorous complaynt, though it late be!
Receyve my prayers unworthy in this hevy lyfe;[1]
595   Though I be a synner moost abhomynable,
Yet let my name be wryten in Moyses table!

O Mary, praye to the Maker of all thynge
Me for to helpe at my endynge,
And save me fro the power of my enemy,
600   For deth assayleth me strongly;
And, Lady, that I may by meane of thy prayer
Of your sones glory to be partynere,
By the meanes of his passyon I it crave.
I beseche you helpe my soule to save!

Elckerlijc

Mi dunct, wacharmen! wij moeten voert
835   Rekeninghe doen ende ghelden mijn scult,
Want mijn tijt is schier vervult.
Neemter exempel aen, alle diet hoort ende siet,

Ende merct, hoet nu al van mi vliet;
Sonder mijn duecht [die] wil met mi varen!

Duecht

840   Alle aertsche dinghen zijn al niet.

Elckerlijc

Doch merct, hoet nu al van mi vliet!

Duecht

Schoonheyt, cracht, vroescap dat hem liet,
Tgheselscap, die vrienden ende magen waren.

Elckerlijc

Nu merct, hoet nu al van mi vliet;
845   Sonder mijn duecht die wil mit mi varen!

Ghenade, coninc der enghelenscharen!
Ghenade, moeder gods, staet mi bi!

Duecht

Ic sal mi puer voer gode verclaren.

Elckerlijc

Ghenade, coninc der enghelenscharen!

[1] Perhaps we should read in 593, 594: *though it be late* and *in this hevy state.*

Duecht

850 Cort ons die pine, sonder verswaren
Maect ons deynde los ende vri!

Elckerlijc

Ghenade, concinck der enghelenscharen!
Ghenade, moeder gods, staet mi bi!

In uwen handen, vader, hoe dat si,
Beveel ic u minen gheest in vreden;
Ick vare metter duecht.

Every Man

Me thynke, alas! that I must be gone,
865 To make my rekenynge and my dettes paye;
For I se my tyme is nye spent awaye.
Take example, all ye that this do here or se,
Here they that I love best do forsake me
Excepte my good dedes that bydeth truely.

Good Dedes

870 All erthly thynges is but vanyte;
Beaute strength and dyscercyon do man forsake,
Folysshe frendes and kynnesmen that fayre spake;
All fleeth save good dedes and that am I.

Every Man

Have mercy on me, God moost myghty!
875 And stande by me, thou moder & mayde, holy Mary!

Good Dedes

Fere not, I wyll speke for the.

Every Man

Here I crye God mercy.

Good Dedes

Shorte oure ende and mynysshe our payne
Let us go and never come agayne.

Every Man

880　In to thy handes lorde my soule I commende
　　　Receyve it lorde that it be not lost
　　　As thou me boughtest so me defende
　　　And save me from the fendes boost
　　　That I may appere with that blessyd hoost
885　That shall be saved at the day of dome
　　　(In manus tuas) of myghtes moost
　　　For ever (Commendo spiritum meum).

Careful comparison of the Dutch and the English in each case will, I think, lead inevitably to the conclusion that the Dutch is the original and the English the translation. It will be noted that the stanzaic structure of the first Dutch passage has left traces of itself in the English, but it is not certain that the Englishman recognized fully the elaborate form from which he was translating. It is easy to explain the relations of the two passages if the Dutch be the original. It is hardly possible to do so, I think, upon the contrary supposition. The case in connection with the passage containing the triolets is, if anything, even stronger. It seems very clear in this case that the Englishman did not understand the metrical structure of the Dutch and attempted to avoid what he must have regarded as its unskilful repetitions by omitting some lines, transposing others, and giving a variant translation to others upon their reappearance. Further discussion of these passages seems unnecessary and we may pass to some evidence of a different nature.

3. In *Ev.* 519 ff. Good dedes tells Everyman that she has a sister called *Knowlege*, which shall go with and help him. In l. 527 the pronoun used to refer to *Knowlege* is *he* (and none of the English editions have any variant). In the Dutch *Kennisse* is called *suster* in 485 and is consistently referred to as feminine. If this error stood alone in the English, it would perhaps not be very convincing, but a similar error occurs a little farther on. In *Ev.* 539 editions B and L have *holy man Confession* (and there is good reason for believing these editions to be the most authoritative). In 541 the pronoun referring to *Confession* is *him*, in 544 it is *he*, notwithstanding which *Shryfte* (or *Confession*) is addressed as the *Mother of Salvaycyon*. In this instance again the Dutch is consistent throughout. It may,

of course, be argued that the Dutchman has in translating corrected an error which he found in his original.   If so, he has by a fortunate coincidence found names for these characters which have the grammatical gender called for by the original conception.   It seems much more likely that the Englishman, with his vision limited to the lines immediately before him, has translated thoughtlessly and without a clear recollection of the fundamental conceptions.

A more remarkable passage of a slightly different nature occurs in *Ev.* 728–72 (*El.* 697–742).   The situation is this.   Everyman goes out (i.e., behind the stage) to receive the sacraments of communion and extreme unction.   It is clear from the Dutch (ll. 697–700) that he goes out after l. 700 and that the long conversation between Vijf sinnen and Kennisse is intended not merely to edify the audience but to occupy their attention during the absence of Elckerlijc. The English translator has not clearly understood the situation, and instead of dismissing Everyman after l. 731 (which is a bad translation of the corresponding Dutch line) allows him to remain during a considerable part of the discussion.   He is, indeed, addressed directly in l. 747, and the reader of the English who had not the Dutch text before him might well suppose that Everyman was present throughout the whole of this discourse but for the fact that his re-entry is noticed in l. 769.   This instance of the failure of the English translator to understand clearly the general situation of his original seems to me unmistakable and sufficient of itself alone to settle the question as to the priority of the two versions.   I do not believe that anyone can read the passages in question carefully without coming to this conclusion.   The following extracts will suffice to set forth the situation.

Every Man

Fayne wolde I receyue that holy body,
And mekely to my ghostly fader I wyll go.

V. Wyttes

Every-man, that is the best that ye can do.
731 God wyll you to salvacyon brynge,
For preesthode excedeth all other thynge.
To us holy scrypture they do teche,
And converteth man fro synne heven to reche.

735 God hath to them more power gyven
      Than to ony aungell that is in heven.
      With.v. wordes he may consecrate
      Goddes body in flesshe and blode to make,
      And handeleth his maker bytwene his hande[s].
740 The preest byndeth and unbyndeth all bandes
      Both in erthe and in heven.
      Thou mynystres all the sacramentes seven;
      Though we kysse thy fete thou were worthy.
      Thou arte surgyon that cureth synne deedly,
745 No remedy we fynde under god
      Bute all onely preesthode.
      Every-man, god gave preest[es] that dygnyte
      And setteth them in his stede amonge us to be.
      Thus be they above aungelles in degree.

Knowlege

      If preestes be good it is so suerly.
      But whan Iesu hanged on the crosse with grete smarte,
      There he gave out of his blessyd herte
      The [seven] sacrament[es] in grete tourment;
      He solde them not to us, that lorde omnypotent,
755 Therefore saynt peter the apostell dothe saye
      That Iesus curse hath all they
      Whiche god theyr savyour do by or sell,
      Or they for ony money do take or tell.
      Synfull preestes gyveth the synners example bad;
760 Theyr chyldren sytteth by other mennes fyres I have harde.
      And some haunteth womens company
      With unclene lyfe as lustes of lechery
      These be with synne made blynde.

V. Wyttes

      I trust to god no suche may we fynde.
765 Therefore let us preesthode honour,
      And folowe theyr doctryne for our soules socoure.
      We be theyr shepe and they shepeherdes be,
      By whome we all be kepte in swerte.
      Peas, for yonder I se every man come
770 Whiche hat made true satysfaccyon.

The Dutch corresponding to *Ev.* 728-735 is:

Elckerlijc

      Ic wil gods lichaem minlic aenvaerden,
      Ende oetmoedlijc totten priester gaen.

> Vijf sinnen
>
> Elckerlijck, dat is wel ghedaen;
> 700 God laet u met salicheden volbringhen:
> Die priester gaet boven alle dinghen:
> Si zijn, die ons die scriftuere leeren
> Ende den mensche van sonden keeren.

It will be observed that the Englishman by mistranslating l. 700 and introducing *For* into the next line has obscured the exit of Everyman, or rather, has made it necessary for him to remain and hear the discussion between Fyve Wyttes and Knowlege. Corresponding to *Ev.* 747–49 the Dutch is:

> Dit heeft die heere den priester ghegheven,
> Ende zijn in zijn stede hier ghebleven;
> 720 Dus zijn si boven die enghelen gheset.

Neither here nor elsewhere in the Dutch is there any trace of the presence of Elckerlijc during the discussion.

The evidence for the priority of the Dutch seems indeed so overwhelming in quantity and, some of it, so decisive, even when taken alone, that the question may be regarded as no longer an open question. I refer, of course, not only to the few bits of evidence which I have here presented but to the much more numerous arguments presented by Professors Wood, Logeman, Kalff, and others.

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ELCKERLIJC–EVERYMAN: THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY[1]

Though decided opinions have been expressed on both sides of this controversy, they are for the most part only opinions. For arguments for priority based on the use of unnecessary, inartistic, or inappropriate words have in themselves no weight in a case of this kind. In giving them weight we assume to know that the unknown author had greater literary ability than the unknown translator.

Without going over the whole field of discussion let us briefly review the main arguments for the priority of *Ev.* as given by de Raaf in the introduction to his edition of *Den Spyeghel der Salicheyt van Elckerlijc,* 13 ff.

1. It is claimed that Du. *roeyken* in *El.* 731 can only be explained as a mistranslation of Eng. *rodde,* which it is unfairly[2] assumed is for *rood.*

To this it might be answered that Elckerlijc was going on a pilgrimage, and it was quite appropriate that he should have in his hand a pilgrim's staff, which, it is well known, has a cross at the top.[3]

A second explanation may be suggested for *El.* 731. Elckerlijc has just received the eucharist and extreme unction. With soul elate he returns to his friends and asks them to follow him. To do this they must likewise do penance. So he says:

> Nu vrienden, sonder te letten yet,
> Ick danck gode, dat ic u allen vant;
> Slaet aen dit roeyken ['*geeselroede*'[4]] alle u hant
> Ende volghet mi haestelic na desen.

Elckerlijc had expressed the same thought before, lines 575–77:

> Ay, broeders waer, soe mochti door penitencie waen,
> Tseghen dat ghi u penitencie [*l. pelgrimagie*] moet gaen,
> Die Elckerlijc moet nemen aen.

Where then did the author of Homulus get *crucem?* From the same source as his many other changes: his imagination.

2. It is assumed that *Ev.* 178:

> But to the *harte* sodenly I shall smyte

better expresses the thought than *El.* 153:

> Ick slae den sulcken terstont int *crijt*.

For *crijt* 'arena' makes Death a *Kampvechter*.

Even if this were true, it would be no argument.[1] But *crijt* means primarily "ring, circle"; and "arena" is only one of the various ways in which the word is used. It may also signify "orbis terrarum, world," "circle (of hell)," "place of judgment, last judgment." For "hell" cf. *Lucidarius* 5755 ff.:

> Want hi wiste wel ende sach
> Dat die mensche in sonden lach,
> Ende jamerlike was bedrogen
> Bi den viant, die viel van hogen
> In der dieper hellen crijt.

For "last judgment" cf. *Lucid.* 5890 ff.:

> Dat God, Onse Here, sal comen
> Mit bliden anschijn in den crijt,
> Daer hi de werelt sal maken quijt,

and *Mnl. Wdb.* III, 2103. Hence *El.* 153–54 should be interpreted "With a blow I at once hurl such a one unprepared before God's judgment-seat" (or "to hell"). Such meanings would be uppermost in the mind of a theologian.

3. It is argued that *dysease* in *Ev.* 403 is translated in *El.* 356 by *smette* to rime with *letten*, thus bringing in an entirely improper word.

I contend, however, that *smette* is quite in keeping with the context. There is no reference here to any bodily ailment or worldly trouble (*ten is niet ter werelt*), but to the summons before the Judge of all things. Elckerlijc is therefore worried because of his impure

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[1] Cf. Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 55 f.

life and the blot in his accounts (i.e. in his character), and in the same speech says:

> Want ghi mocht mi licht voer gode *pureren,*
> Want tgoet kan *suveren smetten claer.*

Smette is plainly a reference to the stain of sin, which must be washed away before the soul can enter heaven.   In the same way the word is used in *El.* 476 f.:

> Als si u gheleyt heeft sonder letten,
> Daer ghi u suveren sult van *smetten,*

and in 493 f.:

> O, gloriose bloome [l. *borne*[1]], die al verclaert
> Ende doncker *smetten* doet vergaen!

Cf. III, 6, and Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 90 f.

That this is a common use of *smette(n)* the following examples show:

> Die mensche en hadde in gere wise
> Smette vonden in den paradise,
> Dats sonde, die mensche hebben gedaen (*Lucid.* 1063).

> Want van den sonden, die hi [Adam] dede,
> Sijn noch besmit onse lede (*Lucid.* 1232 f.).

> Omdat soude den mensche vrien,
> Ende ofdoen alle die smetten,
> Die den mensche sere missetten (*Lucid.* 1821 f.).

> Also comt die smitte van Adame (*Lucid.* 3027).

> Aldus eest vele beter ende zachter
> Dat een, binnen sinen ghesonden live,
> Hem clare, ende al sijn smitte afwrive,
> Daer sijn ziele es mede belast (*Die niwe Doctrinael* 2303 ff.).

To such examples from Dutch writers we may add the following from *Tewtsche Theologey,* München, 1528:

Zum vierden låsst die sünd hinder jr ain masen oder mail die an menschlichem geist hangt alslanng bis er die hie oder dort mit schwårer pŭes abgelegt hat/sonst mŭes er dort ewige pŭes leiden.

4. Of *El.* 837 f.:

> Hi heeft leden,
> Dat wij alle moeten *gelden,*

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[1] Or *flume,* with Professor Manly.

the surprising statement is made that *gelden* is here used improperly for the sake of riming with *melden* in the next line.

Gelden is here quite in place. The sentence in which it occurs is concise, but ought to be easily understood. Expanded, it would read: "Hi heeft die doot leden, een scult, die wij alle moeten gelden." It is a plain reference to *El.* 746 and 816 (cf. III, 7 below). Compare *betalen der naturen scout* (Kilian II, 572),

De dood wordt als eene schuld beschouwd, dien men verplicht is aan de natuur te voldoen (*Mnl. Wdb.* III, 1205),[1]

and

> In allen landen ben ic bout,
> Dat ic wille quite mine scout,
> Alse God niet langer en wilt ontberen (*Dit zijn Senecaleren* 118).

5. This argument needs no answer. See Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 112 f.

6. At last we come to what seems like a bit of evidence. In *El.* 97*b*–99 we read:

> Ick ben die doot,
> Die niemant en spaert, maer elckerlijck sal bi
> Gods beveele doen rekeninghe mi.

But this evidence immediately disappears if we omit *mi*, which certainly could not have been in the original text,[2] or substitute *hem*. The original *hem* might easily have been changed to *mi* (or *mi* inserted where no pronoun stood) by a later scribe or printer who thought *mi* necessary to rime with *bi*. But the Eng. text is still worse. Cf. v. 2.

7. Objection is made to *El.* 57:

> Ick wil ter werelt gaen *regneren*.

As a theologian the author properly used a biblical expression: Rom. 5:14,

"Nevertheless death *reigned* from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression."—17. "For if by one man's offense death *reigned* by one." "Sed regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen." "Maer die doot heeft geregneert," etc.

The question of the originality is closely connected with that of the authorship. We may properly inquire first: What kind of

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[1] Cf. Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 159. [2] *Ibid.*, 46 ff.

person, as shown by internal evidence, must the author have been? Knowing about when the play was written, we may safely say that he was a pious adherent of the Catholic Church, at least pious in principle if not in practice. Being such a person he must have known the fundamental doctrines of the church and have had some knowledge of the Bible. He was probably a theologian versed in the biblical and patristic lore of the time.

This Dutch or English theologian gives us the account of the salvation of Everyman (Elckerlijc). Elckerlijc, as is evident, was a child of the church, duly baptized, but remiss in his religious duties and given over to a life of worldly pleasure. God calls upon him, through his messenger Death, to render an account of the deeds done in the body. How shall he escape damnation? None of the things he has loved in his past life avail him now. Even Dueght (Good dedes) is too weak to be of service to him. She can only advise him. And this advice, we may be sure, will accord with the doctrine of the church of that time.

From early times to the present the Catholic Church has taught that a baptized believer who falls into sin must by *contrition, confession,* and *satisfaction* regain the divine favor.[1] It is certain, therefore, that anyone who would have attempted such an allegory as *Den Spyeghel der Salicheyt van Elckerlijc* must have known this fundamental doctrine. Let us see.

I. When Elckerlijc receives the message of Doot, he is stricken with fear. Finding that friends, relatives, and wealth fail him, he appeals to Dueght. But Dueght can help him only after he has restored her to health by contrition, confession, and satisfaction, or penance. Up to this time Elckerlijc had not had that true sorrow for sin that leads to confession. But Dueght, the good within him, tells him of her sister, Kennisse, who shall go with him and lead him. Kennisse leads him to Biechte, that is contrition leads him to confession. Contrition also makes him willingly undergo the penance that is laid upon him, and accompanies him to the gate of heaven.

It is only when Kennisse is interpreted as 'contrition' that this

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[1] So the Council of Florence, 1439. See Mansi XXXI, col. 1057 seq. The same doctrine is taught by the theologians and poets. Cf., e.g., *Tewtsche Theologey*, Cap. 72, §§ 1, 9; *Lucid.* 4155 ff., 4164 ff., 4424 ff.; *Die niwe Doctrinae*, 2004 ff.

morality corresponds to the teaching of the church. For this meaning cf. *Mnl. Wdb.*, III, 1325, where this definition is given: 'Berouw; eig. het tot zelfkennis en inkeer komen.'

'Contrition' is likewise the only meaning that makes sense, as the following passages show. Kennisse says l. 473*a:*

> Elckerlijc, ick sal u bewaren,

and 483*b* f.:

> Nu gaen wi ons saten
> Tot biechten,

and thereby performs the function of contrition as expressed by Elckerlijc, l. 497:

> Ick coem met kennisse te mijnen behouwe.

Ll. 505 ff. Biechte says:

> Elckerlijc, u lijden mi wel kont is.
> Omdat ghi met kennisse tot mi sijt comen,
> So sal ic u troesten tuwer vromen;
> Oec sal ic u gheven een iuweelken rene,
> Dat penitencie heet alleene.

In the above, l. 506 can be taken either with the preceding or the following line: "I know your suffering, because you come with contrition" or "because you come with contrition, I shall comfort you." In either case 'contrition' is the only word that fits. For Biechte would know his suffering only from his expression of grief; and she could not properly comfort him if he were not contrite. Moreover, the father confessor would not absolve one who came without contrition.

In l. 562 Elckerlijc fittingly calls upon Kennisse (Contrition) to give him the scourge; for sorrow for sin would make him willing to endure the penance.

Kennisse urges Elckerlijc to put on *tcleet van berouwenissen* as a reward:

> Want *Kennisse* hevet u aenghedaen!

Notice also that Kennisse remains behind when Elckerlijc passes into heaven, and is not chided but rather thanked for accompanying him so far.

Now, in the English morality it is Knowlege that leads Everyman to Confessyon. Knowlege here means 'acknowledgment, con-

fession,' which is one of the significations of *kennisse*. It would seem, therefore, that the English writer translated *kennisse* by *knowlege*, where he should have used *rue* or *contrition*. We have then this argument: According to the teaching of the church contrition leads the sinner to confession. In the Dutch morality, Kennisse, which not only may but, from the context, must mean contrition, leads Elckerlijc to Biechte, confession. In the English, Knowlege, acknowledgment, leads Everyman to Confessyon.

There are three possible inferences from this: (1) The Dutch version is the original, the English the translation. This is probable. (2) Both the Dutch and English versions may go back to an earlier morality, possibly a Latin version. This is possible. But it certainly was not like the Latin version that has come down to us, for there Cognitio guides Homulus to Confessio. (3) A Dutch theologian translated the English morality, correcting its false doctrine. Altogether improbable.

One point is, however, established: The author of the Dutch morality knew the fundamental doctrines of the church; the author of *Everyman* shows no such knowledge. Cf. iv, 2, 6.

II. The Dutch author shows a knowledge of the Bible which the English author does not possess. Witness the following:[1]

1. *El.* 35 Mijnder eewigher glorien ghebrukich. Cf. Epist. Petri I, 5: 1 "qui et ejus, quae in futuro revelanda est, gloriae communicator," "deelachtich der glorien." Cf. also Ep. Petri I, 4: 13, and Ep. ad Rom. 8: 17 with *El.* 559 Maect mi uwes kints rijc delachtich.

Corresponding to *El.* 35, *Ev.* 53 has "In my glorye shulde make his mansyon," which, as it stands, is not a biblical expression, but a combination of "glory," used as above, and John 14:2, "In my Father's house are many mansions." In *Ev.* 602, however, stands "Of thy sonnes glory to be parte taker."

2. In *El.* 348*b*–351 Goet is described:

> Ick legghe hier in muten,
> Versockelt, vermost, als ghi mi siet,
> Vertast, vervuylt, ic en kan mi niet
> Verporren, also ic ben tsamen gesmoert.

[1] Citations are from the Latin Vulgate and *Den Bibel*, Antwerpen 1556, an older Dutch version not being at hand.

The meaning is: "Here I lie in storerooms, uncertain, rusted, as ye see me, gained by extortion, corrupt; I can not move, I am so smothered." A biblical description.

For *versockelt* 'uncertain' cf. Kilian *sockelen, suckelen*, 'caespitare, vacillare,' *versuckelen* 'agitare, propellere; agitari, propelli; vagari,' and Ep. ad Tim. I, 6:17, "neque sperare in *incerto divitiarum*." This is an evident allusion to the instability of wealth.

For *vermost* 'rusted' cf. Kil. *vermossen* 'fracere, situm contrahere,' and Ep. Jacobi 5:3, "Aurum et argentum vestrum *aeruginavit; et aerugo* eorum in testimonium vobis erit." "V gout en silver is *verroest* gheworden." Perhaps a *vermot* 'motheaten' has dropped out of the text. This would explain Ischyrius' *tineis lacerata edacibus*, with which cf. Ep. Jacobi 5:2, "vestimenta vestra *a tinies comesta sunt.*"

For *vertast* 'extorted' cf. Oudemans *Wdb.* vii, 548, *vertassen* 'afdwingen, afpersen,' and perhaps Ep. Jacobi 5:4, "merces operariorum, quae *fraudata* est a vobis," ὁ μισθός . . . . ὁ ἀπεστερημένος, 'bedrieghelijck onthouden.'

That *vervuylt* 'rotten, corrupt' (not *vervult* 'filled up') is the proper word here ought to be evident at a glance. No epithet of wealth is more common, and it is a direct reference to Ep. Jacobi 5:2, "Divitiae vestrae *putrefactae* sunt," "v rijckdommen zijn *verrot*." Cf. also *S. Franciscus leven* 23–29:

> Ja ghierichede wast so zere,
> Dat winnen gaet vor alle ere;
> Want arem man heet emmer sod.
> Des ontfaermedi, here God!
> Dat wi om desen *vulen* zac
> Ende om dit corte ghemac
> Onser edeler ziele verghetmen.

Finally, for *gesmoert* 'smothered' cf. Oudemans *Wdb.* vi, 372, *smoren* 'dompelen; stikken, sterven,' and *El.* 751 with *Ev.* 796 and Matt. 13:22, "solicitudo saeculi istius, et fallacia divitiarum, *suffocat* verbum," In *El.* 351 riches are described as 'smothered' because of their effect, just as they are called 'corrupt.' Cf. *S. Franciscus leven* 60 f.:

> Om dat hi tvolc, dat leigt versmoort
> In svleeschs weilde, in ertscen goede, etc.

The corresponding passage in *Ev.* reads:

> I lye here in corners trussed and pyled so hye
> And in chestes I am locked full fast
> Also sacked in bagges/thou mayste se with thine eye
> I cannot stere/in packes low I lye.

This is utterly meaningless. Why should Goodes answer Everyman's cry for help by assuring him that he was there in great plenty, when it is plainly the author's purpose to prove that "riches profit not in the day of wrath"?

On this point the Dutch version is consistent throughout. Goet, after describing itself as above, tells Elckerlijc that it can help him in any worldly matter (ll. 355 f.), but that it would injure him in the day of reckoning before God (l. 370), and love for it would prove his eternal damnation (ll. 386 f.). With this cf. Prov. 11:4, "Die rijckdommen en sullen niet baten in den dach der wracken."—28, "Wie zijn betrouwen steldt op zijn rijckdommen /die sal vallen." Ep. Jacobi 5:3, "aerugo eorum [auri et argenti] in testimonium vobis erit, et manducabit carnes vestras, sicut ignis. Thesaurizastis vobis iram in novissimis diebus." Ep. Pauli ad Tim. I, 6:9, "Nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem, et in laqueum diaboli, et desideria multa inutilia et nociva, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem," "in dye doot en verdoemenisse."

In this connection I offer an emendation of *El.* l. 382*b*, which reads:

> Neen, ick bin onbranlijc.

Goet here gives its reason for not following Elckerlijc. Logeman, followed by de Raaf, suggests *onwanclijc* in place of *onbranlijc*. Wealth would then say of itself: "I am immovable." Yet wealth, riches, fortune are proverbially the most fleeting of all things. Moreover, it is not *onroerlick goedt*, biens immeubles, fonds de terre, that is referred to, but *roerelick goedt*, mobilia bona, biens meubles, varndez guot, varnde habe. Now the English has, l. 425:

> Nay, not so, I am to bryttell, I maye not endure.

The Dutch must have had a word that meant 'perishable,' and only such a meaning fits here. *Onbranlijc,* therefore, is probably for *ontbrand(e)lijc.* Cf. early Du. *brandelijk* 'brandbaar' (*Ndl. Wdb.* III, 1056). We have here a touch of grim humor. Goet says:

"I can not go with you for I should burn up," the author having in mind some such thought as: "Hoe meerder goed, hoe meerder brandhout, dat wij in de hel brengen," "Je grösser Gut, je grösser Brandholz, das wir in die Hölle tragen" (Wander II, 194), and the statement of Paul in his Ep. ad Cor. I., 3:13–15.

3. *El.* 493 f.:   O, gloriose bloome [l. *borne*],[1] diet al verclaert
Ende doncker smetten doet vergaen!

and

Ev. 545–47:   O gloryous fountayne that all unclennes doth clarify,
Wasshe from me the spottes of vyces unclene
That on me no synne may be sene

are references to Zechariah (Sacharias) 13:1, "In dien daghe salder een open fonteyn sijn . . . . tot afwasschinge des sondaers ende der maensuchtigher," "In that day there shall be a fountain opened . . . . for sin and for uncleanness." Here the allusion is preserved in both texts.

4. *El.* 533:   O levende *leven! o hemels broot!*
O *wech der waerheyt! o godlic wesen,*
Die nederquam wt *sijns vaders schoot,*
In een suver maecht gheresen.

These words addressed to Christ are made up of expressions taken from the Bible. Jesus is referred to as "the life" in John 1:4; 11:25, I John 1:2; also as "the way, the truth, and the life," John 14:6, "Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita," "Ic ben den *wech* ende die *waerheyt*/ende d*leuen*." Cf. also Matt. 22:16, "scimus, quia verax es, et viam Dei in veritate doces," "ende den wech Godts inder waerheyt leert."

For *hemels broot* cf. John (Joan.) 6:32–33,

"Non Moyses dedit vobis panem de coelo; sed Pater meus dat vobis panem de coelo verum. Panis enim Dei est, qui de coelo descendit, et dat vitam mundo."—35, "Dixit autem eis Jesus: Ego sum panis vitae." "Mijn vader geeft u warachtich *broot vanden hemel.* . . . . Ich ben tbroot des leuens."

Cf. also Luke 22:19, and I Cor. 10:16.

For *godlic wesen* 'divine substance' cf. Ep. ad Hebr. 1:3, "Qui

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[1] Confession is here addressed, not the Virgin Mary, as Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 110, wrongly assumes. Cf. I John 1:9.

[Christus] cum sit splendor gloriae, et figura *substantiae* ejus," "die figure sijns *wesens*," and the statement of the Nicene Creed:[1] "Credimus in unum Deum, ... Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum filium Dei, ex patre natum unigenitum, id est ex substantia [ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας] patris; Deum ex Deo, lumen ex lumine, Deum verum ex Deo vero; natum non factum, consubstantialem [ὁμούσιον, hoc est, ejusdem cum patre substantiae] patri," etc. (cf. Mansi, II, col. 666).

For *sijns vaders schoot* cf. Joan. 1:18, "unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris," "dye eenige gheboren sone die in den *schoot des vaders* is."

Over against this *Ev.* 581–83 has:

> O eternall God! O hevenly figure!
> O way of ryht wysenes! O goodly vysyon,
> Whiche descended downe in a vyrgyn pure.

Here the biblical language of the Dutch is displaced by phrases without significance. In fact, from lines 581–82 we should not even know to whom the words are addressed. It is true that "way of righteousness" is a common enough expression in the Bible, but not as applied to Christ, though it might well have been used with that meaning. *Goodly*[2] *vysyon* seems to have been suggested by *godlic wesen*.

5. *El.* 542:   O godlijc *tresoer*, o *coninclijc* scat [l. *saet*]!
> O alder werelt *toeverlaet!*
> *Specie* der engelen sonder versaden!
> *Spiegel der vruecht, daert al aen staet,*
> Wiens *licht hemel ende aerde beslaet.*

These words are likewise addressed to Christ, and contain biblical allusions. On *tresoer* cf. Matt. 13:44, "Simile est regnum coelorum *thesauro* abscondito in agro," and Ep. ad Col. 2:3, "in quo [i.e. in Christo] sunt omnes *thesauri* sapientiae et scientiae absconditi," together with *Lucid.* 1634–35:

> Hi was *triesor* ende sciencie al
> In hemelrike ende hier in 't dal.

That *coninclijc saet* was an appropriate term to apply to one who was reputed to be "of the seed of David" needs no argument. Cf.

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[1] This creed, enlarged by Pope Pius IV, was adopted by the Council of Trent.
[2] Perhaps for *godly*, as Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 118, suggests.

Ep. ad Rom. 1:3, "De Filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine David,"
"wt Davids sade."

On *toeverlaet* we may compare Ep. ad Col. 1:27, "quod est Christus
in vobis *spes* gloriae," and Ep. ad Tim. I, 4:10, "quia *speramus*
in Deum vivum, qui est Salvator omnium hominum."

Spiegel der vru[e]cht does not mean "myrrour of ioye," as given in
the English version, but "mirror (i.e. example, paragon) of the
fruit." This is a reference to Christ as "the fruit of the womb"
(cf. Luke 1:42) and as "the true vine," which gives life and fruit to
the branches (cf. John 15:1–8). Far fetched as it may seem to us,
Christ is also thought of as the fruit hanging on "the tree of life"
(cf. Gen 2:9; Rev. 2:7; 22:2) which typifies the Virgin Mary and
the cross. Compare the following from Maerlants *Disputacie:*

> Cruce, dijns beclagic mi,
> Twi eist dat ic vinde an di
> > Die vrucht, die mi toehoorde?
> Die vrucht die ic droech maget vri,
> Wat so Adaem sculdich si,
> > Dien de viant verdoorde,
> Mijns reinen lichamen vrucht, o wi!
> Ne soude an di niet hangen bedi, etc.
> .   .   .   .
> Die sondare, die hem sere ducht,
> Soect des levens edele vrucht
> > An thout van den levene,
> Dat Adam met sire ontucht
> Verloos, etc.
> .   .   .   .
> Den appel, diet al leven doet,
> Sie ic dat die maget voet
> > Met haren edelen soge;
> Daer neemt hi wasdom ende spoet.
> Vort sie ickene hangen bebloet
> > An dat cruce hoge.
> Wie sal mi dies maken vroet,
> Welc haerre dat ic heten moet
> > Thout dat leven toge:
> Of diene moederlike broet,
> Of dat cruce, daer hi an stoet,
> > Doene sach menich oge
> > Sterven met gedoge?
> .   .   .   .

> Die maget, die droech sonder saet
> *Den appel, daer al tlijf an staet*
>   Van der menscelichede;
> Dat cruce, want men an hem slaet,
> Es die den appel gerne ontfaet
>   Ende gevet hem sine rijphede:
> Elc, alsmen ter redenen gaet,
> Dinct mi wesen, sonder baraet,
>   Thout sonder stervelichede.
>
> .   .   .   .
>
> Appel van levene des Paradijs,
> Jhesus, die hanges an dat rijs
>   des crucen, here, genaden!

These passages leave no doubt as to the meaning of *spiegel der vru[e]cht daert al aen staet*, which strongly reminds one of *den appel, daer al tlijf an staet*.

Wiens licht hemel ende aerde bestaet refers to Jesus as "the light of the world" and of "the holy city." Cf. Joan. 9:5, "lux sum mundi," and Apoc. 21:23, "Et civitas non eget sole, neque luna, ut luceant in ea; nam claritas Dei illuminavit eam, et lucerna ejus est Agnus." Cf. also Ep. ad Cor. II, 4:4.

One line in the above quoted passage is entirely omitted in *Ev.*:

> Specie der engelen sonder versaden,

a reference to Christ in the bread and wine of the eucharist,[1]

> Des Sakramentes heil'ge Himmelsspeise.

Species thus used came from its application as a term symbolic of sweetness.[2] It was no doubt derived from the Song of Solomon (Canticum Canticorum), which was supposed to portray the love of Christ and the Church. Cf. 1:13–14:

"A bundle of myrrh is my well beloved unto me; he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts. My beloved is unto me as a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-gedi." 5:13, "His cheeks are as a bed of spices, as sweet flowers: his lips like lilies, dropping sweetsmelling myrrh."

Cf. also Eph. 5:2, "And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for

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[1] "Species, Materia sacrificii Corporis et Sanguinis Christi," Du Cange-Favre VII, 547.

[2] Cf. Heinr. v. d. Türlin *Krone* 19570:
> Daz ich enpfähen müeze
> die gotes spise süeze,
> sinen wären lichnam.

a sweetsmelling savour," "in odorem suavitatis," and Lambeth Ms. 853, p. 20:

> Ihesus þat sprong of iesse roote,
> As us haþ prechid þi prophete,
> Flour and fruyt boþe softe and sote,
> To mannis soule of sauour sweete.

In *Ev.* 589–92 stands:

> O ghostly treasure, O raunsomer and redemer!
> Of all the worlde hope and conductor!
> Myrrour of ioye and founder of mercy,
> Whiche enlumyneth heven and erth thereby.

Here the biblical language is in part retained. *Ghostly treasure* is a poor substitute for *godlijc tresoer*. It is applicable to Christ only in a mystical sense, which, of course, is possible. *Spiegel der vruecht* is incorrectly given as *myrrour of ioye,* and the preceding line is entirely lacking. *Saet* is also lost, probably because the translator had *scat* before him; and *raunsomer and redemer, conductor, founder of mercy* are added. Cf. Logeman, *El.–Ev.* 118.

6. *El.* 550, "Scrijft mi int boeck, des hemels blade," is a reference to the "book of life." Cf. Apoc. Joannis 21:27, "qui scripti sunt in *libro vitae* Agni," "die gheschreuen zijn/int *boec des leuens* des lams." Cf. Exod. 32:32; Ps. 69:28; Phil. 4:3; Apoc. 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 22:19. Cf. also *Tewtsche Theologey* 19, 3.

Instead of this appropriate expression *Ev.* 596 has:

> Yet let my name be wryten in *moyses table.*

This phrase, which is evidently for the sake of the rime, can refer only to the table of the law, Exod. 24:12, and elsewhere.[1] However, according to an old theological conceit, the first tables of the law symbolize baptism; the second, penance. So *Tewtsche Theologey* 60, 14:

> In der synagog ist bey ersten tafel gots bedeyt die tawf/als die erst geystlich tafel christenlicher kirch. By den andern tafeln moysi ist bedeyt der kirch andere tafel/ benenntlich die pûes.

But after so fervent a prayer Everyman would hardly ask that his name be written in the list of flagellants. Moreover, he prefaces this petition by saying:

> Though I be a synner moste abhominable.

[1] Cf. Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 120 f.

It is evident, therefore, that the English writer intended to have Everyman pray for pardon, but his language is unfortunate.

7. *El.* 708–10:   Hierom dat Sinte Peter lijdt,
                     Dat si alle zijn vermaledijt,
                     Die god copen oft vercopen
                     Ende daeraf ghelt nemen met hoopen.

These words are a reference to the offer of money made by Simon (Acts 8:18 ff.), if the apostles would give him the power of imparting the Holy Ghost.   This offer was rebuked by Peter without mentioning Jesus.   Yet *Ev.* 755–58 has:

                     Therefore saynt Peter the apostle doth saye
                     That Iesus curse hathe all they
                     Which god theyr savyour do bye or sell
                     Or they for ony money do take or tell.

These extracts prove that *El.* is full of biblical expressions and allusions, which in *Ev.* are, for the most part, either entirely lost or else so changed as to be inapplicable.   No reasonable explanation can be given for this except that the English translator either failed to understand these allusions or else modified them in his translation for the sake of the rime or the meter.   In any case the author of *Ev.* had too little knowledge of the Bible even to translate a play that was based upon it.

III. In references in the text to previous passages the Dutch play is far more exact in its quotations than the English, often giving the identical words.[1]

1. *El.* 46:   Waer sidi mijn doot, *die niemant en spaert?*
     97*b:*   Ick ben die doot,
                 Die niemant en spaert. ·
   Ev. 63:   Where art thou, deth, y^u myghty messengere?
       115:      I am dethe, that no man dredeth
                 (For everyman I rest) and none spareth.
2. *El.* 229:   Seydi mi niet, had icx noot,
                 Mede te gaen *tot in* [der hellen] (*die*[2]) *doot*
                 Oft *in die helle,* had ict begaert?

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[1] Two sets of references where the differences between the Du. and Eng. were slight, though still in favor of the Du., are here omitted.   They are *El.* 85*b*–86, 129, 131, 236, 294 (*Ev.* 105, 149–51, 261, 332) and *El.* 40, 140–42, 298–302, 394 (*Ev.* 57, 160–62, 338–41, 439–40).

[2] It is evident from l. 189 that the original reading was *tot in die doot.*

These lines refer to *El.* 189 and 208:

El. 189:	Ick blive u bi *tot in die doot.*	
208:	Ick gae met u, al waert *in die helle.*	
Ev. 254:	Why, ye sayd, yf I had nede,	
	Ye wolde me never forsake, quycke ne deed,	
	Though it were to hell truely.	
213:	I wyll not forsake the unto my lyves ende.	
232:	For in fayth and thou go to hell	
	I wyll not forsake the by the waye.	

3. *El.* 286: Wi zijn *tuwen besten*, wat ghi bestaet.
    333: Dan segghen si: "neve, ghebrect u yet,
       Ic ben *tuwen besten.*"

  Ev. 325: In welthe and wo we wyll with you holde.
       For over his kynne a man may be bolde.
    381: My kynnesmen promysed me faythfully
       For to abyde with me stedfastly.

4. *El.* 386: Dat es een eewige *verdomenis* voer u.
    425: Dat en gaf mi troest noch raet,
       Dan dattet goet in *verdoemenis* staet (cf. II, 2).

  Ev. 429: That is to thy dampnacyon without lesynge.
    475: For my goodes sharpely dyd me tell
       That he bryngeth many in hell.

5. *El.* 635: Ick *blive u bi* stout ende koene.
    770: Ghi soudt *mi bibliven*, so ghi seyt.

  Ev. 684: And I, strength, will stonde by you in destresse.
    815: Ye wolde ever byde by me, ye sayd.

6. *El.* 356b: Tes al een ander *smette.*
    368: Want ghi mocht mi licht voer gode *pureren*,
       Want tgoet kan *suveren smetten claer.*
    452: Ic sou u rekeninghe, die nu *onreyn* is, *ghesuvert hebben.*
    456: Men siet hier een letter *niet*, die *reyn* es!
    477: Daer ghi u *suveren* sult van *smetten.*
    483b: Nu gaen wi ons saten
       Tot biechten: si es een *suver rivier*,
       Si sal u *pureren.*
    493: O, gloriose bloome [l. *borne*], diet al *verclaert*
       Ende doncker *smetten doet vergaen!*
       Ick knyele voer u; wilt mi *dwaen*
       Van mijnen sonden.
    504: *Verclaert* mijn brieven, want duecht seer onghesont is.
    508: Oec sal ic u gheven een iuweelken *rene*,
       Dat penitencie heet alleene;

> Daer suldi u lichaem mede termijnen
> Met abstinencien ende met pijnen!
> Hout daer, siet die gheesselen *puere;*
> Dats penitencie strang ende suere.

560: Sodat ic in sijn passie *bade.*
575: Ay, broeders waer, soe mochti door penitencie *waen.*
581: Oeck sal ic sijn weldaet *clareren;* dies wil ic bi hem gaen te
        tijde.
609: Duecht, hebdi ons rekeninghe *claer?*
632: Ende mijn duecht met kennisse *claer.*
829: Ic sal mi [l. *u*] *puer* voer gode *verclaren.*
848: Haer rekeninghe is *puer* ende re*yne.*
873: Dat wi voer gode *suver* comen ten lesten.

All the above passages refer either to the stains of sin or to the method of washing them away.   As will be seen from the following, the English sometimes retains the same idea, but more often changes the form and meaning entirely.   In one case the same word is used in a different sense.   In *El.* 581 *clareren* = 'zuiveren, reinigen,' as in *Lucid.* 2985:

> Die mensch was telivereert
> Van sinen sonden ende geclaereert (cf. *Mnl. Wdb.* III, 1487).

In *Ev.* 622 *declare* is used.

Ev. 403: It is a nother dysease that greveth me.
    411: My rekenynge helpe to clene and puryfye;
        For it is sayd ever amonge
        That money maketh all ryght that is wronge.
    502: Your boke of accounte full redy now had be.
    507: For one letter herein can I not se.
    528: Where thou shalte heale the of thy smarte.
    535: Now go we thether lovyngly
        To confessyon, that clensynge ryvere.
    545: O gloryous fountayne that all unclennes doth clarify,
        Wasshe from me the spottes of vyces unclene,
        That on me no synne may be sene.
    553: Helpe my good dedes for my petyous exclamacyon.
    557: And a precyous Iewell I wyll gyve the,
        Called penaunce, voyder of adversytye.
        Therewith shall your body chastysed be
        With abstynence and perseverance in goddes servyce.
        Here shall you receyve that scurge of me,
        Which is penaunce stronge that ye must endure.

603:    By the meane of his passyon I it crave.
617:    Now of penaunce I wyll wade the water clere.
622:    His god workes I wyll helpe hym to declare.
652:    Good dedes, have we clere oure rekenynge?
681:    And my good dedes with knowlege clere.
876:    Fere not, I wyll speke for the (cf. *El.* 829).
898:    Thy rekenynge is crystall clere.
919:    That we may lyve body and soule to gyther.
7. *El.* 746:   Sal ic mijn *pelgrimagie betalen,*
        So moet ic hier binnendalen
        In desen put ende werden aerde.
815:    Mi dunct, wacharmen! wij moeten voert
        Rekeninghe doen ende *ghelden mijn scult.*
837*b*:   Hi heeft leden,
        Dat wij alle moeten *gelden.*
Ev. 791:   Not for all the worldes golde.
        For into this cave must I crepe
        And turn to erth and there to slepe.[1]
864:    Me thynketh, alas! that I must be gone
        To make my rekenynge and my dettes paye.
888:    Now hath he suffered that we all shall endure.
8. *El.* 580:   Dies wil ic *eewich bi hem wesen.*
592:    Des sal ic *u bibliven teewigher stont.*
Ev. 621:   Therefore with Everyman I wyll go and not spare.
633:    Therefore I wyll abyde with the in every stounde.
9. *El.* 658:   Gaet totten priesterliken staet
        Ende siet, dat ghi van hem ontfaet
        Tsacrament ende olijs mede.
727:    Ic hebbe ontfaen mijn *sacrament*
        Ende dat olizel mede.
Ev. 707:   Go to pryesthode, I you advyse,
        And receyve of hym in ony wyse
        The holy sacramente and oyntment togyther.
773:    I have receyved the sacramente for my redempcyon,
        And thou, myne extreme unccyon.

Notice also the incorrect *thou.*

10. *El.* 476:   Als si u ghelyt heeft sonder letten,
        Daer ghi u *suveren* sult van *smetten,*
        Dan sal ic gesont werden ende comen u bij
        Ende gaen ter rekeningen als *duecht* mit di,
        Om te helpen zommeren tot uwer vruecht
        Voerden oversten heere.

[1] On this misfit passage cf. Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 148 f.

These words are fulfilled in the following:

844:    Coemt, wtvercoren bruyt,
        Hierboven ende hoort dat suete gheluyt
        Der engelen mits uwe goede *virtuyt;*[1]
        Die siele neem ick den lichaem wt,
        Haer rekeninghe is *puer* ende *reyne;*
        Nu voer icse in des hemels pleyne,
        Daer wi alle moeten ghemeene
        In comen, groot ende cleene.

Ev. 527: And whan he hath brought the there
        Where thou shalte heale the of thy smarte,
        Than go thou with thy rekenynge and thy good dedes
            togyther,
        For to make the ioyful at the harte.
        Before the blessyd trynytye.

894:    Cume, excellent electe spouse to Iesu,
        Here above thou shall go
        By cause of thy synguler vertue.
        Now thy soule is taken thy body fro,
        Thy rekenynge is crystall clere:
        Now shalt thou into the hevenly spere,
        Unto the whiche all ye shall cume
        That lyveth well before the day of dome.

In the Dutch, Duecht (Virtue) tells Elckerlijc that, when he has cleansed himself from the stain of sin by confession, she will then be sound and will join him as virtue or righteousness and help him give his account (476–81). Elckerlijc, after confessing and doing penance, is called to heaven because of his virtue, with his account pure and clean.

In the English the word *smarte* is inappropriate. For Everyman is concerned, not to free himself from any present suffering, but to wash away his guilt so as to escape future punishment. Ll. 527–31, therefore, do not suggest (or at least but poorly) the outcome in 894 ff.

It is absolutely impossible to explain the above differences between the Dutch and the English on the hypothesis that the English is the original. For it is incredible that a translator, however careful he might have been, would have changed the different phraseology of the original into identical expressions merely to make the several

[1] I have changed de Raaf's incorrect punctuation.

passages correspond. It is noteworthy also that the similar or identical expressions of the Dutch are not caused by rime or meter.

IV. Several passages in *Ev.* must be explained as mistranslations of corresponding passages in *El.*

1. *Ev.* 51:   *Charyte* they all do clene forgete

mistranslates[1]

   El. 30:   Mijn puer *ghelove* is al vergheten.

Not to emphasize the apparent misunderstanding of the English translator, *charyte* is here out of place, except as it is made improperly to refer to the preceding line

            For now one wolde by envy another up ete.

For it is not charity but the true faith that is under discussion. It is because men lack this true faith that "they use the seven deedly synnes" and "becume moche worse than bestes." To add to the confusion of thought *ghemeent* 'loved' (*El.* 39) appears in *Ev.* 56 as *ment.*[2]

2. *Ev.* 519:   I have a syster that shall with you also,
                 Called knowlege, which shall with you abyde
                 To helpe you to make that dredfull rekenynge.

The English is a mistranslation and a misstatement. Not to lay too much stress upon *also*, which is out of place, *Knowlege* incorrectly translates *Kennisse* (cf. I). Besides, Knowlege does not abide with Everyman to help him render his account. It is Good dedes that does that. Knowlege (Kennisse) leads him to Confession and shows him how to prepare to give his account, as the Dutch correctly states:

   El. 469:   Doch heb ic een suster, die sal gaen mede
                 (Kennisse heetse), die u leyden sal
                 Ende wijsen, hoemen u beraden sal
                 Te trecken ter rekeninghe, die fel is.

3. *Ev.* 553:   Helpe my good dedes for my petyous exclamacyon.

This prayer addressed to Shryfte is out of place. Everyman should have asked for the cleansing of his accounts, i.e., absolution. His Good dedes would then be a help to him. The petition in Dutch is appropriate:

[1] De Raaf, p. 85, reverses this.   [2] Cf. Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 31.

Verclaert mijn brieven, want duecht seer onghesont is.

4. *Ev.* 597:   O Mary, pray to the Maker of all thynge,
Me for to helpe at my endynge,
And save me from the power of my *enemy;*
For deth assayleth me strongly.

In the above *enemy* would naturally refer to *de h.* But Everyman was not now trying to escape death but the devil, which *viant* in *El.* 554 means.

5. *Ev.* 605:   Knowlege, gyve me the scorge of penaunce,
My flesshe therewith shall gyve a quytaunce,
I wyll now begynne yf god gyve me grace.

Everyman, god gyve you tyme and space.
Thus I bequethe you in the handes of our savyoure,
Thus may you make your rekenynge sure.

In the above *thus* = by giving you the scourge, but it is not apparent from the English. In the Dutch, however, there is no ambiguity:

El. 562:   Kennisse, gheeft mi die gheselen bi vramen,
Die penitencie hieten bi namen.
Ic salt beghinnen; god geefs mi gracie.

Elckerlijc, god gheve u spacie;
So ghevicx [die gheselen] *u inden naem ons heeren,*[1]
Daer ghi ter rekeninghe moet keeren.

6. *Ev.* 769:   Peas! for yender I se Everyman cume,
Which hath made true *satysfaccyon.*

This is another blunder. Everyman is not returning from doing penance, but from receiving the last sacraments. *El.* 723–24 has properly

Elckerlijc coemt; hi heeft *voldaen;*
Dus laet ons zijn op ons hoede.

7. *Ev.* 864:   Me thynketh, alas! that I must be gone
To make my rekenynge and *my dettes paye;*
For I se my tyme is nye spente awaye.

My dettes paye is ambiguous. It should properly mean "settle my account." But the Dutch *ghelden mijn scult,* which it translates, signifies "pay the debt of nature." See *A,* 4 and III, 7.

Many other passages in *Ev.* are best explained as translations from

[1] Cf. Logeman, *El.-Ev.* 123 f.

El., though not in themselves evidence. And many more can be felt as not original, though it would be impossible to point them out to one who cannot see and feel for himself.

V. *Ev.* has a number of lines that are not in *El.*, and lacks some lines that are in *El.* In many cases this proves nothing one way or the other. But in some cases they can be explained only on the supposition that *Ev.* is a translation of *El.*

1. When Doot tells Elckerlijc that he must give an account to God, he exclaims in consternation, 81*b:*

> Hoe sal ic dat verstaen?
> Rekeninghe! Wat salt bedieden![1]

To this Doot replies:

> Al ghevet u vreemt, het moet gescieden.

Naturally enough this line is omitted in the English. For when Deth tells Everyman that God demands a reckoning "without longer respyte," Everyman replies calmly, 101–2:

> To gyve a rekenynge longer layser I crave;
> This blynde mater trubleth my wytte.

It need not trouble anyone's wit to see why Deth, in his reply, did not refer to Everyman's astonishment.

2. *Ev.* 117 Deth says:

> For it is goddes commaundement
> That all to me sholde be obedyent.

No such commandment is recorded. These lines were added by the translator. Deth had been commanded, 66–71:

> Go thou to Everyman,
> And shew hym in my name
> A pylgrymage he must on hym take,
> Which he in no wyse may escape,
> And that he brynge with hym a sure rekenynge
> Without delay or ony taryenge.

3. An unnecessary addition is *Ev.* 164–67:

> Ney! nay! it was but lend the.
> For as sone as thou arte go,
> Another a whyle shall have it, and then go ther fro,
> Even as thou hast done.

[1] Of these words, all the more emphatic because of their simplicity, de Raaf, p. 20, says: "Hoe flauw, hoe mat is hier de vertaling in vergelijking met het origineel!"

This addition seems to have been made because lines 161–62 were not clear:

> What! wenest thou thy lyfe is gyven the,
> And thy worldely gooddes also?

This poorly translates *El.* 141–42:

> Wat! meendi, dat u hier is ghegheven
> Tleven op daerde ende tijtlijc goet?[1]

4. *Ev.* 208:   If any thynge be amis, I pray the me saye,
> That I may helpe to remedy.

> Ye, good felawshyp, ye;
> I am in greate ieoparde.

The last line is added by the translator because l. 210 would not logically follow l. 209.   Cf. *El.* 186–87*a*:

> Hebdi yet sonderlings, dat u let?
> Jae ick, gheselscap.

5.   Compare *El.* 582–5 with *Ev.* 623–26:

<div style="text-align:center">Kennisse</div>

> Elckerlijc, nu sijt vro ende blijde:
> U *weldaet* coemt, nu sijt verhuecht.

<div style="text-align:center">Elckerlijc</div>

> Wie macht sijn, Kennisse?

<div style="text-align:center">Kennisse</div>

> Het is u *duecht*,
> Gans ende ghesont op die beene!

<div style="text-align:center">Knowlege</div>

> Now, everyman, be mery and gladde;
> Your *good dedes* do come, ye may not be sadde.
> Now is your *good dedes* hole and sounde,
> Goynge upryght upon the ground.

In the English the speech of Elckerlijc is left out, and the two speeches of Kennisse are combined, because *weldaet* is translated *good dedes*, thus making it impossible for Everyman to ask who it was.

6. *El.* 602*b*–3   Tcleet van berouwenissen;
> Het sal gode alte wel behaghen.

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[1] The Dutch means: "Did you think you were destined to live on earth (forever) and enjoy worldly wealth?"

This is expanded into *Ev.* 643–47:

> It is the garmente of sorowe,
> From payne it wyll you borow.
> Contrycyon it is
> That getteth forgyvenes;
> It pleasyth god passynge well.

The reason for this is not far to seek. *Kennisse,* 'contrition,' had been translated *Knowlege.* Hence it was necessary to seize the first opportunity of emphasizing contrition.

7. *Ev.* 888:   Now hath he suffered that we all shall endure.
                The good dedes shall make all sure.
                Now hathe he made endynge.

The first line translates: 'Hi heeft leden, dat wij alle moeten gelden' 'he has suffered [death, a debt] that we all must pay' (cf. *A*, 4). But the translator, not understanding this or feeling that his line was not clear, repeated the thought in l. 890.

8. *Ev.* 899:   Now shalt thou into the hevenly spere,
                Unto the whiche all ye shall cume
                That lyveth well before the day of dome.

The last line is not in the Dutch, and is not necessary. For the words are addressed to the "electe spouse," "wtvercoren bruyt," that is, true believers. Cf. Apoc. 21:2, 9 and *Tewtsche Theologey* 60, 8: "Wer glawbt und getawfft/der wirt sålig. So der mensch demselben versprechen williklich nachkumbt/alszdenn wirt sein sel ain freye prawt Christi."

In conclusion it may be said that, though *Ev.* in one or two instances may have improved on the original, *El.*, as a whole, is artistically superior. With the exception of a very few passages where the text is evidently corrupt, *El.* is written in fairly good language and meter. It is theologically correct and remarkably consistent and logical. It must have been the product of a trained mind. On the other hand *Ev.* is faulty in language and meter, wrong in theology, inapt in its biblical allusions, full of inconsistencies, and betrays on every page the hand of an unskilled workman who was not even capable of making a good translation.

<div align="right">Francis A. Wood</div>

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JOHN ERNST MATZKE

1862–1910

In the death of Professor Matzke *Modern Philology* loses a staunch friend and a distinguished collaborator. A member of the Advisory Board since the inception of the journal in 1902, he gave liberally of his time and energy toward its success. It is with a deep sense of personal loss that his death is recorded here.

Matzke was born at Breslau, Germany. He came to this country while still young, and after receiving his collegiate education at Hope College entered upon the study of romance languages at the Johns Hopkins University. During 1885–86 he was a University Scholar. Two years later he received his Doctor's degree, his dissertation being: *Dialectische Eigenthümlichkeiten des mouillierten l im Altfranzösischen.*[1] Matzke shows there that keen and intelligent interest in the processes of phonetic change which is characteristic of much of his best work. From that time to the end, his life was devoted with great singleness of purpose to his chosen field, and a long series of articles, monographs, and editions give evidence of a high ideal of scholarship and an untiring activity.

With his edition of *Hernani* in 1891 he set a standard of college-text editing (see especially his discussion of the romantic verse) which has been only too rarely followed by other American editors of foreign classics. In 1894 he treated with masterful precision the difficult subject of the "Pronunciation of the French Nasal Vowels *in, ain, ein,* in the XVI and XVII Centuries"[2]—a line of investigation which he pursued farther in his contributions[3] to the history of palatal *n*. In 1898 his sound judgment on phonetic questions is again seen in the reply[4] to Menger's brilliant but precarious excursus on the question of "Free and Checked Vowels."[5] In these articles—and others might be added—Matzke's method can be observed to the best advantage: it was eminently sane and thorough.

But his interests were by no means confined to subjects of this character. He had long felt drawn to questions of Old-French literary history when toward the close of the nineties he completed

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[1] *P.M.L.A.*, V, 52 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, IX, 451–61.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXI, 637 ff.; XXIV, 476 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, XIII, 1–41.

[5] *Ibid.*, X, 306 ff.

the critical edition (*Textes et étude*) of the Laws of William the Conqueror.[1] It was a labor of love, this first, toilsome preparation of a critical text, at such a distance from the publisher (Matzke was then in California), and an introduction and notes which must needs be in French. The road seemed smoother, for having been traversed before, when he came to edit the *Œuvres* of Simund de Freine.[2] But here were new problems: an Anglo-Norman poet whose prosody was perplexing, and the source of whose life of St. George had to be traced. Matzke treated the difficulties of Anglo-Norman verse, at least those which confronted him, in his usual simple and plausible manner; and with an extended study on England's patron knight[3] began a series of literary-historical monographs which he did not live to complete. Several of these have appeared in this journal.[4] A detailed discussion of the *Boeve de Haumtone* will be published here shortly. An unfinished article on the "Legend of the Eaten Heart" was found among his papers. In these more recent investigations it was Matzke's purpose to lay the foundations of a longer work on the *romans d'aventure*. He had just completed an edition of *Le Châtelain de Coucy* for the Société des anciens textes français before leaving for Mexico, where he died.

Matzke was successively professor of romance languages at Bowdoin College (one year) and at the University of Indiana (one year), and associate at Johns Hopkins University, whence he was called in 1893 to the headship of the Romanic Department at Palo Alto, California.

Of a generous but firm disposition, himself possessed of a remarkable capacity for work, yet always willing to overlook the professional shortcomings of others, beloved by his colleagues and his students, he was a leader in his profession, whose far too brief career is a credit and an example to the land of his adoption.

W. A. N.

[1] Paris, 1899, in the *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire.*

[2] For the *Soc. des anc. textes fr.*, 1909.

[3] *P.M.L.A.*, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

[4] "The Source and Composition of Ille et Galeran," *M.P.*, IV, 471 ff.; "The Lay of Eliduc and the Legend of the Husband with Two Wives," *M.P.*, V, 211 ff.

CHAUCER AND THE *MIROIR DE MARIAGE*

III

Chaucer's indebtedness to Jean de Meun for certain elements of his conception of the Wife of Bath is unmistakable. He drew, as has frequently been pointed out, upon La Vielle;[1] he drew, as Professor Mead has shown,[2] upon Le Jaloux. And to St. Jerome's *Epistola adversus Jovinianum* the *Prologue* owes, in a sense, as has been said, "even its existence."[3] But despite all this, there are certain discrepancies between the Wife of Bath as Chaucer has conceived her, and her suggested analogues in the *Roman de la Rose*— discrepancies which those who have called attention to the parallels have been the first to recognize. There are difficulties about La Vielle. "In the first place," as Professor Mead remarks, "we see that the entire setting is different"[4]—a fact which he demonstrates at some length. "Furthermore," he continues, "Chaucer transformed the somewhat morose and broken-spirited old woman,

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[*Continuation of note 5, p. 185*]

parole." It is clear enough that Chaucer had also in mind his own use of the quotation in *Melibeus;* but the context is the context of the *Miroir*—and in part the phrasing too. It is worth noting, also, that Placebo himself plays the rôle of the "ami fortunel" (as Justinus that of the "vray ami") of Deschamps's second chapter. Compare, for example, with Placebo's lines:

> So wisly god my soule bringe at reste,
> I hold your owene conseil is the beste (E. 1,489-90)—

the characterization of the "ami de fortune":

> Mais le faulx ami, par ma teste,
> Blandist, flatte et va decepvent,
> Et se tourne avecques le vent
> Et consentira ta folie
> Pour toy plaire (ll. 42-46).

[1] See esp. Mead, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 391-95.

[2] *Ibid.*, 395-404.   [3] Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 292.

[4] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 392.

entirely out of sympathy with life, into a witty and frisky shrew—
good-natured in a way, but still a shrew.   Where did Chaucer pick
up the hint for that?   Or, rather, could he have got any hint for
the special part he makes her play?"[1]   This hint Professor Mead
finds in the Jealous Husband of an earlier portion of the *Roman de
la Rose*, "who, like the Wife of Bath, has much to say of the woes
of matrimony, and who, like her, speaks from experience,"[2] and who
likewise uses the famous fragment of Theophrastus.   To this extent,
accordingly, the Jealous Husband supplies the deficiencies of the
Duenna.   But even this does not leave quite smooth sailing.   For
obviously (as Professor Mead himself fully admits) this means that
Chaucer has had "to reverse the conditions, to turn the scolding
husband into the scolding wife."[3]   In a word, although Chaucer
undoubtedly drew (as I believe) on both La Vielle and Le Jaloux
in his portrayal of the Wife of Bath, it is no less clear that each of
them fails of correspondence in a rather vital point: La Vielle poses
as an *unsuccessful* practitioner of her art—and Le Jaloux is a *man!*

Now in the *Miroir de Mariage* we find a racy portrayal (in some
of its touches worthy of Chaucer himself) of a wife, addicted to
pilgrimages, punctilious about precedence at the offering, who is
coached by her mother in the art of managing her husband, and who
conspicuously betters her instructions.   That, in a document which
Chaucer uses elsewhere in his work, is in itself significant enough.
But I should like to defer consideration of its more general bearings
until we have examined certain somewhat complex matters of detail.

The Wife of Bath's vivid rehearsal of the way in which she stiffly
bore her old husbands on hand is based upon the *Aureolus Theo-
phrasti Liber de Nuptiis*, as that uncompromising document is quoted
in St. Jerome's epistle *Adversus Jovinianum*.[4]   In the *Miroir de
Mariage* Deschamps draws even more extensively than Chaucer
upon this same forty-seventh chapter of the first book of the *Epistola*.[5]
And there can be little doubt, I think, that Chaucer had the *Miroir*

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[1] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 395.   [2] *Ibid.*, 398.   [3] *Ibid.*, 402.

[4] Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, chap. 47, cols. 276–78.   See Woolcombe, in *Essays
on Chaucer* (Chaucer Soc.), Part III, 298–304.   Compare Koeppel, in *Archiv*, LXXXIV,
413–14, and *Anglia*, XIII, 174–76; Tatlock, *Devel. and Chron.*, 202; Skeat's notes
passim.

[5] See Raynaud, XI, 170 ff., and *passim.*

beside him as he made his own incomparable dramatization of St. Jerome. This will perhaps appear most plainly if certain passages from all three documents are set side by side.

Deinde per noctes totas garrulae conquestiones: Illa ornatior procedit in publicum: haec honoratur ab omnibus, ego in conventu feminarum misella despicior. Cur aspiciebas vicinam? quid cum ancillula loquebaris? de foro veniens quid attulisti? Non amicum habere possumus [*Al.* possum], non sodalem. Alterius amorem, suum odium suspicatur (Migne, XXIII, col. 276).

Et elle verra *ses voisines,*
Ses parentes et ses cousines,
Qui nouvelles robes aront:
Adonc plains et plours te saudront
Et complaintes de par ta fame,
Qui te dira: "Par Nostre Dame,
Celle est en publique honourée,
Bien vestue et bien acesmée,
Et entre toutes suy despite
Et povre, maleureuse ditte!
Mais je voy bien a quoy il tient:
Vous regardez, quant elle vient,
No voisine, bien m'en perçoy,
Car vous n'avez cure de moy;
Vous jouez a no chamberiere:
Quant du marchié venis arriere,
L'autre jour, que li apportas?[2]
Las! de dure heure m'espousas!
Je n'ay mari ne compaignon.

Certes se vous me fussiez bon,
Et vous n'amissiez autre part,
Vous ne venissiez pas si tart
Comme vous faictes a l'ostel!"[4]

. . . . but herkneth how I sayde
"Sir olde kaynard, is this thyn array?
Why is *my neighebores wyf so gay"?*[1]
She is honoured over-al ther she goth;
I sitte at hoom, I have no thrifty cloth.

What dostow at my neighebores hous?
Is she so fair?   artow so amorous?

What rowne ye with our mayde?   *ben'cite!*
Sir olde lechour, lat thy Iapes be!

And if I have a gossib or a freend,
With-outen gilt, thou chydest as a feend,
If that I walke or pleye unto his hous![3]

Thou comest hoom as dronken as a mous,
And prechest on thy bench, with yvel preef![5]

It will be noticed, in the first place, that in Theophrastus three distinct women are referred to by the wife, before the maid is named:

[1] Compare also the following lines:

Et si vous di bien que ma huve
Est vieille et de pouvre fasson:
Je sçay tel femme de masson,
Qui n'est pas a moy comparable,
Qui meilleur l'a et plus coustable
.liii. fois que la mienne n'est. . . . .
Je voy bien femme d'avocas,
De povres bourgois de villaige,
Qui l'ont bien, (pourquoy ne l'arai ge?)
A .iiii. roncins atelé:
Certes pas ne sont de tel lé
Ne de tel ligne com je suy (ll. 1,256–61, 1,274–79).

It is the Wife in the *Miroir* who is speaking.

[2] Compare:

I governed hem so wel, after my lawe,
That ech of hem ful blisful was and fawe
To bringe me gaye thinges fro the fayre (D.219–21).

[3] Compare:

Mon propre mari me diffame,
Qui ne me laist en compaignie
Aler; nul temps ne m'esbanie (ll. 1,712–14).

[4] *Miroir,* ll. 1,589–1,611.   [5] D. 234–47.

illa . . . . haec . . . . vicinam; in both Deschamps and Chaucer, on the other hand, these three are (with enhanced effect) fused into one, and that one is the third—"no voisine," "my neighebores wyf." Moreover, Chaucer and Deschamps agree in separating "ornatior" from "procedit in publicum," and in treating it independently— Deschamps in his "nouvelles robes aront" and his "bien vestue"; Chaucer in his "Why is my neighebores wyf so gay?"[1] Theophrastus's "procedit in publicum" is linked in both Chaucer and the *Miroir* with "honoratur" instead of with "ornatior." With "*our* mayde" compare "*no* chamberiere"; and with "thy *japes*," the "*jouez*" of the *Miroir*. And finally, it is in the *Miroir* alone that one finds the direct hint for the Wife of Bath's crowning touch:

> *Thou comest hoom* as dronken as a mous.

For there is nothing in Theophrastus which even remotely suggests Deschamps's

> *Vous ne venissiez pas si tart*
> *Comme vous faictes a l'ostel.*

Chaucer has heightened the realism of the taunt, but he found the suggestion for it in the amplification already at his hand in the *Miroir*.

I pass over for the moment the immediately succeeding lines from Theophrastus, which are complicated by the influence of Jean de Meun, and come to the argument from the "chat en sac."

Adde, quod nulla est uxoris electio, sed qualiscumque obvenerit, habenda. Si iracunda, si fatua, si deformis, si superba, si fetida, quod-cumque vitii est, post nuptias discimus. Equus, asinus, bos, canis, et vilissima mancipia, vestes quoque, et lebetes, sedile ligneum, calix, et urceolus fictilis probantur prius, et sic emuntur: sola uxor non ostenditur, ne ante displiceat, quam ducatur (Migne, XXIII, col. 277).[2]

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[1] Notice also that "I have no thrifty cloth" is much more definitely suggested by Deschamps's lines than by the single word in Theophrastus.

[2] It is necessary to have before us also, for comparison, the corresponding lines from the *Roman de la Rose*:

> Je voi que qui cheval achete,
> N'iert jà si fox que riens i mete,
> Comment que l'en l'ait bien couvert,
> Se tout n'el voit à descouvert.
> Par tout le regarde et descuevre;
> Mès la fame si bien se cuevre,
> Ne jà n'i sera descouverte,
> Ne por gaaigne, ne por perte,
> Ne por solas, ne por mésèse,
> Por ce, sans plus, *qu'el ne desplèse*
> *Devant qu'ele soit espousée;*
> Et quant el voit la chose outrée,
> Lors primes monstre sa malice,
> Lors pert s'ele a en li nul vice;
> Lors fait au fol ses meurs sentir,
> Que riens n'i vaut le repentir.   —(ed. Michel, ll. 9,418–33).

A mon propos vueil revenir.
Qui prandra femme, cilz l'ara
Toute tele qu'il la prandra,
Soit jeune, vieille, salle ou nette,
Sotte, boiteuse ou contrefette,
Humble, courtoise ou gracieuse,
Belle ou borgne ou malicieuse,
Car par devant se couverra;
Mais ses meurs après ouverra,
Et de près les fera sentir
A tel qui en sera martir;
Lors fera apparoir ses vices.
Si me semble que cilz est nices
Qui, sanz cerchier ce qu'il veult prandre,
L'achate et ne le puet reprandre.
Se tu veulz achater bestail
Pour garder ou vendre a detail,
Soit buefs, vaiches, brebiz ou pors,
Tu le verras au long du corps,
Ou ventre, en la queue, en la teste
Et es dens, s'il est juene beste,
Et les metteras a l'essay . . .
Mais autrement va des barons
Et des aultres qui prannent femmes,
Car sanz vir queuvrent *leurs diffames,*
Et les prannent sanz ce sçavoir
Qu'elles font depuis apparoir,
Comme plus a plain sera dit.[1]

Thow seyst, we wyves wol our vyces hyde

Til we be fast,
    and than we wol hem shewe;
Wel may that be a proverbe of a shrewe!

Thou seist, that oxen, asses, hors, and
    houndes,
They been assayed at diverse stoundes;
Bacins, lavours, er that men hem bye,
Spones and stoles, and al swich housbondrye,
And so been pottes, clothes, and array;
But folk of wyves maken noon assay
Til they be wedded; olde dotard shrewe!

And than, seistow, we wol oure vices shewe.[2]

It will be observed, in the first place, that this is one of the passages from Theophrastus which Jean de Meun also paraphrased, and I have added in a footnote the corresponding lines from the *Roman de la Rose.* It is possible that Deschamps had the *Roman,* as well as St. Jerome, beside him; the rhyme-pair *couverra: ouverra,* at all events, recalls the succession of rhymes (*couvert: descouvert; descuevre: cuevre: descouverte*) in Jean de Meun. It is possible (perhaps even probable) that Chaucer also remembered the *Roman;* his

       Til we be fast, and then we wol hem *shewe,*

is pretty close to

       Et quant el voit la chose outrée,
       Lors primes *monstre* sa malice.

Ll. 285–89 of the *Prologue,* moreover, render it clear beyond all doubt that Chaucer was making direct use of the text of St. Jerome. But even so, there is also good ground for believing that he was following the *Miroir* too. Even in the line (D. 283) just referred to as possibly influenced by Jean de Meun, "hem" (*sc.* "our vices")

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[1] *Miroir,* ll. 1,538–59, 1,570–75.   [2] D. 282–92.

answers directly to "ses vices" of the corresponding line in Des-
champs; and the *Prologue* and the *Miroir* agree in the future tense,
as against the present tense of Theophrastus and the *Roman de la
Rose.* Moreover, in the closing lines of the paragraph Chaucer is
in much closer agreement with Deschamps than with either Theo-
phrastus or Jean de Meun, as a glance will show. "Men of wyves
maken noon assay" combines Deschamps's "*des barons* et des
aultres *qui prannent femmes*" and his "*les metteras a l'essay*"; "we
wol our vices shewe" includes both "leurs diffames" and "Qu'elles
font depuis apparoir." Indeed, Chaucer's repetition of "And than
we wol hem shewe" (D. 283), "And than . . . . we wol our vices
shewe" (D. 292) is almost an exact counterpart of Deschamps's
similarly repeated "Lors fera apparoir ses vices" (1,549), "Ce . . . .
qu'elles font depuis apparoir" (1,574).[1] And finally, it is precisely
the lines of Deschamps (1,539–45, 1,556–69) which Chaucer *omits*
here that we have already found him using later in the *Merchant's
Tale* (E. 1,532–39).[2]

The next paragraph affords still further evidence of the influence
of the *Miroir.*

Attendenda semper ejus est facies, et pulchritudo laudanda: ne si
alteram aspexeris, se existimet displicere. Vocanda domina, celebrandus
natalis ejus, jurandum per salutem illius, ut sit superstes optandum;
honoranda nutrix ejus, et gerula, servus patrinus, et alumnus, et formo-
sus assecla, et procurator calamistratus, et in longam securamque
libidinem exsectus spado: sub quibus nominibus adulteri [*Al.* adulteria]
delitescunt. Quoscumque illa dilexerit, ingratis amandi (Migne, XXIII,
col. 277).

Il couvient sa beauté louer,	Thou seist also, that it displeseth me
Et te tien d'autre regarder;	But-if that thou wolt preyse my beautee,
Il faut qu'apelée soit dame,	And but thou poure alwey up-on my face,[3]
Et que tu jures Nostre Dame	And clepe me "faire dame" in every place;
Qu'elle passe tout en bonté.	
Le jour de sa nativité	And but thou make a feste on thilke day
Te doit estre concelebrable,	That I was born, and make me fresh and gay,
	And but thou do to my norice honour,
Et le sa nourice amiable,	And to my chamberere with-inne my bour,
Son aieul, son frere et son oncle	

[1] It will be noticed that Chaucer and Deschamps also agree in omitting "ne ante
displiceat," which appears, on the other hand, in the *Roman de la Rose:* "*qu'el ne desplèse
devant qu'el soit espousée.*"

[2] See above, p. 14.

[3] Cf. "Il te fault encliner sa face" (l. 1,762).

Et son pere doiz tu a l'ongle
Honourer, amer, conjouir,
Leurs mesgnies et gens jouir
Et livrer tout ce qu'il lui fault.[1]

And to my fadres folk and his allyes;—
Thus seistow, olde barel ful of lyes![2]

As in the preceding instances, it is not open to doubt that Chaucer had the text of St. Jerome before him. But here as there, again, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the *Miroir* supplemented the *Epistola*. Between "celebrandus natalis ejus" and "honoranda nutrix ejus" in Theophrastus comes the sentence "jurandum . . . . optandum." In Deschamps, however, "La jour de sa nativité Te doit estre concelebrable" is directly followed by "Et le sa nourice amiable."[3] And in Chaucer, "the feste on thilke day That I was born" is likewise immediately succeeded by "And but thou do my norice honour."[4] But this notable agreement in an omission does not stand alone. It is repeated even more strikingly a few lines farther on. The list of the Wife's hangers-on who are to be held in honor includes, in Theophrastus (after "nutrix ejus, et gerula"), "servus patrinus, et alumnus, et formosus assecla, et procurator calamistratus, et in longam securamque libidinem exsectus spado." In the *Miroir* all after "servus patrinus" are omitted, and in their place are inserted "*Son aieul, son frere et son oncle Et son pere . . . . Leurs mesgnies et gens*"; in Chaucer (who includes "gerula"—"my chamberere"), the whole list after "servus patrinus" is similarly omitted, and instead are substituted "*my fadres folk and his allyes.*" The agreement not only in the two omissions but also (in the second case) in the substitution can hardly be dismissed as accidental.

We may return, now, to the long passage (D. 248–75) which has been held, for the moment, in abeyance. Its complication results from an interesting cause—the fact, namely, that in it Chaucer has certainly supplemented St. Jerome by Jean de Meun. That he has supplemented both by the *Miroir* as well is, I think, also clear. I shall first give the passage from Theophrastus in its entirety; the three versions it will be simpler to consider part by part.

[1] *Miroir*, ll. 1,765–77.

[2] D. 293–302.

[3] Deschamps has evidently fallen into a slight error here in his translation.

[4] Deschamps does translate the "jurandum . . . . optandum" clause later (ll. 1,778–79); but that has no bearing on the point under discussion.

Pauperem alere, difficile est; divitem ferre, tormentum . . . . Pulchra cito adamatur, foeda facile concupiscit. Difficile custoditur, quod plures amant. Molestum est possidere, quod nemo habere dignetur. Minore tamen miseria deformis habetur, quam formosa servatur. Nihil tutum est, in quod totius populi vota suspirant. Alius forma, alius ingenio, alius facetiis, alius liberalitate sollicitat. Aliquo modo, vel aliquando expugnatur, quod undique incessitur (Migne, XXIII, col. 277).

> Et qui vuet povre fame prendre,
> A norrir la l'estuet entendre,
> Et à vestir et à chaucier (R.R. 9,328–30).

S'elle est povre, ce n'est que vent
Et tourment d'elle soustenir.
—(*Miroir*, ll. 1,758–59).

Thou seist to me, it is a great meschief
To wedde a povre womman, for costage;
—(D. 248–49).

Inasmuch as Jean de Meun, Deschamps, and Chaucer all agree in interpreting (naturally enough) the "difficile" of Theophrastus with reference to "costage," no safe conclusion can be drawn.

> Et se tant se cuide essaucier
> Qu'il la prengne riche forment,
> A soffrir la a grant torment;
> Tant la trueve orguilleuse et fiere,
> Et sorcuidée et bobancière,
> Que son mari ne prisera
> Riens, et par tout desprisera
> Ses parens et tout son lignage,
> Par son outrecuidé langage (R.R. 9,331–39).

Se tu prans femme qui soit riche,
C'est le denier Dieu et la briche
D'avoir des reprouches souvent . . . .
Ainsi va *merencoliant*
Femme et parlant, qui est enclose.
—(*Miroir*, ll. 1,755–57, 1,732–33).

And if that she be riche, of heigh parage,
Than seistow that it is a tormentrye
To suffre hir pryde and hir *malencolye*.
—(D. 250–52).

Two things, at least, are obvious in this case. The first is that Deschamps has been influenced by Jean de Meun, whose "par tout desprisera" and "par son outrecuidé langage" are represented in "d'avoir des reproches souvent" of the *Miroir*. The second is that Chaucer also had the *Roman de la Rose* in mind as he wrote. Koeppel has already pointed out[1] the relation of "hir pryde" to "orguilleuse et fiere." He has (apparently) not noticed that Chaucer's "of heigh parage" (to which nothing corresponds in St. Jerome) is directly implied in the last three lines cited above from the *Roman*.

[1] *Anglia*, XIV, 254–55.

But a third fact is also clear—namely, that here once more Chaucer has drawn upon Deschamps. For nothing in either Theophrastus or Jean de Meun suggests "and hir *malencolye.*" But only a few lines earlier in the *Miroir*, in the midst of his own paraphrase of this very portion of the "golden book," Deschamps has paused to tell, with realistic detail, how "Ainsi va *merencoliant* Femme et parlant, qui est enclose."[1]

> S'ele est bele, tuit i aqueurent,
> Tuit la porsivent, tuit l'eneurent,
> Tuit i hurtent, tuit i travaillent,
> Tuit i luitent, tuit i bataillent,
> Tuit à li servir s'estudient,
> Tuit li vont entor, tuit la prient,
> Tuit i musent, tuit la convoitent,
> Si l'ont en la fin, tant esploitent:
> Car tor de toutes pars assise
> Envis eschape d'estre prise (R.R. 9,340–49).

Se tu la prens, qu'elle soit belle,
Tu n'aras jamais paix a elle,
Car chascuns la couvoitera,
Et dure chose a toy sera
De garder ce que un chascun voite
Et qu'il poursuit et qu'il couvoite,
Car tu as contre toy cent oeulx,
Et li desirs luxurieux
Est toutes fois contre beauté,
Qui est contraire a chasteté.
A paine pourroit belle fame
Sanz grant bonté eschuer blame,
Com chascuns y tend et y rue,
Soit en moustier, soit en my rue,
En son hostel ou aultre part.
Ly uns des chapeaulx ly depart,
L'autre robes, l'autre joyaulx,
L'un fait joustes, festes, cembeaux
Pour son amour, pour son gent corps;
L'autre lui envoie dehors
Chançons, lettres et rondelez,
Fermaulx, frontaulx et annelez,
Et dit que de sens n'a pareille,
S'est de beauté la nompareille.
—(*Miroir*, ll. 1,625–48).

And if that she be fair, thou verray knave,

Thou seyst that every holour wol hir have;

She may no whyle in chastitee abyde,
That is assailled up-on ech a syde.

Thou seyst, som folk desyre us for richesse,
Somme *for our shap*, and somme *for our fairnesse*;
And som, for she can outher singe or daunce,
And som, for gentillesse and daliaunce;
Som, for hir handes and hir armes smale;
Thus goth al to the devel by thy tale.
Thou seyst, men may nat kepe a castel-wal;
It may so longe assailled been over-al.
—(D. 253–64).

The relation of Chaucer's first four lines (D. 253–56) to the *Miroir* needs in this case little remark. The correspondence in phraseology with Deschamps as against either Theophrastus or

[1] *Miroir*, ll. 1,732–33. See the whole chapter.

Jean de Meun is patent at a glance.　In the next six lines Chaucer seems, as has been pointed out,[1] to have misunderstood the Latin text.　At all events, he certainly has shifted the emphasis from the means by which the lady's virtue is assailed to the reasons why she is desired.　But it is perhaps worth noting that although Deschamps did *not* misunderstand the Latin text, he none the less gives to "forma," in one of his lines—"pour son amour, *pour son gent corps*"—precisely the turn which the Wife of Bath adopts throughout—a turn which may either have thrown Chaucer off the track, or have furnished the hint for a change which he intentionally made.　In any case, he comes back in the last two lines, as Koeppel has once more pointed out,[2] to the *Roman de la Rose.*

> S'el r'est lede, el vuet à tous plaire;
> Et comment porroit nus ce faire
> Qu'il gart chose que tuit guerroient,
> Ou qui vuet tous ceus qui la voient? (R.R. 9,350–53).

S'il est qui preingne femme laide,	And if that she be foul, thou seist that she
Nulz homs n'ara sur elle envie;	Coveiteth every man that she may see;
Et ou sera plus mortel vie	For as a spaynel she wol on him lepe,
Qu'a cellui qui possidera	Til that she finde som man hir to chepe;
Ce que nulz avoir ne vourra,	Ne noon so grey goos goth ther in the lake,
Que il possidera touz seulx?	As, seistow, that wol been with-oute make.
—(*Miroir*, ll. 1,736–41).	And seyst, it is an hard thing for to welde
	A thing that no man wol, his thankes, helde.　　—(D. 265–72).

In ll. 265–70 Chaucer is clearly weaving his own embroidery upon Theophrastus's "fœda facile concupiscit."　And ll. 271–72 seem to be drawn directly from the Latin text—although "an hard thing" (for "*molestum*") recalls Deschamps's "dure chose" (for "*difficile*") above.[3]

So far as the citations from Theophrastus, therefore, are concerned, there seems to be little doubt that Chaucer has made use, in his own adaptation of the *Aureolus liber*, of the poem of Deschamps in which the excerpts had already taken on a more or less dramatic *mise en scène.*　But the Wife's indebtedness to Deschamps does not stop there.

In the twenty-first chapter of the *Miroir* occurs Deschamps's paraphrase of those lines of Theophrastus which Chaucer rehearses

[1] Koeppel, *Anglia*, XIII, 176; cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 298.
[2] *Anglia*, XIV, 255.　　　　　　　　　　[3] L. 1,628.

in the *Merchant's Tale*.[1] But Deschamps carries the situation one step farther than Theophrastus. In the *Miroir* the husband whose wife has been waiting "ay after his good" at length dies. And now the account goes on:

> Elle emporte plus que le tiers,
> Et s'a a part tout desrobé,
> Sa proye prins comme un hobé
> Pour un autre qui la prandra.
> *Et sçavez vous qu'il advendra?*
> Du service, obseque et les lays
> Oir vouldra parler jamais,
> Excepté d'une courte messe;
> *Et regardera, en la presse*
> *A porter le deffunct en terre,*
> *Quel mari elle pourra querre*
> *Et avoir après cesti cy.*[2]

The parallel with the procedure of the Wife of Bath is obvious at once:

> To chirche was myn housbond born a-morwe
> With neighebores, that for him maden sorwe;
> And Jankin oure clerk was oon of tho.
> As help me god, whan that I saugh him go
> After the bere, me thoughte he hadde a paire
> Of legges and of feet so clene and faire,
> That al myn herte I yaf un-to his hold . . . .
> What sholde I seye, but, at the monthes ende, ·
> This joly clerk Jankin, that was so hende,
> Hath wedded me with greet solempnitee,
> And to him yaf I al the lond and fee
> That ever was me yeven ther-bifore.[3]

The telling concreteness of detail is Chaucer's own; the pith of the situation is in Deschamps.

[1] *Miroir*, ll. 1,916–53; E. 1,296–1,304; see above, p. 7. The Latin text, so far as it is pertinent, is quoted in the *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 354. And there are indications that Chaucer here, as in the *Wife's Prologue*, had the *Miroir* beside him as he translated St. Jerome. The passage from Theophrastus is in the *third* person; Deschamps and Chaucer agree in transferring it to the more vivid *second*. With "thy dispence" (E. 1,297) compare "ta despence"; with "For she wol clayme half part al hir lyf" (E. 1,300) compare "Car tout est sien a son advis" (l. 1,931), and especially "Elle emporte plus que le tiers" (l. 1,966).

[2] Ll. 1,966–77.

[3] D. 593–99, 627–31. With the last two lines compare Deschamps's "Pour un autre qui la prandre" (l. 1,969).

At the opening of the long and graphically realistic harangue in which the mother-in-law inculcates upon the husband her conviction that his wife is being too strictly detained at home, appear the following lines:

> Se ta femme crout en maison
> Et garde le feu et les cendres,
> Elle en vault pis, tes noms est mendres;
> D'oneur ne sçara tant ne quant,
> S'iert comme une chievre vacant
> Qui ne scet que brouter et paistre,
> *Ou comme un chat qui est en l'aistre,*
> *Qui brulle son poil et qui l'art.*[1]

So *la mere*. But with the precise turn which *le mari* would give to it, the Wife of Bath (who obviously needed no mother to speak for *her!*) avails herself of the analogy:

> *Thou seydest this, that I was lyk a cat;*
> *For who-so wolde senge a cattes skin,*
> *Thanne wolde the cat wel dwellen in his in;*
> And if the cattes skin be slyk and gay,
> She wol nat dwelle in house half a day,
> But forth she wole, er any day be dawed,
> To shewe hir skin, and goon a-caterwawed;
> *This is to seye, if I be gay, sir shrewe,*
> *I wol renne out, my borel for to shewe.*[2]

Just this last couplet, in fact, sums up (once more from the husband's point of view) the gist of *la mere's* whole argument; for the next thing we learn in the *Miroir*, with a wealth of picturesque detail, is how the wife *does* run out her borel for to show—"comment le mari aveuglé par les paroles de la mere laisse aler sa femme . . . . par tout viloter."[3]

I have said that the Wife of Bath needed no mother to speak for her. That is, of course, not strictly in accordance with the facts. For twice, it will be recalled, the Wife expressly adverts to her mother's tutelage:

> *My dame taughte me that soutiltee. . . . .*
> *But as I folwed ay my dames lore,*
> *As wel of this as of other thinges more.*[4]

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[1] Ll. 3,207–15.   [2] D. 348–56.   [3] Chap. xxxvii, rubric.   [4] D. 576, 583–84.

Koeppel suggests[1] that "my dame" is here "La Vielle" of Jean de Meun. But a reading of the racy chapters[2] in which Deschamps elucidates *la mere's* "lore," as well as of the no less piquant sections[3] which disclose her daughter's aptitude for following it, "as wel of this as of other thinges more"—such a reading will leave little doubt of "my dame's" identity.

Moreover, it is in the last-named chapters that another interesting parallel appears. The Wife of Bath's husbands

> . . . . were ful glad whan I spak to hem fayre;
> For god it woot, I chidde hem spitously. . . . .
> Thus shul ye speke and bere hem wrong on honde;
> For half so boldely can ther no man
> Swere and lyen as a womman can. . . . .
> A wys wyf, if that she can hir good,
> Shal beren him on hond the cow is wood,
> *And take witnesse of hir owene mayde*
> *Of hir assent.*[4]

In the *Miroir* the Wife has been availing herself to the full[5] of the opportunity her trickery has won "par tout viloter," and is anticipating her husband's reprimand:

> *Demandez a vo chamberiere*
> *Se j'ay en mauvais lieu esté.*[6]

Few things in the poem, indeed, are more graphic than the scene which follows between the brow-beaten husband and the maid who is playing into her mistress' hands:

> Lors pour elle jetter de blame,
> Fuit en sa chambre d'un escueil
> Et se couche la larme a l'ueil,
> Pour plus son mary assoter.
> Et adonc la va convoier
> Sa chamberiere, et s'en retourne:
> Dolente est et fait chiere mourne;
> Et ly maris la tient de plait,
> Demendans que sa femme fait.

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[1] *Anglia*, XIV, 253.

[2] Chaps. xxxiv–xxxvii.

[3] Chaps. xxxviii–xxxix: "Comment la femme revenue de viloter tance et brait, et puis, pour mieulx decevoir son mary, s'en va couchier; comment le povre dolereus envelopé de paroles promet a sa femme qu'il lui laissera faire a son gré et lui crie mercy."

[4] D. 222–34.   [5] See chap. xxxvii.   [6] Ll. 3,634–35.

> Et la chamberiere engigneuse
> Respond: "Ma dame est maleureuse,
> Quant onques tel homme espousa," etc.[1]

And the ensuing dialogue, which is (unfortunately) too long to quote, is in the excellent vein of the Wife of Bath herself.

Nor is this the only point of contact between these two accounts. The Wife of Bath's policy, when she was in the wrong, was clearly defined, and strategically unimpeachable; it was simply to carry the war into Africa:

> I coude pleyne, thogh I were in the gilt,
> Or elles often tyme hadde I ben spilt.
> Who-so that first to mille comth, first grint;
> *I pleyned first*, so was our werre y-stint.
> They were ful glad t'excusen hem ful blyve
> Of thing of which they never agilte hir lyve.[2]

The Wife in the *Miroir* takes precisely the same tack:

> Il fault que son mari deçoive
> Au revenir, qui longuement
> L'a attendue; et Dieux! comment
> Il se cource de la demeure!
> *Et elle se commence en l'eure*
> *A plourer et a esmouvoir:*
> "Lasse! j'en doy bien tant avoir,
> Qui ne finay huy a journée
> D'aler! De maleure fuy née! . . . .
> Je croy que vous devenez fols
> Qui ainsis m'alez riotant:
> Or en alez querir autant! . . . .
> Mesler ne vous voulez de rien.
> Mais puis que femme fera bien,
> Son mari la tourmentera
> Ne jamès bien ne lui fera."[3]

The Wife of Bath, moreover, used for her ends a particular stratagem:

> Of wenches wolde I beren him on honde.[4]

The wife in the *Miroir* was thoroughly familiar with the same device:

> Vous avez nostre chamberiere
> Requis d'amour .II. foiz ou trois;
> Vous estes alez pluseurs fois

[1] Ll. 3,644–55.   [2] D. 387–92.   [3] Ll. 3,600–8, 3,620–22, 3,629–32.   [4] D. 393.

> Veoir Helot et Eudeline,
> Ysabel, Margot, Kateline
> Et couché aux femmes communes.[1]

One of the objections which Repertoire de Science urges against marriage is that

> Quant le povre deduit du lit
> Est passé par aucunes nuis,
> Lors te saudront les grans ennuis,
> Car tu ne pourras achever
> Son delit sanz ton corps grever,
> Qui adonc reposer vouldras;
> Mais Dieux scet que tu ne pourras
> Rendre le deu qu'elle demande
> Quant au delit.[2]

Precisely that is one of the achievements on which the Wife of Bath enlarges most complacently:

> Unnethe mighte they the statut holde
> In which that they were bounden un-to me.
> Ye woot wel what I mene of this, pardee!
> As help me god, I laughe whan I thinke
> How pitously a-night I made hem swinke. . . . .
> What sholde I taken hede hem for to plese,
> But it were for my profit and myn ese?
> I sette hem so a-werke, by my fey,
> That many a night they songen "weilawey!"[3]

The Wife of Bath retorts upon her husband his objections to her fine array:

> Thou seyst also, *that if we make us gay*
> *With clothing and with precious array,*
> *That it is peril of our chastitee.*[4]

And almost the very words which the Wife puts into her husband's mouth are actually urged by Repertoire in his counsel to Franc Vouloir:

> Et se tu consens que leurs tresses
> A fil d'or soient galonnées
> *Et qu'elles soient ordonées*
> *De soye et de fins autres draps,*

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[1] Ll. 3,920–25.   For the parallel in the *Roman de la Rose*, see *Anglia*, XIV, 251.

. [2] 1 ,576–84.   [3] D. 198–202, 213–16.   [4] D. 337–39.

> Que feras tu?   Tu nourriras
> Le vice d'impudicité,
> *Qui destruira leur chasteté.*[1]

The Wife of Bath strenuously objects to her husband's oversight of her:

> What nedeth thee of me to enquere or spyën?
> I trowe, thou woldest loke me in thy cheste!
> Thou sholdest seye, "*wyf, go wher thee leste*,
> Tak your disport, I wol nat leve no talis;
> I knowe yow for a trewe wyf, dame Alis."
> We love no man that taketh keep or charge
> Wher that we goon, we wol ben at our large.[2]

It is exactly this permission to "ben at large" which *la mere* browbeats the husband into granting:

> Lors a congié d'aler en ville,
> Au marchié, au corps et aux nopces,
> Aux poys, aux feves et aux cosses,
> Au moustier, aux festes, aux champs;
> Or est aveuglés ly meschans:
> *Or va sa femme ou elle veult.*[3]

And the Wife's tirades in the *Miroir* when the privilege is abridged are no less vehement than those of the Wife of Bath herself:

> Se son marie la laidange . . . .
> . . . . que trop souvent va en ville,
> Elle respont: "Li cent et mille
> Dyables d'enfer y aient part!
> N'oseray je aler tempre et tart
> Sur ma mere et sur mon cousin?
> J'ay esté sur nostre voisin
> Dès huy main, qu'il m'envoya querre.
> Je sçay mainte femme qui erre
> Et demeure un jour tout entier," etc.[4]

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[1] Ll. 1,878–84.   Compare also Folie's remarks, ll. 8,672–91.

[2] D. 316–22.   [3] Ll. 3,520–25.

[4] Ll. 3,871, 3,878–85.   Or compare the following:

> . . . . "Li jours soit maudis
> Que je fus onques mariée!
> Lasse! je doy bien estre irée,
> Quant on a sur moy souspeçon
> Sanz cause!   Mieulx a un garçon
> Me vaulsist avoir esté femme!
> Mon propre mari me diffame,
> Qui ne me laist en compaignie
> Aler; nul temps ne m'esbanie,
> A feste ne vois n'a carole;
> Neis me deffent il la parole,
> Ne je n'ose aler au moustier!" etc. (ll. 1,706–17).

See also ll. 3,109–16.

" What wenestow," the Wife of Bath exclaims:

> What wenestow make an idiot of our dame?[1]

"Ta femme," *la mere* insists, in pointing out the results of a similar policy:

> Ta femme seroit comme beste.[2]

When we consider, then, the closeness with which certain of the most characteristic traits and tactics of the Wife of Bath have their counterparts in the propensities and the maneuvers of the Wife in the *Miroir;* when we add to this the fact that the Theophrastian paragraphs in the *Prologue* show distinct traces of the influence of the corresponding passages in the *Miroir;* and when, finally, we take into account the striking use of the *Miroir* in the *Merchant's Tale,* it seems impossible to doubt that Chaucer was indebted to Deschamps for a number of the salient features of his conception of the Wife of Bath.[3]

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[1] D. 311.

[2] L. 3,225. Another of Chaucer's phrases occurs *verbatim* in one of the rubrics of the *Miroir.* The Wife of Bath, in speaking of her walk in the fields (cf. *Miroir*, l. 3,523, p. 38 above: "aux champs") remarks:

> I hadde the better leyser for to pleye,
> *And for to see, and eek for to be seye*
> Of lusty folk   (D. 551–53).

Chap. xlii of the *Miroir* points out "comment aler aux festes et aux places communes fut introduit pour traictier d'amours, et encore le fait l'on a present." And the rubric of chap. xliii is as follows: "Comment femmes procurent aler aux pardons, non pas pour devocion qu'elles aient, mais *pour veoir et estre veues.*" The line in question is also in the *Roman de la Rose* (see Koeppel, *Anglia*, XIV, 254; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 304), and harks back ultimately to Ovid, *Ars Amat.*, i. 99. And ll. 555 ff. of the *Prologue* are clearly reminiscent of the *Roman de la Rose* (see Skeat, as above). But the whole context of the reference in the *Miroir* (see especially chap. xlii) is in striking accord with that in Chaucer.

[3] There is one point in the description of the Wife of Bath in the *General Prologue* which raises the question whether it too may not be due to the influence of the *Miroir*. I refer to the Wife's attitude toward precedence at the offering (A. 449–52). Professor Kittredge (who, it should be said, makes no suggestion that Chaucer was influenced by Deschamps, but merely points out that the passage in the *Miroir* illustrates the *Prologue*) has called attention in the April number of this journal (VII, 475) to a passage in the *Miroir* (ll. 3,262–91; compare the whole chapter) which was in my own manuscript before I was aware of his note. This account of the etiquette of the offering is one of the most spirited bits of *genre* painting in the poem, and should be supplemented by a reading of the no less lively rehearsal (in the following chap., xxxvi) of the similar amenities practiced by the Wife's townswomen at the reception of the Eucharist, and on leaving the church (compare also VIII, 156–57, No. 1,462: "De ceuls qui refusent la paix au moustier," and especially *Miroir*, ll. 9,165–95, 9,283–321, where the theme of the offering reappears; add further the amusing "Assaut de politesse" of *balade* No. 1,031, V, 305; and compare the similar scene in Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, Act II, sc. iv). Now it is from the opening of chap. xxxv that the Wife of Bath seems to have drawn her figure of the singed cat (see above, p. 34), and the question at once arises whether the detail of the offering in the *General Pro-*

IV

The influence of the *Miroir de Mariage* upon the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* is, as we have seen, considerable, both in its extent and in its character. In less thoroughgoing fashion, but still unmistakably, the same influence appears in three other passages in Chaucer's work, in two of which it is again definitely linked with the epistle of St. Jerome.

logue was not suggested by the *Miroir* too. It is a tempting hypothesis; but there are difficulties in the way. The Wife of Bath's frank displeasure ("certayn, so wroth was she That she was out of alle charitee") is exactly the opposite of the elaborately courteous (if none the less delicately feline) amenities of the ladies in the *Miroir*, and much more in keeping with the attitude of the Host's wife under similar circumstances (B. 3,091–103). The whole *tone* of the account of the Wife in the *General Prologue*, indeed, seems to be different from that of the Wife's *Prologue* (see also Tatlock, 209–10) and of the *Miroir* alike. The Wife in the *Miroir*, for example, like the Wife of Bath, goes on pilgrimages, but they are undertaken specifically to hoodwink her husband (see especially *Miroir*, ll. 3,500–509, 3,726–31), and obviously do not afford the suggestion for the account in the *General Prologue*. In a word, it is hard to imagine that Chaucer could have written that account just as he has, *after* he had read the *Miroir*.

There is, however, another factor in the problem which renders it peculiarly perplexing. It seems (at first sight) as if the detail in the *General Prologue* might readily enough have had another source. For it appears in the *Parson's Tale* (§ 25, 405), as one of the signs of the "privee spece of Pryde" there rehearsed: "And eek he waiteth or desyreth to sitte, *or elles to goon above him in the wey, or kisse pax*, or been encensed, *or goon to offring biforn his neighebore*, and swiche semblable thinges." But just this passage is itself suspicious. For it will be noticed at once that the going above in the way and the precedence in kissing the pax are precisely the two points which (together with the exit from the church) are associated with precedence at the offering in the *Miroir*:

> Or recouvient laissier a destre
> Le chemin *et aler le hault*
> *Aux plus grans;* et celle qui fault
> Ou qui de soy prant le desseure,
> De toutes sera couru seure,
> En lui disant: "'Prenez le bas." . . . .
> Et quant vient *a la paix livrer,*
> L'une la prant, l'autre la saiche . . . .
> —Dame, prenez, saincte Marie,
> Portez la paix a la baillie.
> —Non, mais a la gouvernesse. . . . .
> Et certes honnie seroit
> Celle qui celle paix prandroit
> Au premier coup sanz refuser,
> Et en verriez femme ruser,
> Et l'estrangler trestoute vive:
> "Resgardez la meschant chetive,
> Qui n'a pas vaillant une drame,
> Et a prins devant celle dame
> La paix et celle damoiselle:
> Il n'appartenoit point a elle"

<div align="right">(ll. 3,376–81, 3,292–93, 3,305–7, 3,311–20).</div>

Furthermore, this particular section of the *Parson's Tale* has nothing corresponding to it either in Lorens (Petersen, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, 36, n. 4; *Essays in Chaucer*, Part V, 515) or—we may infer from Miss Petersen's silence—in Raymund or Peraldus. We are forced to inquire, therefore, whether the paragraph in the *Parson's Tale* may not itself be merely another borrowing from the *Miroir*. I have no present access, unfortunately, to a sufficient number of mediaeval treatises upon the seven deadly sins to reach a definite conclusion. If these particular outward and visible signs of pride are peculiar (among such treatises) to the *Parson's Tale*, it is possible, if not even probable,

In the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women* occurs the well-known passage,[1] peculiar to A, in which the God of Love takes Chaucer to task for his failure to make the proper use of his own books—a passage which rests, of course, in large measure, upon "Jerome ageyns Jovinian."[2]   But it has striking correspondences with an interesting section of the *Miroir de Mariage* as well.   It will be remembered that Proserpine's defense of women (which is linked with her censure of Solomon)[3] calls to witness both the Christian martyrs and the examples of constancy commemorated in the "Romayn gestes."   And it will further be recalled that this defense gives evidence of the influence of just that portion of the *Miroir* which had already been laid under contribution in the accounts of Judith and Esther.[4]   Now in the midst of this very same passage in Deschamps occurs a protest against the traducing of women which closely parallels the similar protest of the God of Love:

> Why noldest thou as wel han seyd goodnesse
> Of wemen, as thou hast seyd wikkednesse?[5]
>> Doit on donc femmes desprisier?
>> Nenil, mais les doit on prisier. . . . .
>> Bien doit estre villains tenuz
>> Qui escript ne dit de sa bouche
>> Laidure de femme ou reprouche.[6]

And within a dozen lines the parallel becomes a *verbal* one:

Of sundry wemen, which lyf that they ladde,
And ever an hundred gode ageyn oon badde.[7]

Car j'oseray gaigier et mettre
Que pour une qu'om treuve en lettre
Qui a mal fait, j'en trouveray
Mille bonnes.[8]

that Chaucer has introduced them from Deschamps.   And in that case, the probability that the detail in the *General Prologue* has a different source is lessened by just so much.

But on the other hand, again, the date (1387–88) of the *General Prologue* (see Tatlock, 142–50) is almost certainly too early to admit of the influence of the *Miroir*, unless we assume that the account of the Wife was a later addition to the *General Prologue*, made at the time when her own *Prologue* was planned.   Miss Hammond (*Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, 256; cf. 254–57) seems to take this view of the relation between the portrait and the autobiography, and there is certainly something to be said in its behalf.   But Miss Hammond herself suggests it only tentatively, and it needs further support from facts.

On the whole, the evidence for any influence of the *Miroir* on the account of the Wife of Bath in the *General Prologue* is so far inconclusive.

[1] A. 268–312.

[2] Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 302–3; ten Brink, *Englische Studien*, XVII, 15–16; Koeppel, *Anglia*, XIII, 174–75; etc.

[3] E. 2,277–85.   [4] See above, pp. 20–21.   [5] A. 268–69.

[6] Ll. 9,081–82, 9,084–86.   [7] A. 276–77.   [8] Ll. 9,097–100; see below, p. 43.

Moreover, the God of Love's insistence on the wealth of material at hand finds its counterpart at the close of the list of *exempla* which the *Miroir* gives:

> J'ay de leurs bontez mille exemples,
> Voire par Dieu plaines mes temples,
> Pour faire et escripre un grant livre.[1]

And the upshot of Cupid's argument is precisely the conclusion of Deschamps:

These olde wemen kepte so hir name,	Et encores, pour le voir dire,
That in this world I trow men shal not finde	Trueve femmes en leur martire
	Avoir esté cent mille tans
A man that coude be so trewe and kinde,	Plus devotes et plus constans
As was the leste woman in that tyde.[2]	Assez que les hommes ne furent.[3]

When we consider, accordingly, that the parallels (which are both general and verbal) between the A-version of the *Prologue* and the *Miroir de Mariage* are with precisely that portion of the *Miroir* which is drawn upon by Chaucer in a notably similar connection (as well as elsewhere) in the *Merchant's Tale*, and when we recall that in both these passages in Chaucer the parallels with the *Miroir* are closely linked with the Epistle of Jerome against Jovinian, the evidence becomes cumulative in its character. And the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women*, it would seem, must be added to the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* in the account of Chaucer's indebtedness to the *Miroir de Mariage* of Deschamps.

But even that does not seem quite to close the reckoning. The relation between the God of Love's observations and the Complaint of Dorigen in the *Franklin's Tale*[4] has frequently been pointed out.[5] The Complaint, in a word, rehearses *in extenso* what the God of Love contents himself with merely summing up—namely, the six chapters[6] in St. Jerome immediately preceding the extract from Theophrastus. But the two passages correspond in another respect as well. For when Chaucer rehearses in Dorigen's Complaint the chapters of Jerome which he summarizes in the A-*Prologue*, he also recalls the

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[1] Ll. 9,153-55.   [2] A. 301-04.   [3] Ll. 9,063-67.
[4] F. 1,355-456.
[5] See especially ten Brink, *Eng. Stud.*, XVII, 15-16.
[6] Chaps. xli-xlvi.

other source from which, as we have now seen, that summary is
drawn.   For Dorigen's

> *Mo than a thousand stories,* as I guesse,
> Coude I now telle as touchinge this matere,[1]

is Deschamps's

> *J'ay de leurs bontez mille exemples,*[2]

which closes the very list of *exempla* that Chaucer makes use of in
the passage in the A-*Prologue*—as he also employs it in the *Mer-
chant's Tale.*[3]   For the *fourth* time, accordingly, "Jerome ageyns
Jovinian" and the *Miroir de Mariage* appear together.

But we are not yet quite at the end of the list.   Both Proserpine
and the God of Love take occasion to set good women sharply over
against bad.   And both in doing so draw directly on the *Miroir
de Mariage.*   Now in the *Miller's Prologue* the Miller likewise expresses
himself on the subject of good wives and bad.   And he uses with
even greater literalness than the God of Love himself the phraseology
of Deschamps:

> Ther been ful gode wyves many oon,
> *And ever a thousand gode ayeyns oon badde,*
> That knowestow wel thy-self, but-if thou madde.[4]

> Car j'oseray gaigier et mettre
> *Que pour une qu'om treuve en lettre*
> *Qui a mal fait, j'en trouveray*
> *Mille bonnes.*[5]

Moreover, it is clear that either the *Miller's Prologue* is reminiscent
of the A-*Prologue,* or vice versa.   For the Miller's "That knowestow

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[1] F. 1,412–13.   [2] *Miroir,* l. 9,153.

[3] See above, pp. 19–20.   There is one particularly striking parallel, it should be
noted, between the *Franklin's Tale* and the *Merchant's Tale:*

> Preyinge our lord to granten him, that he
> Mighte ones knowe of thilke blisful lyf
> That is bitwixe an housbond and his wyf (E. 1,259–61);
> Who coude telle, but he had wedded be,
> The joye, the ese, and the prosperitee
> That is bitwixe an housbonde and his wyf?
> A yeer and more lasted *this blisful lyf* (F. 803–6).

With F. 803 compare also E. 1,340–41:

> The blisse which that is bitwixe hem tweye
> Ther may no tonge telle—

and with F. 802 compare E. 1,273.   The fact that the lines in the *Merchant's Tale* form
an essential part of the opening statement of its very theme, whereas in the *Franklin's
Tale* they are wholly incidental, may have some bearing on the relative dates of the
two *Tales.*   But that is a matter I do not care at this point to pursue.

[4] A. 3,154–56.   The last two lines are in E. Cm. HL. only.   See *Six Text,* 90; *Oxford
Chaucer,* IV, 90.

[5] *Miroir,* ll. 9,097–100.

wel thy-self" and Cupid's "This knoweth god, and alle clerkes eek" have no parallel in the *Miroir*. The exact agreement between the Miller's "*thousand* gode" and Deschamps's "*mille* bonnes" (as against Cupid's "*hundred* gode") seems at first blush to point to the priority of the Miller's words. On the other hand, "This knoweth god, and alle clerkes eek" bears every mark of being the original which the Miller's more commonplace line recalls. And this inference gains weight when we observe that the Reeve's words which evoke the Miller's retort are themselves reminiscent of the God of Love's much more explicit statement of the case:

> It is a sinne and eek a greet folye
> To apeiren any man, or him diffame,
> And eek to bringen wyves in swich fame.
> Thou mayst y-nogh of othere thinges seyn.[1]

Compare:

> Why noldest thou as wel han seyd goodnesse
> Of wemen, as thou hast seyd wikkednesse?
> Was ther no good matere in thy minde?[2]

It seems safe to conclude, then, that in the *Miller's Prologue* Chaucer recalled the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend*,[3] and with it (and even more definitely) the phraseology of the *Miroir de Mariage* itself.[4]

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[1] A. 3,146–49.   [2] A-*Prol.* 267–69.

[3] The presence of the two lines of the *Miller's Prologue* (A. 3,155–56) in E. Cm. HL. only, gives some ground for believing that their insertion may have been an afterthought.

[4] There is a passage in the *Miller's Tale* which is also of uncommon interest. The two lines A. 3,381–82 have caused the scribes (and the commentators too) some perplexity:

> For som folk wol ben wonnen for richesse,
> And som for strokes, and som for gentilesse.

Professor Skeat's note reads as follows: "A sidenote, in several MSS, says: 'Unde Ouidius: Ictibus agrestis.' But the quotation is not from Ovid" (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 104). The couplet, however, is obviously an adaptation of the sentence of Theophrastus which Chaucer puts also into the mouth of the Wife of Bath: "Alius forma, alius ingenio, alius facetiis, alius liberalitate sollicitat" (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, col. 277):

> Thou seyst, som folk desyre us for richesse,
> Som for our shap, and som for our fairnesse;
> And som, for she can outher singe or daunce,
> And som, for gentillesse and daliaunce
>   (D. 257–60; see above, pp. 31–32).

Moreover, there are decided indications that in the Miller's lines Chaucer once again recalled not only Theophrastus, but the *Miroir* too. For Deschamps, as we have already seen (p. 31, above), *amplified* this very sentence of Theophrastus into a list of the means by which another man's wife is wooed—"soit en moustier, soit . . . . en son hostel" (ll. 1,639–40; compare A. 3,340–42, 3,348–51, 3,356). And the couplet in the *Miller's Tale* closes precisely such a summary, in Chaucer's most vivid and realistic vein, of the means by which Absolon conducts *his* wooing of the old carpenter's "yonge wyf." The two passages (A. 3,371–80 and *Miroir*, ll. 1,635–55) should be read in full.

V

If the conclusions that have thus far been reached are sound, they raise, it is obvious, a number of interesting questions. And first among these, perhaps, is one which will doubtless suggest itself to everyone: May the *Miroir de Mariage* have been among the *euvres d'escolier* which Deschamps sent to Chaucer by the hand of Clifford, together with the courtly compliment of the *balade?*

The probable date of Clifford's embassy I have elsewhere discussed in detail,[1] and have shown that it cannot well have come about before the early part of 1386. If the *Miroir de Mariage* were under way much before 1385,[2] at least its opening sections may, of course, have been available for transmission in 1386. And it would be rash indeed categorically to assert that they were not so sent. But there is, nevertheless, at least one consideration which strongly points the other way. Chaucer draws, as we have seen,[3] both in the *Merchant's Tale* and in the A-*Prologue* to the *Legend* (to say nothing of the *Miller's Prologue* and the *Franklin's Tale*) upon the *later* portion of the *Miroir*. Now Raynaud's ground for assigning the latter part of the poem to a date after 1385 is conclusive.[4] It is extremely doubtful, therefore, whether the first nine thousand and odd lines of the *Miroir* were ready to be sent across the Channel in the early spring of 1386.[5] That occasion, however, by no means exhausts the possibilities.

That there were later opportunities for communication through Clifford (not to speak of other means) between Deschamps and Chaucer I have also had occasion elsewhere to point out.[6] Clifford jousted in the tournament of Saint Inglevert, March 21, 1389–90; in the Barbary expedition of the same year he was closely associated with the circle of Deschamps's acquaintances; and his mission to Paris in 1391 may, of course, have afforded further opportunities

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[1] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 755–71.

[2] See above, p. 1, however, where I have shown that Raynaud's suggestion that the poem was under way in 1381 rests on doubtful grounds.

[3] Pp. 17 ff., 41 ff., above.   [4] XI, 198.

[5] It may be questioned, too, whether Deschamps in any case would have referred to the *Miroir* as one of his "euvres d'escolier"—even granting that his term is one of merely conventional depreciation.

[6] See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 769 for fuller references. And compare throughout Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I, 1 ff., *passim.*

for meeting with Deschamps.   On none of these occasions, however,
have we any evidence that such a meeting actually took place.
There is, on the other hand, documentary attestation of the fact
that Deschamps and Clifford *were* together early in 1393.   For
Clifford was one of the commissioners sent that year to negotiate
for peace with France;[1] and the Epilogue to Deschamps's *Com-
plaint de l'Eglise* reads as follows: "Ceste epistre fist et compila
Eustace des Champs, dit Morel, *au traictié de la paix des .ii. rois de
France et d'Angleterre, estans pour lors a Lolinghem*, et la mist de
Latin en François au commandement de Monseigneur de Bour-
gongne."[2]   The epistle is dated "le .xiiie. jour du moys d'Avril
après Pasques, l'an de grace Nostre Seigneur mil .ccc. iiii[xx]. et treize."[3]
There is, accordingly, incontrovertible evidence of a meeting between
Deschamps and Clifford in the early spring of 1393.

But did the negotiations in Picardy afford an opportunity for the
Miroir de Mariage to come into Chaucer's hands?   We are dealing
here, of course, with inferences, and are, accordingly, on somewhat
less firm ground.   But certain things we may conclude with some
assurance regarding this meeting in the spring of 1393.   For one
thing, it will be granted (I imagine) without argument that a renewal
of the acquaintance between Deschamps and Clifford would carry
with it a recurrence to what was certainly, on the previous occasion,
a matter of keen interest to Deschamps.   And the news which
Clifford could (without doubt) convey to him of Chaucer's activities
would be calculated not only to stir anew the earlier interest, but
also (one may guess) to pique to a certain emulation.   Moreover,
life during the negotiations was not ascetic, as the *balade* "Sur l'ordre
de la Baboue,"[4] written at this time,[5] gives ample evidence.   And
"l'amoureux Cliffort" of the earlier *balade*[6] would certainly renew
old friendships and associations.   Furthermore, there happens to
be a very specific reason why the theme of the *Miroir de Mariage*

[1] For his commission (dated February 22, 1392–93) see Rymer, VII, 738–39.   The
names of his fellow commissioners are given also by Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I,
12, n. 2.

[2] VII, 311.   [3] *Ibid.*

[4] V, 13, No. 927.   See Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 346–47, for an account of
the entertainment of the envoys the year before.

[5] See XI, 68.

[6] III, 375, No. 536.   For its date between 1386 and 1392 see Kittredge, *Modern
Philology*, I, 7, n. 3.

(and probably the poem itself) would be particularly fresh in Deschamps's mind at just this time. Less than a week after he dated his *Complaint de l'Eglise* Deschamps received (on April 18) from the Duke of Orleans the sum of four hundred francs in gold "pour 'accroissement de mariage de sa fille.'"[1] And the approaching marriage of his daughter inspired a group of poems[2] quite in the vein of the *Miroir* itself. To Clifford especially, indeed, with whose name a *balade* on this very theme of marriage had already been intimately associated,[3] the longer poem would be a matter of undoubted interest. Moreover, there is evidence, curiously enough, that just this occasion *did* actually constitute a sort of poetical exchange. For it was during those same negotiations that Froissart received from the Duke of Orleans twenty francs in gold for his *Dit royal;* and it is possible that the volume of *Méliador,* "couvert de velours vert," which later belonged to the library of Charles d'Orleans, was purchased on the same occasion.[4] It is, indeed, not impossible that Deschamps, whose fortunes were at rather a low ebb,[5] may, like Froissart, have availed himself of the presence of an interested *connoisseur* to accept an order for an exemplar of the *Miroir.* And finally, the fact that there seems to be no evidence of the publication of the *Miroir* during Deschamps's lifetime points strongly to some *private* channel as the means by which it reached England. In a word, it is quite clear that the negotiations of 1393 afforded, in one way or another, the amplest opportunity for the *Miroir de Mariage* to come into Chaucer's hands.

Let us turn, now, to the poems which are indebted to the *Miroir,* and see if any further light is thrown upon our problem. There are (as we have seen) three poems in which the *Miroir de Mariage* and the epistle of St. Jerome are intimately linked[6]—the *Wife of Bath's Prologue,* the *Merchant's Tale,* and the A-version of the *Pro-*

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[1] XI, 68. It is not without interest to observe, for its parallel with certain of Chaucer's experiences, that this grant remained unpaid on August 6, 1396! See XI, 68, n. 5.

[2] Nos. 1,004, 1,149, 1,150, 1,234, 1,407; see XI, 71.

[3] No. 536: "Faut-il éspouser une femme jeune et belle?"

[4] XI, 68; Longnon, *Méliador,* I, xlvii–ix. It was in this same month of April at Boulogne that the duke of Burgundy gave the duke of Lancaster some tapestry hangings portraying the history of Clovis. See Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt,* 349, n. 1.

[5] See especially XI, 71–72.

[6] I pass over, for the moment, the *Franklin's Tale* (in which Jerome's epistle also figures largely) and the *Miller's Prologue.*

logue to the *Legend of Good Women*. And the *relative* dates of two
of the three are fixed beyond possible doubt. For the *Wife of Bath's
Prologue* is explicitly mentioned in the *Merchant's Tale*, and must
necessarily have preceded it.[1] But Tatlock has recently shown[2] that
there is some reason for believing that the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*
also preceded the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend*. To the
considerations there adduced may be added a bit of evidence which
is much more nearly conclusive. The Wife of Bath, it will be
remembered, in pointing out why "no womman of no clerk is preysed,"
goes on to declare that

> The clerk, whan he is old, and may noght do
> Of Venus werkes worth his olde sho,
> Than sit he doun, and writ in his dotage
> That wommen can nat kepe hir mariage![3]

In the A-*Prologue* the God of Love insists, in one of the well-known
passages peculiar to that version:

> Wel wot I ther-by thou beginnest dote
> As olde foles, whan hir spirit fayleth;
> Than blame they folk, and wite nat what hem ayleth.[4]

It can scarcely be doubted that the one passage has suggested the
other. But the lines of the Wife are part and parcel of a closely
coherent argument, whereas the words of Cupid bear all the ear-
marks of an afterthought. There is, therefore, good ground for the
conclusion that the God of Love is echoing the Wife of Bath, and
that the Wife's *Prologue*, accordingly, antedates the A-*Prologue* to
the *Legend*.[5]

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[1] See Tatlock, 204; and compare 201–5 for other evidence that the *Wife of Bath's
Prologue* and the *Merchant's Tale* were written close together.

[2] P. 212.   [3] D. 707–10.   [4] A. 261–63.

[5] The bearing of all this on the relative dates of the two versions of the *Prologue*
to the *Legend* is obvious. For no one, I think, will be likely to suggest that the *first* draft
of the *Prologue* belongs to the period of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*. On the other hand,
the way in which the A-*Prologue* is now seen to be bound up at point after point with the
maturer *Canterbury Tales* accords perfectly with the other indications (*quite independently
of the Eltham-Shene couplet*) of a late date for A (see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 782–
801). I hope to consider this more fully another time, in connection with a restatement,
in the light of additional new evidence, of the case for the priority of B. But it is
perhaps not out of place to ask at this point whether the renewal of relations with
Deschamps may not have played its part in Chaucer's return to the earlier poem, which
Deschamps, as one of the "lovers that can make of sentement," had done so much to
inspire? Curiously enough, there is evidence that Deschamps's laudatory *balade*, at
all events, was in Chaucer's mind while he was busied with the group of tales before
us. For I have already pointed out (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 641, n. 3) that
Chaucer seems to have drawn upon its characterization of himself, when he put into the
Clerk's mouth the famous eulogy upon Petrarch.

But the omission from the A-version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend* of the couplet in which the name of the Queen is linked with Eltham and Shene points definitely to a date for that version at some time (probably soon rather than long) after June 7, 1394, the day of the Queen's death.[1] That, in turn (since it is reasonable to suppose that the three poems which draw most freely upon the *Miroir* were written at no great intervals from one another) suggests for the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* a date either early in 1394 or at some time in 1393. And that, it will be seen, accords entirely with the probable date at which we have arrived on other grounds for the transmission to England of the *Miroir* itself. And finally, the *Merchant's Tale*— since there is good reason to believe that it rather closely followed

[1] See my discussion of the evidence for this in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 780–82; cf. 783–801. Miss Hammond (*Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, 261, n. 1) remarks that she "does not as yet find proof of the destruction of Sheen"; and she has also kindly called my attention to the fact that references to Sheen are found in the *Chronicles of London* at a date *after* that of the supposed destruction of the manor house. There can be no doubt about the bearing of the references. They are found in Kingsford, *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), 145 (1439), 175 (1461), 197 (1491), 213 (1497), 222 (1497), 233 (1500). Not all of these apply to the manor house, but some of them certainly do— especially the second under date of 1497 (Vitellius A. XVI, 171v°): "This yere the kyng kept his Cristmasse at his manoir of Shene; wher, upon Seynt Thomas day at nyght in the Cristmasse weke abowte nyne of the clok, began A grete ffyre wᵗin the kynges logyng, and so contenued unto xij of the nyght and more; by violence where of moche and great part of the olde byldyng was brent," etc., (p. 222). F. 182v° (p. 233) contains an account of the rebuilding of the manor, and of the change of its name to Rich mount. But there can, on the other hand, be no reasonable doubt that Richard gave the command for the destruction (or dismantling) of the manor. Miss Hammond herself refers to Froissart's mention of it, and it appears also in the continuation of Higden in Harl. 2261: "Anne qwene of Ynglonde dyede in this yere [1394] at Schene, Þe viiᵗʰᵉ day of Þe monethe of Junius, on the day of Pentecoste; the dethe of whom the kynge sorowede insomoche that he causede the maner there to be pullede doune, and wolde not comme in eny place by oon yere folowynge where sche had be, the churche excepte" (Higden's *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, VIII, 497. On Harl. 2261 see I, lxix). Sheen does not appear in the itinerary of Henry IV from 1399 to 1413 (Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, IV, 287–302), and Wylie remarks, with reference to the building by Henry V of the great religious houses on his manor at Shene, that "the palace [at Sheen] had been abandoned since the death of Queen Anne in 1394" (II, 352). It seems, accordingly, quite clear that some such order as that to which reference is made in Froissart, Harl. 2261, and Stow was given; it seems equally clear that it was not (at least fully) carried out. But the essential point is not that the manor was or was not actually destroyed; *it is the fact of the King's aversion to it*, after the Queen's death. And of that there seems to be no doubt. *The motive for the excision of the couplet which mentions Sheen in connection with the Queen's name* accordingly remains untouched, whatever may have been the actual fate of the manor itself. [See below, p. 52, n. 2.]

Miss Hammond also suggests (p. 261) that the omission of the couplet may have been "the alteration of a scribe writing at a time when England had no queen—1400– 1403—who deleted the couplet as an impossibility." This, of course, may have been the case; it can be neither proved nor disproved. Were the couplet the only point at which A differed from B, the suggestion would carry weight. But since the deletion of the couplet is only one of a great number of changes, the rest of which are admittedly Chaucer's own, the burden of probability is overwhelmingly on the side of Chaucer's agency in this change too.

the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*[1]—may be safely assigned to a date not
far from the same period.[2]

The results which we have thus far reached, accordingly, are these.
A portion of the *Miroir* near that section of the poem which was
certainly written after 1385 (and possibly in the neighborhood of
1389) appears in a version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend* which on
independent grounds may be assigned to 1394, or soon thereafter.
And in 1393 occurred a combination of circumstances which offered
a noteworthy opportunity for the *Miroir* to pass across the Channel.
The facts involved, in other words, hang very strikingly together.
And the dates thus arrived at for the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* and the
Merchant's Tale accord with those which have been earlier reached[3]
on other and quite independent grounds. We seem, therefore,
at one point at least, to have gained a reasonably secure footing in
the chronological quicksands of the *Canterbury Tales*.

And from it, it is tempting to venture a step or two farther. For
there is evidence of some interest which bears on the *relative* dates
of the other *Canterbury Tales* affected by the *Miroir*. Such a dis-
cussion, however, is beyond the scope of the present paper. And
after all it is second in importance to the clearer light which is thrown,
by Chaucer's use of the *Miroir*, upon the close and intimate inter-
relations of the Marriage Group as a whole.[4] For whatever the
order within the group, the common relation of its members to the
Miroir de Mariage affords conclusive evidence of what has long been

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[1] See above, p. 48, n. 1.

[2] This harmonizes in general with Tatlock's independent conclusion "that the
Merchant's Tale was written shortly after *Melibeus*, very probably not later than 1394"
(217). If, however, Tatlock is right (as he seems to be) in his suggestion (212-17) that
Melibeus comes *between* the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* and the *Merchant's Tale*, it may
well be (in the light of what we now know) that the latter poem will have to be assigned
to a period at least a few months later still.

[3] Tatlock, 209-17.

[4] Even the verbal parallels which have been cited between the different tales are not
(it should be noticed) mere cases of stock phrases on which Chaucer's mind once started
automatically goes off at score. They represent "the use of similar material in a similar
way" (see Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, 252-54, 263-64, for a dis-
cussion of the use as evidence of Chaucer's tendency to repeat himself). And they can
scarcely be accounted for except by supposing that within a relatively limited period
Chaucer was keenly and actively interested in the treatment of various aspects of the
same general theme—the behavior of men and women "under the yok of mariage
y-bounde"—and that as similar situations arose, phrases already used recurred to him.
Note the striking parallels between Proserpine's, Cupid's, and the Miller's remarks
about good women and bad; between the relations of January and May, the old car-
penter and his young wife, the Wife of Bath and her old husbands; etc.

regarded as probable on other grounds[1]—the fact, namely, that the various tales which deal specifically with marriage belong to the same general period.[2] And that period, there is good reason to believe, began in 1393.[3]

Chronology, however, is not entitled to the closing word. There are further considerations—notably the bearing of all this upon Chaucer's narrative art—which demand attention, but which I wish to reserve for fuller treatment in other studies already under way. One point, however, demands brief preliminary mention here. It is clear not only that the contribution of Deschamps to Chaucer was incomparably greater than has hitherto been thought,[4] but also that the influence of *France* persisted in ways that have not yet received due recognition. The formative agency of Italy is not for a moment to be minimized; it was in Boccaccio that Chaucer found himself. But the influences from across the Channel never ceased;

[1] See Tatlock, 198–219. And compare Miss Hammond's recent suggestions regarding the Miller-Reeve group and the Marriage Group, *Chaucer*, 254–57.

[2] With this group must also be included the *Clerk's Tale*, at least in part. I do not wish to discuss here the lateness or earliness of the *Tale* as a whole. The *close* of it, including the Envoy, is of course later than the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*. What I particularly wish to point out is that in the last stanza of the Envoy Chaucer reverts again to Theophrastus:

> If thou be fair, ther folk ben in presence
> Shew thou thy visage and thyn apparaille;
> If thou be foul, be free of thy dispence,
> To gete thee freendes ay do thy travaille (E. 1,207–10).

Compare D. 253–56, 265–70, and see pp. 31–32 above. Moreover, ll. 932–38 (one of Chaucer's own stanzas) recur to the Wife's remarks on clerks and women (D. 706–7; see p. 48 above), as well as to Cupid's contrast between women's constancy and that of men (A-*Prologue*, 301–4; see p. 42 above):

> Men speke of Job and most for his humblesse,
> As clerkes, whan hem list, can wel endyte,
> Namely of men, but as in soothfastnesse,
> Thogh clerkes preyse wommen but a lyte,
> There can no man in humblesse him acquyte
> As wommen can, ne can ben half so trewe
> As wommen been, but it be falle of-newe (E. 932–38).

The *Manciple's Tale*, with its echo of Theophrastus (H. 148–54) and its large use of Albertano (see Koeppel, in *Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXVI, 44–46) should doubtless also be included in the group.

[3] On its *terminus ad quem* the *Envoy to Bukton* may possibly throw some light. At all events, the theme was still in Chaucer's mind (and probably as a *literary* interest; see Kittredge, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 14–15, on the conventional character of the poem) when the *Envoy* was written. With the *Envoy* compare *Miroir*, ll. 810–17:

> Bien sont gens mariez honnis,
> S'ilz ont tel dangier comme ilz dient,
> Et quant je voy que pas n'en rient,
> Mais dient que, leurs femmes mortes,
> Ne passeront jamais telz portes,
> Il me semble selon leurs diz
> Ce n'est repos ne paradis,
> Mais droiz enfers de tel riote.

[4] See especially Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I, 1–8; Lowes, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 613–15, 635–41; XX, 761–71; *Mod. Lang. Review*, V, 38–39. There is evidence of still further indebtedness to Deschamps, which I hope soon to give.

they merely changed their form. Guillaume de Lorris gave place to Jean de Meun; Machaut[1] was succeeded by Deschamps and the *fabliaux*. And the change is one of great significance. For with the problem of chronology (be it said again) is bound up closely the weightier matter of the development of Chaucer's art. And interesting light is thrown upon that by this new source affecting an important group among the *Canterbury Tales*.[2]

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[1] See especially Professor Kittredge's recent contribution to our further knowledge of the influence of Machaut, *Modern Philology*, VII, 465–74.

[2] I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for an important addition, received after this article was in the printer's hands, to the evidence already given (p. 49, n. 1, above), bearing on the destruction (or the *order* for the destruction) of Shene. In the Chronicle of Adam of Usk appears the following entry: "Anno Domini millesimo CCC^{mo} nonogesimo quarto, in festo Pentecostes, moriebatur illa benignissima domina, Anna, Anglie regina, in manerio de Schene juxta Braynfort super Thamesiam situato. Quod manerium, licet regale et pulcherimum, occasione ipsius domine Anne mortis in eodem contingentis, rex Ricardus funditus mandavit et fecit extirpari [exturpari. MS.]" (*Chronicon Adae de Usk, A.D. 1377–1421*, ed. Sir Edw. Maunde Thompson, 2d ed., 1904, pp. 8–9).

That Adam of Usk, or Adam Usk, was a pretty good witness appears from the following facts. He speaks of his advanced age in 1402 ("usque ad senectam et senium," p. 74), and Thompson thinks he may have been born about 1352 (p. xi). He died in 1430. He was residing in Oxford, apparently as lecturer in canon law, in 1387. From 1392 to 1399 he seems to have practiced in the court of Canterbury. In 1397 he was present in Parliament. In 1399 he was presented by Archbishop Arundel (see below) with the living of Kemsing, with the chapel of Seal, in Kent. Philippa Mortimer, daughter of Edmund, Earl of March, was his patroness; she was also a patroness of Chaucer. Adam was of the Lancastrian party. He was at Bristol in 1399 with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the train of Henry IV, and accompanied that king in his march to Chester. He was a member of the Commission on the Deposition of Richard II. On September 21, 1399, he saw Richard in the Tower at dinner and listened to his talk, which he records.

Archbishop Arundel, who presented a living to Adam in 1399, and in whose company Usk was at Bristol in 1399 (see above), was in a position to know the circumstances attending the Queen's death. Almost the last entry in John Malverne, the continuator of Higden, is the following: "Septimo die Junii apud manerium de Shene obiit Anna regina Angliae et filia imperatoris, quam summo mane novo die Junii dominus Thomas de Arundell archiepiscopus Eboracensis et cancellarius Angliae in ecclesia sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis sepelivit" (Higden, Rolls Series, IX, 283).

The part of Adam's chronicle which contains the entry about the destruction of Shene is extant in a MS of the Polychronicon of Higden (Add. MS 10104), of which chronicle Adam's is a continuation. This MS belonged to Adam himself, and was bequeathed by him to his relative Edward of Usk. The text of Adam's chronicle is not in his own hand, however.

Adam (p. 124) also records Henry V's religious foundations near Shene in 1414 (see above, p. 49, n. 1): "Isto secundo regni sui anno, prope Schene super ripam Tamesii tres religiosas, unam Cartusie, secundam sancte Brigide, et tertiam sancti Celestini, incepit fundare domos." According to Thompson (p. 305, n. 4) these were "the house of Jesus of Bethlehem at West Shene (Richmond) for Carthusians; and the house of Mount Sion, or Sion House, at Twickenham, of the order of Saint Bridget," and perhaps "the hermitage which was within the monastery of Shene (*Monast. Anglic.*, vj, 29). Walsingham mentions the three foundations (ij. 300)."

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN *CHEVALERIE OGIER*

[*Concluded*]

Coment li mesaçer torna arrer.

1070   QUando li mesaço fo da .K. sevré,
        Via s'en vait por li çamin feré.
        D'un çorno e d'altro el fo tanto pené
        Q'ele pase oltra la mer salé;
        Ven à li rois o' el [l']oit trové.
1075   Braer le vi sì l'oit aderasné:
        'Mesaçer sire, vu sià ben trové!
        E li rois .K. ancora renoié?'
        'Oïl, fait il, el n'a mal volunté.
        El non vos dota una poma poré;
1080   Si pasà mer, el est aparilé:
        Bataila vos donerà à vestra volunté.
f. 70d]   Molto avila Macometo nos Dé,
        E sì le ten in molto gran vilté.'
        Quando Braer l'intende, sì ne fo coroçé;
1085   Adoncha apela ses dru e ses privé
        E cili rois de la soa poesté.
        Brevi e çarte manda por soa contré,
        Por paganie et avanti e aré.
        Avanti trois mois tant n'oit asenblé
1090   Qe conter no s'en poroit li cento e li milé;
        Plus de quatro cento mile seroit anonbré,
        A bone arme e à destrer seçorné;
        E sì le estoit .XXX. rois coroné.
        En nave entrent, en buçe et en galé:
1095   Tant naçarent por me' la mer salé
        Qe in Provençe furent arivé.
        Quando la novela fo à .K. porté,
        Molto ne fo dolant, saçés por verité;
        Qe voluntera seroit en pax repolsé.
1100   N. apella, li saço e li doté,
        E li conte .R. e Teris e Rayné,

Rubric, *melaçer.*
1075. *adelasné: l* changed to *r.*
1077. This verse occurs also above, after v. 1074, with *arenoié* for *renoié.*
1080. *su pasa.*

Bernardo de Clermont e Morando de Rivé.
'Segnur, fait il, qe conseil me doné?'
Dist .N.: 'Qe sià parilé;
1105 E sì mandà por la cresteneté
Por li baron, principi e casé,'
Qe à çeste ponto i' non soia esfraé;
E à Girardo au Frate, se vos li envoié,
S'el vos secor vu avì ben ovré.'
1110 Adoncha li rois non fo pais entardé:
El oit mandé por la cresteneté;
En Ongarie oit un breve envoié,
E par tot part e davant e daré.
E li rois Braer tant est avant alé
1115 Q'el fo à Paris la cité aprosmé.

Coment fu grande l'oste.

GRant fu l'oste de quelo mescreant.
En paganie darer e davant
Nen trovaroit un plu malvax Presant.
Braer oit nome tant sole mant
1120 Por q'elo braise tan forte e fere mant.
A le brair sì spaventa la çant
Q'elo li fa vinti e recreant:
Plu oit il força qe quatro altri conbatant.
Davant Paris son pavilon destant;
1125 Trençent qui' broli e li çardin ensemant:
Païn s'aloçe à miler e à çant.
K. le vi, par poi d'ire non fant;
E vi guaster ses poi e ses pendant.
O' vi dux .N. sì l'apela en oiant:
1130 'N., fait il, queste ovra è molto grant.
[f. 71a] Toti ne son gonbré le valé e li pendant:
Par un petit nen moro de maltalant.'
Atant ecote vos li bon conte Rolant;
O' vi li rois sì le dist en oiant:
1135 'Enperer sire, li conçé vos demant;
Lasés moi aler for de Paris al canp.
De vestra jent à moi donez tant
Qe li posa dare pena e tormant.'
Dist li rois: 'Ora en prendés tant

1117–18. Something is wrong here. Perhaps a verse such as v. 928 has been lost between these two.
    1129. E vi.

1140 Qe çivalçés à lor ardie mant.'
Dist Rolant: 'Vu parlez à esiant.'
Adoncha .R. cun saçes e valant
XX. mil prist de le plus conosant:
Ilec fo Oliver e Bernardo de Brusbant
1145 E le doçe conpagnon qe non furent enfant.
I' fa soner grailes e de bosine çant:
Frances s'adobe, Baiver e Alemant.
Là o' s'arme .R. à li cor franc,
Ilec fu .N., li saço e li valant,
1150 Et avec lui di çivaler çant.
Quando fo armé e monté en auferant,
K. li comande à cil onipotant
Qi naque de la Vergine là çoso en Beniant.
La porta fo averte e li ponte meso à li pendant:
1155 Fora s'en ese qui' çivaler valant;
Dever païn s'en va ardiemant.
Ça olderì bataile mervilose e grant.

Coment .Ro. çivalçe.

ROlando çivalçe c'oit cor de lion,
A .XX. mil de çivaler baron.
1160 Après lui fo Oliver, ses conpagnon,
Ive et Avolio, Belençer et Oton,
Astolfo de Lengne e li dux Salamon.
Por tel vertu ferì en qui' Sclavon
Qe i' abate tende e pavilon,
1165 E de' païn qe creent en Macon
Plus de .X. mil en çitò al'sablon.
Mais Sarasin, quando s'en aperçeon,
Corent ad armes, montent en aragon.
Çinquanta mile esmère[r] li poit l'on.
1170 Qi doncha veïst .R., li nevo .K.,
Cun Durendarda ferir qui' Sclavon!
Maleto quelo q'el çete al sablon,
Qi ma' querise merçé ni perdon!
Por me' li canpo vait le filz Milon
1175 Et avec lui Oliver, ses conpagnon:
A li colpi q'i' done no senblent garçon.
En me' la voie encontrò Baldon

1157. The first letter of this verse I cannot read. There can be no doubt, however, but that the scribe intended to write *ça*.

1164. *il abate: l* crossed out. The stroke is very light and perhaps accidental.

[f. 71b]   Qe estoit un rois del tré Carfaraon.
R. le vi, lasa so conpagnon,
1180   A lui s'en vait como fust un lion;
No l'apelò ne le dist sì ne non.
Elo ten Durendarda c'oit à or li pon;
Tel colpo li dona desor l'elmo reon
Ver Durendarda el no val un boton:
1185   Trença la cofia e tot li menton;
Elo l' porfende trosqua in le arçon:
Ganbe levée l'abatì al sablon,
E le çival s'en fuit, qe nen pisi o non.
Pain le vi, çascun torse li menton.
1190   Dist l'un à l'altro: 'El è morto, Baldon;
Meltre païn non ert en la Carfaraon.
Quest' è gran dolo se nu no l'avençon.'
De ver .R. se metent à speron;
Gran fo li stor quando i' s'asenblon:
1195   Doncha verisés li doçe conpagnon
Avec .R. ferir de tel randon
Arme non dura à li colpi q'i' don;
Doncha verisés Turchi e Sclavon
Caïr à tera roversi al sablon.
1200   Qui' Sarasin furent in gran fricon,
Quando vi le colpo c'avoit Baldon,
Qe cun Durendarda li dé li nevo .K.;
Ço fo .R., le filz del duc Milon:
Meltre çivaler atrover non poron.

        Coment fu grant quella bataille.

1205   GRande fo la bataile et aduré:
Qui' Sarasin furent desbaraté,
Quando Baldon virent sì mal bailé;
Trosqua à l'arçon le verent decopé
E de sa jent plu de l'un à mité.
1210   En fua torne ver l'oste l'amiré;
Grande fo li u, le gri e la ué.
Quant cil Braer oldì la nose uçer,
De mantenant el prist son corer,
Monta à çival cun tot ses çivaler;
1215   E non remist qe arme poüst bailer.
Adoncha oïsés tant graile soner,

1188. *non pisi.*
1215. *pousti: i* crossed out.

Tronbe e tanbor brair e grasloier:
Ideo tonast, nul hon poria oier.
Dever .R. se metent ad erer.

1220 Sì grande fo li stor tot quel jor enter
Ne vos poria nul hon ne dir ni conter.
Nen fust la soir qe partì li jor cler
La çente de .R. en fose focì arer;
Ma la soira li fé partir e sevrer.

1225 En Paris torne .R. et Oliver,
[f. 71c] Et avec lui tuti so' çivaler.
Bene en remis al canpo plu d'un miler
Qe mais non vide ne fio ni muler.
Da l'altra parte torna li rois Braer,

1230 E de li so li lasò plus de .X. miler,
Et un tel rois dont fo grant li danger:
Se li rois oit dolo non è da merveler;
S'el nol vença no se cuita priser.
Tota la noit se metent à polser,

1235 Tros la deman qe l'auba sì fo cler.
Braer se leve qe fo in gran penser
Como il posa li rois Baldon vençer.
A la deman, sença plus entarder,
Elo se fait son guarnimento porter:

1240 Veste l'aubers e calçò le ganber,
Alaça l'elmo, çinse li brando d'açer;
Fa se mener so corant destrer,
E cil li monte qe non bailì strever;
Un scu e una lançe el se fa aporter.

1245 O' vi sa jent, sì le pris apeler:
'Segnur, fait il, e' vos voio enproier,
E sì vos voio dire e comander:
Se me verés ad un homo çostrer,
Q'el no li sia nul altro parçoner,

1250 Non me diçà secorer ni aider;
Ma se verés la çent sormonter,
Adoncha me secorés à cento et à miler.'
E cil li dient: 'Ben est da otrier,
Ne vos estoit de ço de rendoter.'

1255 Elo s'en voit e lasa li parler;
De ver Paris se mis à çaminer.
Ça olderés qe fé ste malfer.

1217. *oit e grasloier.*
1218. *Adeo.*
1239. *ti* between *Elo* and *se:* crossed out.

Coment s'en vait le païn.

VA s'en Braer qi non a nul dotançe;
    De qui' de Paris non oit dubitançe:
1260   En sa proeça a metu sì sa sperançe
    Q'el non dota nul çivaler de Françe:
    Entra sa loi oit molto gran fiançe.
    En paganie tot les autres avançe
    De proeza et à scu et à lançe.
1265   Quant fo preso Paris, à brair el comançe
    Sì fort ment qe qui' qe non oit mal entançe
    Por quela vos sì n' oit al cor dotançe.

Coment vent à Paris.

QUando Braer fo à Paris aprosmé,
    Sì fera ment oit e brai e crié
1270   Qe l'intent qui' dentro da la cité.
    Ad alta vos el oit uçé;
    'K. de Françe, qe tanto e' alosé,
[f. 71d]   Car or te leve e no eser entardé;
    Prende tot tes arme e tes coré,
1275   E vene avec moi, q'el non ert vilté,
    Qe ensement eo sui rois coroné,
    De questa jent eo son amiré:
    Par moi e toi ste pla serà finé.
    E se questo non vo faré por toa vilté,
1280   Ma[n]da me le milor e le plu alosé,
    Li qual soia en la toa contré,
    Li qual soia dux, prinçe o casé,
    O altro çivaler qe soia adobé,
    O çivaler d'alto parenté.'
1285   Li rois l'intent qe estoit apoié
    A li balcon cun .N. de Baivé.
    'N., dist .K., qe conseil me doné
    De quel païn qe ne ten à vilté,
    E de çostrer bataia oit demandé
1290   Dever de moi o d'un altro çivalé
    Qe soia dux, principo o casé,
    O çivaler d'alto parenté?'

1259. The *o* of *non* is omitted but the sign of the nasal was not forgotten.
1267. *fi.*
1278. *moi e tot.*
1284. *A çivaler.*

Dist .N.: 'Savés qe vos faré?
En vestra cort li son de bon asé:
1295 Se le vole aler nesun por volunté,
Adoncha li soit li guanto delivré.'
Dist li rois: 'Quest' è ça otrié.'
Ben le fust le cont .R. alé,
Quant il oit le sorte veü e çité,
1300 Qe ver quel païn nul hon averoit duré,
Qe soia sovra tera abité;
Ma por un q'è soto tera doit eser afolé.
Saçés, segnur, e çes fo verité,
Qe .R. fo molto saçes e doté;
1305 En totes artes elo fo amaïstré:
Por li Danois q'è soto tera enpresoné
Doit eser quel païn morto et afolé.
Mais .R. no l'oit ancora devisé,
Por li bando qe estoit crié:
1310 Qi mençona li Danois doit eser apiçé;
Sì qe .R. vole, avanti q'elo sia anomé,
Qe de' çivaler soia cun le païn proié.   -
Ancor non è Braer ni parti ni sevré,
E li rois oit son çivaler demandé
1315 Se nul li ert de lor tanto alosé
Qe prender volust ses coré,
Ver le païn aler à li pré.
Çascun taçoit, nul a moto parlé,
Qe à Rolant çascun avoit guardé,
1320 Qe por .R. nul hon oit parlé.

Coment Oliver alloit conbatere à le païn.

[f. 72a DE ver .R. çascun prist aguarder,
Qe quela bataile non volese in primer;
Quando elo le dist: 'Qi se vol aproier,
Segura ment sì prenda son corer:
1325 Q'eo li do li colpo en primer,
Qe avec lui non çirò à çostrer.'
Quant ço entent li cortois Oliver,
De mantenant, senca plu demorer,
Davanti li rois se vait apresenter:
1330 Çentil rois sire, un don e' vos requer:
Qe le guanto vu me deçà doner,

Rubric, *alioit.* The *e* of *le* is inserted above the line.
1331. *un me.*

De la bataile de verso li Escler;
E' la demando, ma no voria trapaser
De mon conpagno, .R. l'avoer.'
1335　Dist li rois: 'Et eo li voio otrier;
Alez à prendere ves arme e ves corer,
Qe quel païn non fina de uçer.'
Qi doncha veïst li cortois Oliver
Ses arme querir e demander!
1340　Qui' le aporta qi le ont à guarder,
Et Oliver se mis l'aubergo dopler,
Le speron calçe sì se mis le ganber,
Alaça l'eume, çinse li brando d'açer;
Fa s'amener ses corant destrer.
1345　E cil li monte qe non baili strever;
Un scu e una lançe el se fait aporter.
Quant a ço fato, el vene à l'inperer:
Conçé demande, sì se prist aler.
R. le vi. sì le parse noier,
1350　Q'elo soit ben qe por li so aler
El non poit nul honor porcaçer.
Et Oliver s'en vait, qi ne doia noier;
Ese de Paris, fi li pont avaler:
O' vi le païn, prise à çaminer,
1355　E sì prist querir e demander
Se avec lui vol dire de çostrer.
Dist Braer: 'Estes vos çivaler?'
'Oïl, fait il, nen sai altro mester.'
'Estes çentil homo o stes soldaer,
1360　E como vos faites in la cort apeler?'
'Por la ma foi, ço le dist Oliver,
Nen vos averò de nient boser:
Mon pere est dux, sì oit nome Rainer
E fo filz de Girardo au Frate li guerer;
1365　Un meltre dux no se poroit trover.
Et in la cort de .K. l'inperer,
L'omo m'apelle par nome Oliver,
Sì sui conpagno .R. li avoer
Qe tanto se fait por li mondo anomer,
[f.72b]1370　Par tot li mondo e davant e darer.'
Dist le païn: 'Vu me si' molto çer.
En paganie de vu ò oldu parler.'

1340. *aguarder.*
1346. *scui:* i crossed out.

Coment le païn parole [à] .O.

VEr Oliver le païn mescreent,
   Elo parole, sì le dist erament:
1375 'Di mo', Oliver, ne mel çeler nient:
De .K. el maine, por qe no alsient
Q'elo lasase ester li bateçament,
E quela loi o' vu estes creent,
E croire en Macon con fa la moia çent?
1380 Asa' averoit il onor e teniment;
Segnor le faroie del reame d'orient.'
Dist Oliver: 'Vu parlé de nient.
Le mon segnor è tanto rico e posent
Enperer est de tot li bateçament.
1385 En quel Deo croit qe naque en Benient
De la Verçene Marie par soi enonbrament,
E in le mondo durò pena e torment
XXX. trois ani, questo soi(t) certament,
Par tot li mondo, darer e davent,
1390 E se quel vo' aorer, e' son qui al present:
Sença bataile faremo acordament;
Colsa como no, por lo men esient
Questa colsa non po aler altre ment.'
E dist Braer: 'Tu ne sera' recreent,
1395 Qe ben sai par voir e çerta ment
Qe toi ni altri non poso doter nient,
Ne omo qe sia in ste segol vivent,
Qe de sor tera aça abitament.' ˙
Dist Oliver: 'Ça serà parisent
1400 Li qual de nos serà li plus valent.
E' vos desfi alo' à li present.'
Dist le païn: 'Et eo vos ensement.'
Del canpo se donent li trato d'un arpent,
L'un contra l'autro ponçe l'auferent
1405 Quant i' poit aler ad esient;
Brandist le lançe à li feri trençent,
Gran colpi se done de sor le scu davent:
Le scu se speze mais li auberg li defent,
Qe de la çarne non toçent nient;
1410 Mais le colpi fo sì grandi e pesent
Qe le çival anbes s'ençenolent.
Al relever le aste se speçent,
Ne l'un por l'autre no se ploia nient:
Oltra l'en porta qui' bon destrer corent.

<div style="text-align:center"></div>

1415   Voi le Braer, par poi d'ire non fent;
      Morto le cuitoit avoir enprima ment.

Coment le païn ferì Olivers.

[f. 72e]   QUando Braer oit Oliver veü,
       A gran mervile elo fo irascu
      Q'elo no l'oit morto o abatu:
1420   La spea trait como homo de gran vertu,
      Dever Oliver ponçe li destrer crenu,
      Gran colpo li done desor l'elmo agu;
      Nen fust qe Deo le fo en aïu,
      Fendu l'avero[it] trosqua li dent menu;
1425   Ma la spea torne, le scu a conseü.
      Qe le quarter n'oit à tera abatu.
      Dist Oliver: 'Santa Maria, aïu,
      Qe je non soia vinto ni confondu!'
      Lor trait Altaclera, so bon brant amolu,
1430   Ver le païn el ven tot irascu;
      Un sì gran colpo li oit conseü
      Desor li eume qe fo à or batu,
      De quel non trençe la monta d'un festu;
      La spea torne, li scu oit conseü:
1435   Tot li trençe quant n'oit prendu,
      E de l'aubergo cento maie ronpu;
      Par un petit ne l'oit en carne conseü
      E son çival morto e abatu.
      Dist le païn: 'Mal vos est avenu,
1440   Quando contra moi bailisés ves escu:
      Vu ne serés morto e deceü,
      E por la gorça vu serez apendu,
      Ne no v'en poroit aider li vestro Deo Jesu.'
      Adoncha oit un sì gran cri metu
1445   Qe una legua elo fo ben oldu,
      E en quel cri elo clamò Chaü
      E Macometo e son deo Belçebu.
      Quant Oliver li oit entendu,
      Pur del crier oit paüra eü;
1450   Deo reclama e la soa vertu,
      E la Verçene Maria qe li sia en aïu:
      E quel païn fo de gran vertu,
      E grant e fer por costes e por bu;

Rubric, The *s* of *Olivers* is not completed.
1453. *buti:* *ti* crossed out.

Por sì gran força li è sovra coru,
1455 E sì gran colpo li oit aconseü
Deo le guardì en carne no l'oit prendu;
Mais le çival prende davant li bu
Qe tot la schina l'oit por mité fendu;
Le çival caì morto en me' le pré erbu,
1460 E Oliver fo à tera caü.

Coment Oliver fo pris.

QUant Oliver se vi al canpo versé.
Son çival vi morto, gola baé,
A gran mervile el ne fo spaventé;
Deo reclama, la voir maïsté:
[f.72d]1465 'Santa Marie, or me secoré!
Costu' no è hon, ançe è 'lo li voir malfé,
Le vor diable q'è çà oltra pasé.
Ben m'en deveroie eser castigé,
Quando .R. vidi tot aquité,
1470 Qe de la bataile n'oit li guanto pié:
Sença cason non oit ensi ovré.'
Doncha tent Alteclara, sovra li è alé.
Quant le païn le vi, si fo retrato aré,
Qe de son çival el se fo redoté.
1475 A tera desis, sì fo cun lui à pé;
Et Oliver sor lui fo alé,
Mais le païn sì fo plus desmesuré:
Sì como Oliver oit ses colpo entesé,
E li rois Braer soto li fo fiçé,
1480 Atraverso le pié, oltra sa volunté,
Sì fortemment l'a preso e seré
Qe non li pote ferir cun li tre[n]çar de la spé:
O voia o no, de man li oit saçé;
Por preso l'oit, sì l'oit via mené,
1485 A soa jent l'oit en guarda doné;
E quant a ço fato, ancor torna à li pré.
L'arçiveschovo le vi, tosto fo à çival monté;
Ese de Paris, li fren abandoné;
O' vi le païn, quela part est alé.
1490 Li rois le vi, sì s'en oit gabé,
Sì le apelle, sì le oit aderasné:
Qe hon il est e de qual parenté?
E cil le dist: 'E' son homo sagré,
E arçiveschovo apelé e clamé.'

345

1495 Dist le paĩn: 'Vu me si' caro asé:
         E' vos desfi, da mi or vos guardé.'
         I' se delonçent un arpant smesuré;
         Ma l'arçiveschovo li oit le *primo* colpo doné,
         Desor l'escu à Macon pituré:
1500 Ne l'enpira un diner moené,
         Ni an por lui no fo nient ploié;
         E cil fer lui, sì le çitò al pré.
         Quant oit sì fato, li fren abandoné
         Sovra li cor, por força l'oit pié,
1505 Via le mena oltra sa volunté;
         Avec Oliver l'oit enpresoné.
         Qe vos doit eser li pla plus alonçé?
         Ad uno ad uno tuti furent proé
         Li doçe pere qe tanto sont anomé,
1510 Defora .R., li maine avoé:
         Tuti furent ensenbre enpresoné.
         Li rois le vi, sì ne fo abosmé,
         Par un petit non ait li seno cançé.

                 Coment .Ro. parle à Naimes.

LI cont .R., li nobel e li ber,
1515   O' vi .N. sil mena ad un çeler:
         '.N., fait il, grant è li danger,
         Quando son prisi tanti bon çivaler,
         E asa' li poroit aler e çostrer,
         Qe nesun le poüst vinçere ni amater,
1520 S'el non serà li bon Danois Uger;
         Ma el no s'olsa dire ni anomer,
         Por li bando de .K. l'inperer.'
         Dist .N.; 'A vos nen quel ovrer:
         Quando nu seron cu*n* .K. à conseler,
1525 E vu arés li Danois anomer,
         Nu olderen qe .K. averà parler,
         E ensement responderen arer.'
         Dist .R.: 'Ben le voio otrier.'
         E le dux .N. cu*n* .K. l'inperer
1530 Oit fato un co*n*seil clamer *et* apeler,
         Qe plus de cento baron en fo sor li soler.

1523. This verse seems to have resulted from the condensation of two. The original
text probably read somewhat as follows:
         Dist .N.: ' A vos nen quer l' çeler,
         Coment devren nu del paĩn ovrer:
Cf. v. 1532 and note.

E coment volent del païn ovrer
E .R. prist li Danois anomer:
K. l'oì, sì le responde arer:
1535 'A qi ò oldu li Danois mentoer?'
Çascun escria: 'Vu si' deso, meser!'
Le rois l'oldì, ne olsa plu parler;
E le dux .N. quant volse conseler,
Ancora .R. prist li Danois anomer;
1540 Et ancora .K. sì prist à uçer:
'A qi ò oldu li Danois mentoer?'
Çascun li escria: 'Vu si' deso, meser!'
Quant vi li rois non po altro encontrer,
El dise qe çascun li posa nomer.
1545 Adoncha .R. sì parlò enprimer:
'Segnur, fait [il], asa' poon deviser:
E' vos so par voir dire e conter
Qe por li Danòis dé morir li Escler,
Ne d'altro homo del mondo el no se po doter.'

Coment .Ro. parole à la jent.

1550 'SEgnur, dist .R., entendés sta rason:
        Savés por quoi vene de çà li Sclavon?
Li rois Braer qe ne oit la reençon,
De paganie e 'ntorno et inviron,
Vide por sorte e por saçes hon
1555 Qe hon de sovra tere dotere ne se poron;
Ma soto tera ert qi ancir le devon:
Colu' q'è soto tera mais vivo non son.
. Li Danois è soto tera metu en preson
E por lui doit eser morto se de ilec li traon;
1560 E recovrarà toti li nostri baron
[f. 73b] Qe quel oit pris seńça reençon.'
Çascun de qui' qe de ilec se trovon,
Toti crient: 'Ora le delivron!'
Meesmo .K. la parola li don
1565 Qe li Danois escha for de preson.
Gran çoia n'oit çivaler e peon;
Tuti corent por trar [l'] for de preson.
Ma i' no soit coment la devison:
Meio vol li Danòis morir à chulvason,
1570 Qe por lui aça nula reençon.

1532. There is a lacuna before this verse or it is the corruption of the verse lost after v. 1523 and should be suppressed.
1552. *no oit.*
1569. *io* after *meio:* crossed out.

Coment .N. parole.

QUant .N. soit et entent
    De le Danois li son delivrament,
En soa vite el non fo sì çoient:
El e .R. e des altri ben çent
1575   A la preson corent alegra ment,
La novela li portent qe mo' à li present
El doit ensir de pena e de torment.
Dist li Danois: 'Vu parlé de nient:
Non voio ensir de qui uncha al me vivent
1580   Se de colu' non prendo vençament,
Qi m'a tenu qui loga longa ment.
Quando el m'envoiò à Marmora prime ment,
En ses braçe li lasé mun fil bel e çent:
Çarloto l'oncis ad un coltel trençent,
1585   Ni an por ço non fé 'lo nul çuçement;
Et eo li perdoné l'aïra el maltalent,
Ne mais de lui non fose fato vençament,
Ma el me dise, Çarloto, tel folia davent
Morto n'averoie si fose esté ben çent:
1590   Qe de moi meesme faroit ensement
Como fé de mon filz q'el oncis à torment.'
Dist dux .N.: 'Li rois de ço se pent:
De ço c'oit fato el n'è gramo e dolent,
Sì vos perdona l'aïra el maltalent.'
1595   Dist li Danois: 'Uncha à mon vivent
Non averà da moi pax ni bon convent,
Se trois colpe no li do de ma spea trençent.'
R. l'olde, sì s'en rise bele ment;
A li rois vent tosto et isnèlement,
1600   La novela li conte, qe li Danois li content;
Li rois l'oì, mais non fo sì dolent.

Coment parole l'inperer.

'SEgnur, dist l'inperer, nen lairò nen vos die:
    S'el me dona trois colpe de la spea forbie,
El me fenderà trosqua ment à l'orie,
1605   Ne por nul arme non averò guarentie.'
Dist .R.: 'Ne vos dotés ne mie,
Ne vos dalmaçarà la monta d'una alie,
[f. 73c]   Qe por nos amor el farà cortesie.'

1595. *a* between *Dist* and *li:* crossed out.

Dist l'inperer: 'Et eo così l'otrie.
1610 Meio voio morir qe eser perie
Tanti bon çivaler cun son en presonie.'
Adoncha li Danois fo de la carçer ravie;
E l'inperer fo d'armes ben guarnie;
En çevo se mis dos elmi de Pavie;
1615 Li Danois le vi, nen po muer nen rie;
E li cont .R. lora le prie
Qe por li son amor faça l'ovra conplie,
Qe çascun de lui ben parli e ben die;
E li Danois, cun saço e menbrie,
1620 Alça li brando cun le viso enbronçie;
Una vista fi d'una grande remie,
Alça li colpo e bela ment le plie:
Ne fose por cil una moscha perie;
Tros colpi ferì li rois, q'elo non cesò mie:
1625 Ne l'inpira qe valist una alie.
Gran çoia n'oit tuta la baronie.
Quánt a ço fato, fo la guera fenie.
Dist l'inperer: 'De questo suie guarie.
Sire Danois, ne lairò ne vos die:
1630 De ço q'è fato voio qe sia oblie,
Plu no se remenbri à li tenpo de nos vie.'
E li Danois responde: 'Et eo così l'otrie.'
Saçés, segnors, qe là fo gran stoltie
Qe fé li Danois, veçando la baronie:
1635 Tros colpi ferì li rois con la spea forbie.

Coment li Danois ferì .K. sor li heume.

LI cont .R., li nobel e li ber,
[f. 73d]   Dist al Danois: ''L è preso, Oliver,
Ive et Avolio, Oton e Belençer,
L'arçivesche con tot li doçe per;
1640 Unde por me amor e' vos voio proier
Qe vu prendà le arme e li corer:
Alez al canpo conbatre cun Braer,
Car eo so por voir, sens nesun boser,
Qe vu si' quel qe le di' atuer.
1645 E por vos doit eser delivrà li presoner.'
Dist li Danois: 'Et eo li voio otrier,
Or me le faites mantenant aporter.'
Responde .R.: 'De grez e volunter.'
Adoncha li cont sì le demanda e quer

1650   A quel qe le ave quando fo presoner.
Quant le Danois vi ses arme aporter,
Se il oit çoia non è da demander.
Elo ne prist Damenedeo orer
Qe ancora porà sa prodeza mostrer.

1655   El non volse longa ment entarder,
Veste l'auberg e calça le ganber,
Alaça l'elme, çinse le brando d'açer,
Fa s'amenar so corant destrer;
Quando li monte elo pris le strever,

1660   Qe por la preson fato estoit lainer:
Una lança e un scu el se fa aporter.
Quant a ço fato sì dist à l'avoer:
'R., fait il, or vos pos e' çurer
Qe no conosco hon de çà ni de là da mer,

1665   E sia qual vole, Sarasin et Escler,
Por cui mon scu eo mé voçese arer.

[f. 74a]   Ora m'en faites la porta despaser,
Qe de fora eo posa çivalçer.'
Dist .R. 'Ben est da otrier.'

1670   La porta fé avrir e li pont avaler,
E li Danois quant s'en volse sevrer,
Tota la baronia sì le voit darer;
Meesmo li rois e .N. de Baiver,
E li cont .R. li voit aconvoier.

1675   A Deo li rende qe se lasò pener,
E cil s'en vait qe in Deo oit gran sper.
Por mur e por palés e por alti docler
Montent peon e çivaler
Por veoir la bataile coment avrà finer.

1680   E li Danois qe tant è pro e ber
Tanto sperone so corant destrer
Qe à l'oste d'i païn se vait aprosmer,
Qe li rois Braer tornà era arer;
E li Danois sì comença à uçer:

1685   'O' est alé questo q'è tanto fer,
Li qual oit pris tot li doçe per?
Vegna à moi; e' voio sego çostrer.'
Quant le païn l'oldent, s'en prist à merveler;
Un meso li vait nonçer à Braer.

1690   Quando Braer oldì la novela del çivaler
Qe venu ert cun lui in canpo çostrer,
Demantenant el prist son corer,

Ese de l'oste e vait al praer;
Tant q'el fo à li Danois no se volse arester;
1695 Quant li aprosme, elo l' prist à guarder:
De sa fature se poit amerveler
Elo ll'apelle, sel prist aderasner:
'Çivaler, qe demandì e quer?
E' tu çentil hon o e' tu soldaer
1700 Qe servi soldo por oro e por diner?'
Dist li Danois: 'E' no tel quer noier:
E' son ben çivaler fato da enperer,
Mais por un forfaito e' son sté presoner
En una tel preson qe era dura e fer,
1705 Qe estoit soto tera: ilec me fi polser.
Asa' avoie da boir e da mançer
La marçé Deo, .R., et Oliver.'
Quando le païn l'oldì, sì se pris porpenser
Qe soto tera doit eser cil qe le doit finer.
1710 Adoncha le prist por rason demander:
'Çivaler sire, cun te fa' tu anomer?'
'Li Danois, sire, qe l'omo apella Oçer.'
Le païn l'olde, n'a en lu' qe irer:
El sa ben par voir, sença boser,
1715 Qe costu' è quel par cui doit finer.
[f. 74b] Molto voluntera elo retornase arer,
Mais le cor no le poit sofrir ne endurer,
Por la vergogne e por le çivaler,
Qe in sa vite n'averoit reproçer.

Coment se parole ensenbre.

1720 QUan le païn oit li Danois veü,
Elo l' vi grant, groso e quaru;
A gran mervile estoit ben menbru:
Molto le redote sì l'oit à rason metu:
'Çivaler sire, ben vos ai coneü;
1725 Se vo' venir avec moi et eser mon dru,
Nen averò ren la monta d'un festu
Qe vosco non parte à menu à menu.'
Dist le Danois: 'E' v'ò ben entendu.
Non son pais qui loga venu
1730 Por conquister reame ni benu,
Mais li rois .K. sì m'a qui trametu
Por conquister qui' qe avez prendu.'
Dist le païn: 'Tot vos serà rendu,

351

Ne un solo non serà retenu.

1735 Tornez arer ne no costraren plu.'
Li Danois l'olde, sì se fo aperceü
Qe quel païn oit paüra eü.
Elo le dist: 'Eo son qui venu,
Non cun parole, ançi cun lança e scu,

1740 Por conbatre avec vu,
Se vu ne ve clamés vinto e recreü.'

Coment se vont à feri[r].

QUant le païn voit et intant
    Qe li Danois sì no l'ama niant:
Sença bataile no vol sego convant,

1745 Et il soit ben par voir e certa mant
Qe il est cil qe li dé far dolant,
Voluntera se partise de li canp,
Quant li Danois de nient li consant,
Ançi le dist tot enprimere mant:

1750 'E' vos desfi da çest çorno en avant.'
Quant le païn vi nen pote fare altremant
Elo lle dist: 'Et eo vos ensemant.'
Del canpo se done li trato d'un arpant;
L'un contra l'altro ponçe li aliferant,

1755 Brandist le lançe à li feri trençant,
Gran colpi se done anbes comunel mant;
Li scu se speze mais li auberg li defant,
Ne l'un por l'autre no se plega niant;
Frosent le aste, li torson vola avant;

1760 Li destrer n'i' porte qe la tera en fant.
Çascun se volse sì n'a trato li brant;
L'un ver l'a[l]tro vait irea mant,
[f. 74c] Mais le païn le promer salto porprant;
Fer li Danois por una força grant

1765 Desor li eume o' le pere resplant;
Non poit trençer del noir ni del blanc,
Qe cil eume fo d'un grant amirant;
Costu' fo Karoer d'oltra Jerusalant,
Qe li oncis al pré verdoiant,

1770 De for de Rome, la bona çité valant.
La spea torne qe la tarça porprant:
Tota la fende e darer(er) e davant

1754. al before *aliferant:* crossed out.
1759. *corson.*

E de l'auberg le ghiron tot quant;
Trosqua in tera è desendu li brant.
1775 Li Danois por li colpo pesant
En reclamò Damenedé e [li] sant,
E la Verçene Marie el baron san Vicant;
El tra la spea al pomo d'or lusant:
Gran colpo li done sor l'elmo franboiant,
1780 E cil eume fu forte e serant;
Nen po trençer del noir ni de[l] blanc;
La spea torne qe ferì in schivant,
Conseit la tarça, tota quanta la porfant,
E de l'aubergo la ghironea davant;
1785 Trosqua en tera la spea sì desant.
Le païn sì clama Trevigant
E Apolin e ses deo Maliant.
El dist al Danois: 'Qi vos donò quel brant?
Elo vos fu bon ami e parant.'

Coment li Danois apella le païn.

1790 'SArasin, dist el Danois, te vo' tu renoier,
Lasar Macon e Jesu aorer,
Venir à .K. li maino enperer,
Et à lui rendre toti ses presoner?
En crestenté avera' gran loer,
1795 Tera avera' à tenir e guarder,
Conpagno sera' .R. et Oliver.'
Dist le païn: 'E' non ò quel penser,
Ançi me lasaroie tot le menbre colper
Qe quel ten Deo e' voia aorer,
1800 Ni Macometo delenquir ni laser.'
Lor tra la spea, tel colpo li vait doner
De l'elmo non trençe ma conseit li destrer:
Le çevo li trençe, cil caì al verçer.
Ma tosto se redriçe e ten li brando d'açer,
1805 Ver le païn s'en vait como un çengler.
Le païn quant le vi, n'ait en lui qe aïrer;
Molto se redote, q'el soit sença boser
Qe cil Danois le doit à la fin trer;
Ma tanto no se soit ne scremir ni guarder
1810 Q'elo no lo fera desor l'elmo d'açer.
[f. 74d]   De quel non trençe ma desor li destrer

1779. *pi* (?) between *Gran* and *colpo:* crossed out.
1784. *E doe;* cf. *Enf. Og.*, p. 538 rubric, vv. 592, 1037.

Sì desendì li bon brando d'açer;
Le çevo li trençe, cil caì al verçer.
Li Danois li voit, prise Deo aorer,
1815 E le païn Macometo clamer
Qe le deça secorer et aider.
Dist le Danois: 'Tu a' molt mala sper:
Colu' no te po secorer ni aider,
Q[u]ele fantasma de legno e de per,
1820 D'oro e d'argento fato e pinturer.'
Dist le païn: 'Vu si' mo' mençoner,
Qe le vostro Deo è falso e lainer,
Quando se lasò prender e liger,
Desor la cros se lasò encloer,
1825 Ne pote si defendre ni aider;
Mal [l'] farà de vos anco' en ste jorner:
A la ma spea vos en covent finer.'
Dist li Danois: 'Poco varà nos tençer,
Ne vos parole, ne li vos menaçer.'
1830 Lor anbi dos se vait tel colpi doner
Ne lasent arme à trençer ni couper:
Trosqua la çarne mete li brant d'acer;
En plusur lois en fait li sangue raier,
Ma l'un por l'altro è tanto pro e fer
1835 Q'i' no se dota la monta d'un diner.

Coment fo grant la bataille.

LI dos baron sont ensenbre en le pré.
   I' se conbate par molto grant aduré:
D'i brandi d'acer se dona gran colé;
Le armaüre sont tot detrençé
1840 E d'i aubers tot le gironé;
Nen fust Deo c'oit li Danois defensé
Avec Oliver fose enpresoné.
E quel païn molto se fo redoté:
Voluntera fose da lui desevré.
1845 Le Danois apela, sì l'oit aderasné:
'Çivaler sire, e' son toto lasé;
Donà me treva anco' en sta jorné,
Trosqua deman qe l'auba ert levé.'
Dist le Danois: 'Voluntera e de gré,
1850 Ma d'una ren par voir vu saçé:
Qe da moi vu non serés sevré

1828. varo.

Sì seroit li prisi delivré
Qe vu avez in l'oste amené.'
Dist le païn: 'Tel li ont en poesté
1855 Ne le renderà, sì seront apiçé.'
Dist le Danois: 'Ço seroit gran peçé.'
Tot vide le païn qe estoit destiné;
Un tel cri mis e sì fort oit uçé
[f. 75a] Q'elo fo en l'oste oldu et ascolté.
1860 Par lui secorer sont mile monté,
Li qual prendent le arme e li coré.
Voi le .R. q'era à li mur apoçé,
Qe sor li Danois venent tot aroté.
R. le vi, .N. oit apelé:
1865 'N., fait il, mal avon bragagné!
Qe Sarasin ont sa lo' falsé,
Qe arme ont pris, sor li Danois sont aroté;
Molto ert gran dalmaço se nu nol secoré.'
Dist dux .N.: 'De ço è verité.'
1870 Qi doncha veïst .R. l'avoé
E Bernardo de Clermont e Morant de Rivé!
Por amor de .R. ne son mile monté:
Eisent de Paris, li fren abandoné.
Quando le Danois se vide sì mal bailé,
1875 Sarasin se vi davant e daré,
El ten Curtana al pomo d'or entalé;
A li promer qe li oit aprosmé
Tel colpo li dona de sor l'eumo saufré
Qe tros li dente lo fende por mité:
1880 Morto l'abate roverso in le pré;
Prende le çival, sor la sela fo monté,
E à li rois Braer un altro en fo doné.
Adoncha començent grande la meslé.
Ben cuitoit li Danois eser pris e ligé,
1885 Quant il s'oit davanti soi guardé:
Conoit l'ensegna .R. l'avoé;
S'el oit proeza or non demandé.

Coment Braer lasoit li .D. e vient contre .R.

QUant Braer oit cella jent veü
Qe de Paris en furent ensu,
1890 E furent plus de mille à lançe et à scu,
Quando le vi, tot en fo irascu:

1889. *enfu.*

El lasa li Danois, ver .R. est venu.
R. li conoit à l'arma del scu.
Le païn fer .R. desor l'eumes agu,
1895 Ne l'enpira la monta d'un festu;
E de Durendarda .R. a lu' feru.
Ne l'enpira ma le scu a fendu,
E de l'auberg tot li giron fendu:
Grant fo li colpo, le brant fo desendu;
1900 Al çival trença le çevo de sor le bu,
E le païn fo à tera caü.
Preso fust, ma tosto fo secoru
E sì le ont un bon çival rendu.
Quando fo à çival, ma' sì çoiant non fu:
1905 Ne le stete guaires, da .R. fo partu.
Ben s'en alaste, quant li Danois l'oit veü:

Sor lui s'areste, sì le oit le çamin tolu;
Elo l'apela sì l'oit por rason metu:
'Sarasin sire, mal vos est avenu,
1910 Quant vu m'avés cun malvés deçeü,
Quando da vestra jent vos estes secoru:
Deo m'oit ben ver de vos secoru.'
Quando .R. s'en è aperçeü,
Dist le païn: 'E' l'ò ben veü,
1915 Quando el m'oit de son brando feru.
Meltre çivaler non vi ancor de vu.'
Dist le Danois: 'El fi ben coneü
En crestenté non è meltre de lu'.'

Coment li Danois veü oit Braer.

QUant li Danois oit veü Braer,
1920 Qe voluntera s'en averoit aler
E de li canpo partir e sevrer;
Sor toti li altri çivaler
Le Danois dota al brant forbi d'açer;
El soit ben d'altri no se poit doter,
1925 Qe avanti q'el s'aüst de sa tera sevrer,
El vi por arte e por celle mester
Qe un Danois le devoit atuer,
Ma cil estoit soto tera, dont no s'avoit doter,
Qe homo umo non po soto tera ster,
1930 E por ço no li dotava la monta d'un diner,
E por cil sì pasò oltra mer

1928. sera.

A sì gran oste no se poroit esmer;
E li Danois non volse sego tençer:
El ten Curtana, so bon brando d'açer;
1935 Un sì gran colpo elo li va doner
De sor li eume mais nol poit enperer,
Ma li brando desis de sovra li baudrer
E pris le braço con tot li brando d'açer
Q'elo li fait en le preo voler;
1940 Dever li bu va li brando coler,
La cosa li trençe con tot li baudrer:
Grant fo li colpo de li Danois Uçer;
Le païn fait en le preo verser,
Qe mais de lui no li estoit doter.
1945 Atant ecote vos .R. li avoer.
Quando el vi à tera li Escler,
Gran çoia n'oit por li Danois Uçer.
Qi doncha oldist le païn uçer
E sì forte ment brair e crier!
1950 Non fo ma' lion ni orso ni çengler
Qe à lui se poüst asomiler.
Quant Sarasin vi son segnor verser,
Qe de lu' no ont plu sper,
En fua torna por poi e por river;
[f.75c] 1955 E li Danois desis del destrer;
A ço qe Braer non poüst plu uçer,
Ne soa gent apeler ni clamer,
Elo li vait li cevo da[l] bu sevrer.
E li cont .R. non fo mie lainer:
1960 Al plu tosto q'el poit prist un mesaçer,
En Paris l'envoie à .K. l'inperer
Et al dux .N. del ducà de Baiver,
Qe in Paris no remagna peon ni çivaler:
Çascun qe poit guarnimento pier
1965 Escha de fors e vegna à li torner,
Qe Sarasin no s'en posa aler,
Qe li Danois sì oit morto Braier.
Quant la novela oldì li enperer,
Par tot Paris fait li bando aler.
1970 Qi doncha veïst qui' çivaler monter!
Petit e grandi esent sença tarder,
No atendoit le fiolo li per,
Por secorer li Danois e .R. l'avoer;

1941. *tosa.*
1965. Between *fors* and *e* the abbreviation for *et.*

Meesmo li rois e .N. de Baiver
1975   Defora ensirent, sença nosa e tençer.

Coment Sarasin s'en fuirent.

QUando qui' Sarasin de la lo' mescreant
            Vi son segnor çasere à li canp
E de Paris vi ensir tanta çant,
Dist l'un à l'altro: 'Mal ne va li convenant:
1980   Morto è in fin colu' qe li atant.'
En fua torne por poi e por pendant;
Non atendoit li pere son enfant.
Qui' Sarasin e Turs e Persant,
Dache morto fo Braer, ses amirant,
1985   Dist l'un à l'altro: 'Nu semo à niant:
Cil soit hon qe celoro atant.'
I' lasent le tendes, li pavilon tirant;
D'i presoner non curent niant;
I' s'en fuçent à miler et à çant,
1990   E .R. le incalçe e Oger ensemant.
Atanto ecote vos .K. maine, li posant,
E le dux .N. e Riçer e Morant:
Tant vait li rois avant speronant
Q'elo intrò en l'oste l'amirant.
1995   Quanti païn li trove de la loi mescreant,
Ça de la mort i' non oit guarant.
E li Danois e li cont .R.
Tant sont alé de treve en treve çercant
Qe il atrove Oliver li valant,
2000   Astolfo de Lengle e li doçe conbatant.
Quando cel le veent, molto s'en fait çoiant,
Qe in ses man vidi n(i)u li brant.
[f. 75d] Quant li Danois vont reconoscant,
Sì çoiant non fu unches à son vivant.
2005   Adoncha li cont non restò tant ni quant:
Tot li trait de poine e de tormant.
Adoncha çascun, sens nosa e bubant,
Avoient pris tot ses guarnimant;
Oimais non doti plus Sarasin ni Persant:
2010   Çascun de lor monta en auferant,
Le païn encalçent por poi e por pendant;
E cil s'en vait gran dol demenant:

1977. A letter added to *canp:* scratched out.

Son segnor lase morto e recreant,
E d'i altri païn le remis ben tant
2015 Qe plus de cento mile en furent parisant.
Va s'en païn à dolo e à tormant,
La me[r]cé Deo, li pere onipotant;
Por li Danois sì fo vinto li canp,
E s'el non fose esté, França era à niant:
2020 Tanti estoit cela jent mescreant
Qe contra lor nul aüst eü guarimant;
Mais por son segnor tuti furent recreant.

Coment Sarasin s'en fuirent.

VA s'en païn por poi e por mon;
Son segnor lase çasant à li sablon,
2025 Tant des autres e veilart e guarçon
Qe por voir no se poroit dir li non,
Qe tot furent de la lo' de Macon.
E .R. l'incalçe à cuite de speron
Et Oliver e li doçe conpagnon.
2030 Da l'autra part sì fo li rois .K.
E le dux .N. e le dux Salamon
E li Danois c'oit morto li Sclavon.
Va s'en païn, queli qi vivi son,
E li morti çasent à li sablon.
2035 Le canpo oit vinto Frances e Bergognon;
Gran dol en voit menando q[u]i' Sclavon
Por son segnor e por altri baron.
Arer torne l'inperaor .K.
E li cont .R. et Oliver, ses conpagnon,
2040 E li Danois sì conduit li preson.
Quan forent en Paris, tot le cloche sonon
Por la vitorie qe il le ne porton.
Sì grande fu la proie qe il li reculon
No se poroit dire in verso ni in cançon:
2045 Çascun de qui' qi avoir en volon
Plus ne portent qe i' non demandon.
Gran çoia fo en Paris e 'ntorno et inviron
Por cil avoir qe il li aporton.
Da qui avanti se renova la cançon:
2050 Mais non fo tel oldua par nesun hon.

2014. *paine:* e crossed out.

Oì avés coment por la proece del
Dainois fo menet Braer li Saracin.

OI aveç de l'inperer .K. el man
         E d'Oliver e de li cont .R.
       E del Danois qe pais no fo vilan,
       Qe à la spée oncis le pagan
2055   Qe avit pris tanti bon cristian
       E tanti morti là de for al can.
       A gran mervile el fo gran tiran:
       No era çivaler ni cont ni catan
       Qe avec lui durase à li can.
2060   Par força prist li doçe conbatan;
       Ma' sego à çostra non volse aler .R.,
       Por q'elo soit por inçantaman
       Qe non estoit al mondo hon vivan
       Qe le poüst vinçer à lança ni à bran,
2065   Seno li Danois por le inçantaman;
       E de questa colsa estoit ben certan.
       Or·lason staire de ceste mal tiran
       E d'Oliver e de li cont .R.
       E del Danois qe oncis li Presan,
2070   E lasaron stare de Marsilio e de Balugan
       E de Heumont e de li rois Trojan.
       Sì conteron d'una mervile gran
       Qe vene in França dapois por longo tan,
       Pois qe fo mort Oliver e Rolan,
2075   Li qual fi faire un de qui' de Magan,
       Dont manti çivaler morì d'i cristian;
       E por Marchario fo tuto quelo engan.
       Unde, segnur, de ço siés çertan,
       Qe da pois, e darer e davan,
2080   En crestentés non fo hon sì sovran
       Como fu l'inperer .K. el man,
       Ne qe tanto durase pena e torman
       Por asalter la loi d'i cristian.
       Contra païn el fo tot li sovran
2085   E plu doté el fo da tota çan.
       El non ovrò mie le conseio d'infan,

E por ço durò 'lo plus de docento an(i),
Tanto qe el vene e Gug[l]elmo e Beltran.
Una dama avoit d'un parenté gran,
2090   Fila d'un enperer qe oit gran posan;
De Costantinopli, ensi l'apela la jan.
Blançiflor avoit nome cele dan,
Loial e bone e de grande sian.
Or entenderés la fin d'es roman;
2095   Qe Deo vos beneïe e meser san Joan!

Coment .K. tenoit grant
Corte entre Paris.

[f. 76b]   GRan cort manten .K. l'inperaor,
Entro Paris, son palés major.
Ilec estoit mant filz de valvasor
E manti dux, prinçes e contor
2100   E le dux .N., so bon conseleor.
Unqes el segle non estoit nul milor,
Ne qe de foi tant amase son segnor,
Ne qe tanto durase e pena e dolor.
Sor tot les autres estoit coreor,
2105   Unde da Deo el n'ave gran restor,
Da Deo del celo, li maine Criator.
Quatro filz oit de sa çentil uxor,
Qe fo d'i doçe per(e) e fo fin çostreor.
En Roncival fo morti à dolor,
2110   Quando fo morto .R. li contor,
Por li malvés Gaino, li traïtor,
Quant li traì à li rois almansor,
A li rois Marsilio, dont pois n'ave desenor,
Dont fo çuçé à modo de traïtor.

Coment Macario volse vergogner .K.

2115   GRan cort manten .K. man l'inperer,
De gran baron, de conti e de prinçer;
Mais sor toti fo dux .N. de Baiver
E li Danois qe l'omo apela Oger.

BARRY CERF

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
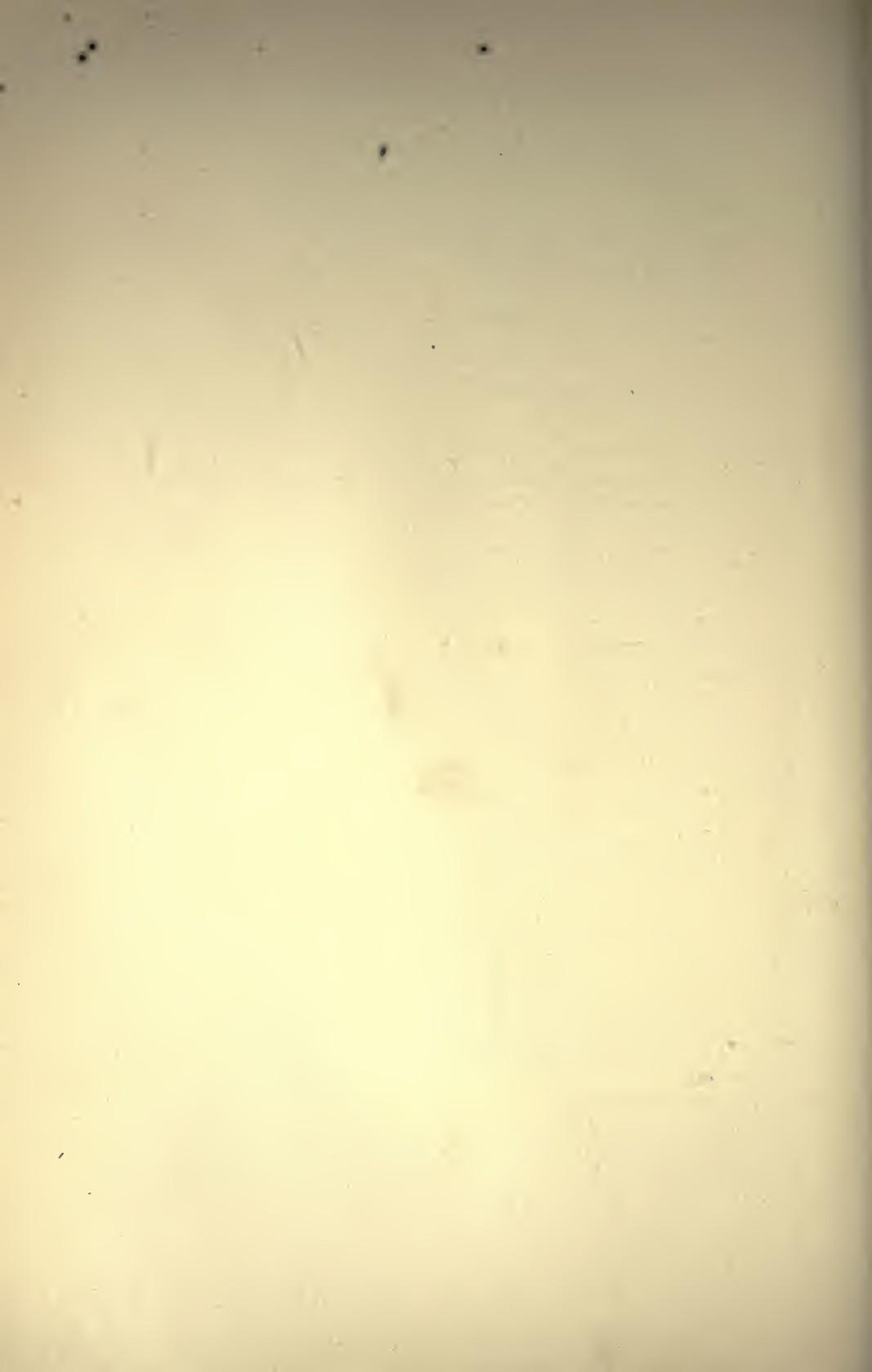
THE TECHNIQUE OF BRIDGING GAPS IN THE ACTION OF GERMAN DRAMA SINCE GOTTSCHED

[Concluded]

8. *Reports Accompanied by Alarms*

Not infrequently reports are strengthened by some accompanying audible or visible manifestation, elsewhere than on the stage. If audible, the audience may, or may not, be permitted to hear. If visible, of course only the characters can see. In Gottsched's *Cato*, noises (groans) are heard twice by the audience as well as on the stage, according to the stage directions: (*Man höret einen Tumult drinnen*). At the first noises Porcius rushes into the next room. The others continue the conversation, *for the stage must never be left unoccupied*. Then Porcius comes back with the report that Cato has turned his dagger against himself. As he concludes, Cato staggers forth, having stabbed himself in secret, to die openly, on the stage, after a long exhortation to son and daughter.

Schlegel in his tragedies makes frequent use of "alarms" as additional testimony in support of narrative. In the *Trojanerinnen*,[1] Andromache, in the confusion of the storming of the city, has hidden Hector's son in a temple. Ulysses is determined to destroy the house of Troy root and branch, and in his search for this very youth finds the mother, Andromache, who denies any knowledge of her son's whereabouts, pretending fear that he is already dead. Ulysses shrewdly suspects that the boy is hidden in the sanctuary and sends his soldiers to raze the temple to the earth. As the work of destruction progresses he points to the falling walls, for all is visible from the stage. In rising anxiety Andromache watches until her courage weakens, and to save her son's life she confesses his hiding-place in the temple. The boy is then found, seized, and hurled headlong from the highest battlement. The scene of torture for the mother, of cold calculation on the part of Ulysses, is extremely effective.

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[1] First written in 1737; repeatedly remodeled; first published in 1747. Cf. Eugen Wolff, *Elias Schlegel* (Kiel, 1892).

In *Dido*, a cry is heard[1] from the adjoining room, where Dido kills herself. The door opens and we see her lying in her blood. She dies upon the stage, after last words.

In *Herrmann*,[2] shouts indicate the approach of the victorious warriors[3] and later when Herrmann appears[4] he brings the weapons of Varus to substantiate his report of a complete victory.

In *Orest u. Pylades*,[5] Eutrophe, the *confidante* of Iphigenie, enters and reports that a captain is coming with his men. Orest and Pylades, knowing that they are being hunted, leave their conversation with Iphigenie and attempt to escape at the moment when the voice of the high priest is heard at the rear. Then follows action back of the scene, punctuated by cries and comments of Iphigenie and Eutrophe, who remain upon the stage. Finally we learn from Iphigenie: "Ach sie sind übermannt!" and Eutrophe: "Schon führet man sie fort." Behind the stage the friends have struggled with the enemy, observed from the stage. The *struggle* is banished from the stage.

In Cronegk's *Codrus* (1758),[6] Medon, the savior of Athens, reports the favorable outcome of the conflict in a long prosaic narrative, awkwardly introduced and very evidently betraying its epic nature. Concluding his report, Medon cites the happy omens in the heavens. The terrible storm that has raged in sympathy with the human struggle has passed, and the deity promises favor and blessing. At the word a peal of thunder sounds from the left, the favorable token from the gods in support of his statement and the report.

Jean Calas (1774) is for Weisse the greatest departure among all his dramatic works. Usually he is conservative, leaning toward the old Alexandrine models, using those types and that technique. Suddenly he attempts to dramatize an occurrence of the day and succeeds in putting the newspaper account so to speak into dialogue form.

A young friend of the family visits one evening at the home of Jean Calas, a respected merchant of Toulouse, and a Protestant, though living in a Roman Catholic city. At nine or ten in the evening the friend, Lavaisse, and one of the sons of Calas start off for the former's lodgings. Calas and his wife accompany them to the

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[1] V, iv (1739–44).   [2] 1741.   [3] V, ii.   [4] V, iv.   [5] II, iii (1745).   [6] V, xii.

head of the stairs leading down to the street. Meanwhile another son, a gloomy, melancholy student, has hanged himself in a fit of despondency, in the lower hall. When the two young men descend the stairs after an exchange of greetings with Calas we have the following stage directions (*Ein Geschrei unten: sie horchen auf: Geschrei: man hört es*): "Das Gott erbarm! Mein Bruder! Weh! Weh! Hülfe!" Then Calas descends the stairs. Lavaisse soon comes up to quiet Frau Calas, and piece by piece we learn with her what has happened. All is told under great excitement, not as a narrative, but in exclamations. In answer to Frau Calas' question, Lavaisse says: "Nichts; Ihr Sohn—ah!" The mother faints. A physician is sent for; gradually we learn the details of the scene below. Calas appears again; he exclaims: "Mein Sohn wie beugst du mich!" He speaks of "dem Gericht melden"; of "meines Sohnes Schande," and the wife helps the report then by correctly surmising the suicide of her son. Caseing, a neighbor who has arrived, *hears a tumult in the street*, though we hear nothing.

This play makes use of an enormous amount of detail requiring many reports of action. Similar at least in this matter of mass of detail containing many reports is Goethe's *Götz*.

Here[1] we have a masterful and on the stage very effective scene made up entirely of a report. Selbitz is borne in wounded and lies braced against a tree. But he sends Faud to a vantage point whence he can follow with his eye the white plume of Götz, in his fight with the emperor's soldiers. The terse questions of Selbitz, his lively comment on the progress of the struggle which he sees so well through the eyes of Faud quite arouse the active interest of the reader or beholder. Thus, while none of the actual fighting is seen or heard by the audience, the whole thing takes place within sight and hearing of the stage, as we must conceive. By this means the author achieves a remarkable effect as of visible action.

In Bodmer's *Brutus*, Portia, as she anxiously waits and watches for the return of her husband, Brutus, from the assassination of Caesar, reports[2] what *she* sees: that the mob is collecting and becoming tumultuous. Soon the mob itself appears, only to cross the stage with half a dozen sentences.[3]

[1] III, xiii.　　　[2] V, v.　　　[3] V, vi.

In Bodmer's *Pelopidas*, as in Weisse's *Befreyung von Theben*, the tyrant of Thebes is murdered before our eyes. Immediately afterward in each instance we hear the tumult in the next room, where the drunken revelers, guests of the tyrant, are being cut down: *Pelopidas*, III, iii (*Ein Geruf und Gelerme hinter der Skene wird gehört*). A report of the butchery then follows.

In Stephanie's *Deserteur aus Kindesliebe*, the scene[1] is the interior of a guard house, with guards and prisoners conversing in soldier fashion. It is characteristic of Weishard, the young ensign, who is on duty at the door, and who, the son of wealthy parents and supercilious, takes no part in the soldier's talk, that he first of all hears the sound of blows, and reports that Holbeck, against whom he has a grudge, must be running the gauntlet now. The report of his punishment is the first indication we have that the hero, Holbeck, has carried out his plan to desert, and allow himself to be captured at once, in order that the money paid for bringing in the deserter might be used to pay his father's debts. In this case Weishard hears but does not see the occasion of the "alarm."

Later in the same act[2] occurs the following:

> *Man hört Geschrey inwendig.*
> [Captain Platt *inquires:*] Was ist das?
> Weishard: Sie rufen: der König! der König!

The king, from behind the scene, then proceeds to give a happy ending to the play, his action being reported later on the stage.

In *Emilia Galotti* Lessing makes frequent use of "alarms." Recall the situation[3] where Marinelli first brings the prince to despair by his account of the failure of his plan to remove Appiani from Guastalla, and then, under false pretenses, secures from the prince *carte blanche* for a new intrigue even more daring. In addition, he receives the promise of exoneration from all blame for possible consequence. At the instant a *shot is heard* and Marinelli describes the deed at that moment being executed. Here the preparation for this report fills two pages, rising to a climax and passing in suspense to the next scene. Here also Marinelli stands at the window and *observes what is happening without*, mingling his own reflections with a run-

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[1] III, i.   [2] III, vi.   [3] III, i.

ning comment or report upon what is taking place. The assassin, Angelo, approaches, and adds the details of the report.[1]

Odoardo,[2] after leading his wife and the Countess Orsina to the latter's carriage, paces up and down the arcade a few times to calm himself before going to the prince. Marinelli observes him from the window, and comments upon his state of mind: ". . . . Nein, er kehrt wieder um. . . . . Ganz einig ist er mit sich noch nicht. Aber um ein Grosses ruhiger ist er . . . . oder scheint er. Für uns gleich viel!"

9. *False Reports*

Another detail worthy of notice is the use made of *false reports*, reported action which has not really taken place. For present purposes, reports of this kind readily fall into two classes: first, those accepted as true by the audience as well as by the characters of the play; and secondly, those which the audience knows to be false, although believed by the characters for a time. The second class would have to be excluded here. The first class may be considered as being a part of the bona fide action so far as the audience is concerned, up to the moment when the truth becomes known. The use of "false reports" to secure dramatic or other effects is common in the Alexandrine plays. Here and there the action of whole plays is based upon a misunderstanding or false information. And the solution of the problem comes in a letter perhaps, or with the arrival of a traveler from distant parts, or with the confession of one who knows.

In Weisse's *Matrone von Ephesus*,[3] the whole action, such as it is, rests upon the fabrication of Dorias and Karion. Antiphila, the young widow, accompanied by her *confidante*, Dorias, sets herself down in the tomb of her beloved husband recently laid to rest, and vows to remain there till she dies of starvation or of grief. Soon hunger makes its call; and a dashing young officer, attracted to the tomb by the light of the mourners, loses his heart at once to the pretty widow. His duty for the night is to guard the body of a felon hanging upon the gallows near by. He is responsible for his charge with his life. Dorias, not wishing to die of hunger, willingly

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[1] Marinelli (*der wieder nach dem Fenster geht*): "Dort fährt der Wagen langsam nach der Stadt zurück. So langsam? Und in jedem Schlage ein Bedienter? Das sind Anzeigen, die mir nicht gefallen:—dass der Streich wohl nur halb gelungen ist. . . . ."

[2] V, i.   [3] 1744, a comedy of one act.

partakes of the officer's lunch. Antiphila still pretends a lack of
interest in all things earthly, and threatens to use her dagger to
hasten her own death if the soldier further disturbs her mourning.
To cure her mistress of her hypocrisy, Dorias leaves the tomb for
a moment, returning with the report that the body has been stolen
from the gallows, at the same time giving Karion a sign. The latter
goes out, and soon returns, vowing that the body is indeed stolen, that
love for her has made him forgetful of all things, even of a soldier's
duty, and that his life is forfeit unless someone demand him in mar-
riage according to the old custom. Alarmed, the widow begins a
line of reasoning which justifies a new matrimonial venture. Dorias'
report, sustained and supplemented by Karion's report, furnishes the
only foundation for action.

In Gebler's *Wittwe*[1] the widow, Gräfin Holdenthal, has several
suitors who are temporizing until the result be known of a suit which
if successful would make the countess a very desirable "catch,"
and if unsuccessful would leave her nearly penniless. Here again the
"action" depends upon the reports which come in from time to time
concerning the progress of the trial. First comes the news that the
decision has been reached. Then bad reports arrive, which we must
consider true on the face of them. Even the uncle of the countess,
the king's minister, has lost his position or resigned, removing all
hope for his niece. The suitors make their apologies and take their
leave, until finally the report comes, this time true, that the countess
has won everything and that the uncle has been reinstated in power
and influence. Thus the countess' eyes have been opened to dis-
criminate among her ostensible admirers, and *Laster*, in this case
avarice, receives its due reward in being cheated of its end. But the
action takes all of its energy from the reports of the suit in progress.

The report which deceives the audience as well as characters in
the drama may be used to work up a very dramatic situation. The
scene in Krüger's *Vitichab* already described (III, v)[2] is preceded
by a false report, and in itself contains a false report. Siegmar
returns to the German camp from the battlefield and reports to the
old queen mother very circumstantially the course of the battle;
how Vitichab's life has been in danger, how Siegmar had retreated

[1] 1770.　　　　[2] Cf. above p. 19.

in order to assist his prince, and how the whole German army had then fled. The effect upon the camp of this apparently reliable but really false report is an immediate outbreak of excitement, shame, and passion for revenge. The old queen, Adelheid, is spokesman. She is on the point of seizing arms herself and rushing with the other women to the aid of the men, when Gundomad arrives. His well-elaborated report has been described above: at first ensue further misunderstanding, more confusion, more reproaches. Then comes the true report. From the depths of despair the camp is raised to the joy of certain victory, but alas! even Gundomad must report the loss of their leader, Vitichab. He describes in detail how the prince fell, and how his body was rescued from the enemy. Here again is a circumstantial account, proven false by the arrival of Vitichab himself (IV, i) upon the scene. The whole situation, really somewhat exciting, is made out of whole cloth. It is based upon two false reports. That is, false reports prepare the way for effect by contrast, and the real report comes with the desired force in a situation thus built up.

Perhaps one more illustration will suffice. In Bodmer's *Tarquin* the people of Rome have risen against the tyrant, after the shameful act of his son, Sextus, and Tarquin and Tullia his wife are shut up in their palace. Notice here a bit of juggling with reports to secure effect. In III, i, Tarquin informs us that Sextus is with the army, which is true to him, and that he will probably come soon with relief. Here is hope for Tarquin. Tullia follows this speech with enlightening comment upon the situation in the city. All classes are united against the tyrant and the woman who drove her chariot over her own father's body. Tarquin's hope for help from Sextus and the army is *the only hope*. Then follows (III, ii) the report of the general, Herennius, just arrived from the army as their ambassador to the Senate, for whom they have unanimously declared. That is to say, no help will come from the army. These three reports follow in quick succession and are well planned: Tarquin has one hope, the army: but this one hope is *the only hope;* and the news brought by Herennius destroys this *only hope*.

Here again the false report is used for the sake of contrast, to prepare the way for the true report.

For the purpose of this examination the matter of reports falls conveniently into two categories, according to its practicability or impracticability for stage presentation. To be sure, the standard of practicability has varied considerably since that time. But if the mechanical resources of the stage today are far greater, the demands made upon them have equally increased; and at a time when all actors, irrespective of the setting of the play, wore powdered wigs and high headdresses, not much in the way of absolutely faithful reproduction of originals (*Naturwahrheit*) was exacted in stage settings. If imagination could help over one such difficulty it might easily conquer other difficulties of faulty or partial staging; so that relatively it was no less possible to meet the requirements of the public in staging a given scene at that time than at present. By observing proper precaution we shall not be led far- astray in judging of the practicability of the *presentation on the stage of certain action.*

1. *Matter Which Might Be Presented Directly*

A large number of reports belong to the first category. The matter reported might with perfect ease be presented on the stage. For instance: in Gebler's *Klementine* the burning of certain papers and their being snatched from the fire offers no difficulties. We might not care to witness the fainting fit of the heroine, however. In *Adelheid* the reported attack of faintness arrives so suddenly when Adelheid receives the ill-omened letter, that she falls with a crash which we hear in the adjoining room. From the point of view of the heroine there might be satisfactory reasons for reporting rather than staging just this scene. Likewise in Lessing's *Der junge Gelehrte*, two quarrel-scenes are reported, as likewise the table-scene with the various occupations of the chief characters. In almost all reports of this class there is some reason other than the difficulty of stage presentation which caused the author to report the action. These reasons will be discussed farther on.[1]

2. *Matter Not Easily Capable of Direct Presentation*

Passing to the second class—those reported rather than staged because of practical difficulties of stage presentation—these reports

[1] Pp. 64 ff.

readily fall into several groups: movements of large numbers or over large spaces; actions lasting for a considerable time; action or situations suppressed from aesthetic or ethical motives; psychological processes, affecting the conceptions, the conclusions, the will of others so that the action of the persons is influenced.

The first of these groups is found to be very inclusive. Running through the list of reports in the plays examined, we find, for instance, battle-scenes reported in many tragedies; as in Gottsched's *Agis*, Krüger's *Vitichab*, Pitschel's *Darius*, Melch. Grimm's *Banise*, Brawe's *Brutus*, Weisse's *Krispus*, Bodmer's *Der vierte Heinrich, Kaiser*, and most of the other tragedies of their period. With Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* and the middle-class tragedy (*bürgerliches Trauerspiel*) came reports of other events than battles. But much other material belongs to this first group: mutinies and popular uprisings; in Bodmer's *Cato*, a meeting of the Roman Senate; in others of his patriotic plays, gatherings of citizens; in Gottsched's *Cato*, the arrival of ships in port. And many other examples are to be found.

Of reports of *movements over large spaces* there are also many, of many details: in Schlegel's *Dido* the attempt to burn the ships; attempts to escape, as, for instance, from the city;[1] a forenoon's hunt.[2] In Schlegel's *Geschäftiger Müsziggänger*,[3] Fortunat wanders through half the village making various ridiculous purchases, on his way to the house of the Minister. There are almost as many and as varied examples of action lasting over considerable time: as in Cronegk's *Der Misztrauische*, where the company has waited an hour for Timant to appear; or in many of the reports above cited, where the action is extended.

A number of scenes could be cited which for *ethical* or *aesthetic* reasons are preferably reported. One or two examples will suffice. In Gebler's *Klementine* the autopsy to determine the fact of the poisoning of the Baron takes place in the house but not on the stage. Again, the meeting of the prince with Emilia in the church is better reported than seen. In the *Kindermörderin* of Wagner, however, as early as 1776, there is an attempt in truly modern spirit to present on the stage, in all the details of reality, the evil of the society of

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[1] Grimm, *Banise*.   [2] Ayrenhoff, *Postzug*.   [3] 1741.

that day. This play was actually presented, although afterward withdrawn from the stage.[1]

Other classes of matter reported, to be only mentioned here, are (1) action requiring a different scene for only a short time, therefore hardly worthy of a change of scene, even on the most "realistic" stage. The actions or situations themselves, while belonging properly to the main action, may be so brief as to be easily passed over without a shifting of scenes. Many such reports occur in the comedies of this period. Important situations are often brought to the single scene of action and elaborated. Brief actions are reported. (2) Death scenes are often described. The discussion of these classes of reports will occur later in more detail.[2]

It has already been indicated that the subject-matter of reports began to change under the influence of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson*. Before that time tragedies had dealt with the fate of kings and princes, men of high estate, whose personal dispositions affected the nation. With such material for subject-matter of the drama, naturally the reports deal with expressions of this power, with battles, with armies, with popular movements, with plots and councils. In the case of Weisse, whose works may be considered to indicate conservatively the dramatic tendencies of his time, we find his tragedies, including *Atreus und Thyest* (1766), making use of such subject-matter. Only in two tragedies does he choose a middle-class theme: *Die Flucht* and *Jean Calas*.

In comedy no such striking change is to be detected in the subject-matter of reports. Before as well as after the appearance of *Minna von Barnhelm*, comedy concerned itself with the lives of the middle and lower classes chiefly. The fundamental change in the aim of comedy brought with it differences in the choice of material, to be sure; but in the matter of reports not much change is noticeable, because, after all, the material was taken from the daily life of common people.

Again, important psychological processes are often more easily reported than presented on the stage. One example may suffice.

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[1] Cf. *D. Lit. Denkmale*, XIII, "Vorrede z. d. Theaterstücken H. L. Wagners." This presentation was by the Wake Co. in Pressburg. Few changes were made for the stage.

[2] Pp. 67 ff.

Krüger in his *Vitichab* requires for his plot that Dankwart the (supposed) son of Siegmar should assassinate Vitichab, in reality his own brother. To this end he *relates* to us[1] how Tiberius in some marvelous fashion wins over Dankwart (Radogast) to the Roman cause. Now Tiberius has just mortally wounded Siegmar in single combat and has been attacked in turn by Dankwart. It was the duty as well as the passionate desire of the son to avenge the father. Yet in the heat of the conflict he allows himself to be seduced by the enemy of his country and the murderer of his father. We should prefer to see for ourselves by what persuasive powers this miracle was wrought.

C. THE PLACE OF OCCURRENCE: HOW DETERMINED

1. *Kinds of Dramatic Writing*

Having now discussed methods and technique and the subject-matter of reports, some observations may be made as to where reports occur. And it at once becomes evident that they appear most frequently and to the greatest length in tragedy, during this period.

Because the results so obtained are representative for the period we may once more take the works of Weisse by way of illustration. In twelve comedies the aggregate number of lines of report was about 172; in nine tragedies,[2] 680 lines; which means an average of 75 lines for each tragedy and 13 lines for each report, and only 14 lines for each comedy and 10 lines for each report. Thus the average amount of report in the tragedies is five times that of the comedies and the average length of each report is slightly greater. The number of reports in the nine tragedies is 54, in the twelve comedies only 17, or as 3:1. One of these nine tragedies contains no reports,[3] while four of the twelve comedies are without report. Thus the number of individual reports is less in comedy.

If we compare the usage in *Minna von Barnhelm* with that in *Emilia Galotti*, we find a similar preponderance of report in tragedy.

There are two possible grounds for these conditions. First, in comedy, the author is more concerned with the development of dialogue in ludicrous *situations*. The action or activities of the

[1] V, i.

[2] This excludes *Jean Calas*, which is of entirely different character.

[3] In the sense of reported action.

characters are not so much intended to be of importance in themselves as to be laughable to the spectators, and are therefore to be seen, not reported. In fact many of the early comedies are hardly more than a series of comic situations with little or no dramatic unity in the modern sense. Secondly, the subject-matter of comedy is simpler; direct presentation of the action is therefore less difficult, and the necessity of employing the "report" is reduced in consequence.

In both tragedy and comedy Weisse narrates most where he has to handle the most material in the plot. He is helpless before details of the action and in both cases resorts to narrative out of pure necessity. Thus the four comedies[1] which contain no report are all extremely simple in plot, and are of one act only. Another of one act[2] has only 10 lines of report, and two of three acts[3] each have respectively 14 and 20 lines. Some of the five-act comedies have only a few lines, but the highest number of lines of report is found in these more pretentious plays, in one[4] 50 lines and in another[5] 44 lines.

The operetta (Singspiel) has some similarity to the comedy. The action and the plot are extremely simple. The situations are even more emphasized and the transitions even less carefully made. Thus the occasion for reporting action is reduced, and in fact the number of reports is very small, usually only one or two, the total number of lines ranging from 5 to 15. Only in Lottchen am Hofe[6] (1767) there are 72 lines of narrative, distributed in three reports. In the Aerntekranz (1770), one of the two original with Weisse, there are two reports and 6 lines of narrative.

In the pastoral play of this period almost the same is true. The plan, not to speak of a plot, is as simple as the characters themselves, and narrative is seldom made use of.

2. *The Author's Regard for the Three Unities*

Many narratives exist only because the author has conformed strictly to the "three unities." Especially was the author helpless

[1] *Naturaliensammler, Weibergeklatsche, Groszmuth, Walder.*

[2] *Matrone.*   [3] *Poeten; Der Misztrauische.*

[4] *Projektmacher.*   [5] *Freundschaft.*

[6] This is a free translation after Mme. Favart, *Minette à la cour* (1756).

before the requirement of unity of scene.   As late a writer as Gebler, in his *Klementine,* relies almost entirely upon reports for his action, as though for him there were no other technique possible.   There seems to be no attempt upon the author's part to bring the action upon the stage.

But Elias Schlegel was keenly conscious of the problem of presenting the action as action upon the stage, of the injustice and the unnaturalness of the narrow requirements which bound the drama of his time.   We have his forceful protest against the current construction put upon the unity of place:[1]

. . . . kurz, wenn die Personen nur deswegen in den angezeigten Saal oder Garten kommen, um auf die Schaubühne zu treten, ... es würde weit besser gewesen sein, wenn der Verfasser, nach dem Gebrauche der Engländer,[2] die Szene aus dem Hause des einen in das Haus des anderen verlegt, und den Zuschauer seinem Helden nachgeführt hätte; als dasz er seinem Helden die Mühe macht, den Zuschauern zu gefallen, an einen Platz zu kommen, wo er nichts zu tun hat.

In practice, however, Schlegel adhered closely to the unity of place, as did the others of his time.   Had Schlegel lived a few years longer,[3] with his growing independence in forming his conclusions and in expressing them,[4] and especially because of his growing cosmopolitanism, his readiness to adopt the good and reject the bad from whatever source, French, English, Italians, or Danes, he would doubtless have hastened the day of freedom from slavery to the French unities, to *Delikatesse,* and the like.   As it was, Lessing was in large part responsible for the transmission of English freedom to the German drama, in its beginnings.

As for change of scene, Lessing's early comedies have strictly one scene.   But the appearance of the characters in this one room is each time much better motivated than in the plays of his contemporaries, whose scenes of action are often absolutely colorless, the presence of the persons unaccounted for.   In *Miss Sara Sampson* there is frequent change of scene, at the beginning of each act, and besides this III, ii, and again III, vii, back to the scene of III, i.   These

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[1] "Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters," *Werke,* Bd. 3. S. 295 (1747).

[2] As early as 1741 Schlegel had written a comparison of Shakespeare and Gryphius.

[3] He died in 1749, at the age of thirty.

[4] See Rentsch, *Schlegel als Trauerspieldichter* (Leipzig, 1890), 12 ff.

changes in Act III may have been made by means of a "middle curtain" as in I, iii, however. This "middle curtain" is used from the very first of this period, for example, in Gottsched's *Cato*. But Lessing even moves his scene to another house, Act II: "Der Schauplatz stellt das Zimmer der Marwood vor, in einem andern Gasthofe."

Cronegk says in the foreword to his *Codrus* (1758):

> Die That des Codrus, nämlich sich unbekannterweise unter dem Thore umbringen zu lassen, war gar nicht auf die Bühne zu bringen, und muszte durch eine Erzählung vorgetragen werden, wenn man nicht die Einheit des Ortes beleidigen, oder, welches eben so viel wäre, einen zweiten Vorhang wollte aufziehen lassen. Einige deutsche Tragödienschreiber gebrauchen dieses Mittel mit dem Vorhange. Meine Meynung davon will ich nicht sagen: aber die Meynung d'Aubignac will ich Ihnen hersetzen, ob Sie ihn gleich so gut kennen, als ich. Er saget: "ces rideaux ne sont bons, qu'à faire des couvertures pour berner ceux, qui les ont inventés et ceux, qui les approuvent."

To use Weisse's tragedies again to indicate conservatively the progress made by the German drama toward greater freedom from unity of scene, we find that in the year 1764 he finishes two tragedies, in each of which there is a change of scene with the opening of Act V.[1] After this time he vacillates; changing the scene in Act V only in *Atreus und Thyest* (1766) and *Romeo und Julie* (1767); returning to strict unity of place in *Die Flucht* (1770), and with utter freedom of scene in *Jean Calas* (1774). This last play[2] shows undoubtedly the influence of *Götz*,[3] and we know the Shakespearean origin of Goethe's wild joy in overriding the bounds of unity of time and place.[4] Weisse seems to have been quite carried off his conservative footing by the popularity of *Götz*, to conclude from the difference between *Calas* and any previous play of his.

The comparative freedom of scene in Lessing's *Minna*[5] and the complete freedom in his *Emilia* and his *Nathan* are too familiar to require mention.

In the latter part of this period careful writers, while adopting to a limited extent freedom of scenes, preferred to restrict the change to the fifth act. Even actor-dramatists like Brandes and the younger

[1] *Krispus* and *Die Befreyung von Theben.*
[2] Appeared in June of the previous year.
[3] As well as of Lillo's *London Merchant.*   [4] See *Rede zum Shakespearetag,* 1770.
[5] At the beginning of each act, but only two scenes are employed.

Stephanie are conservative. Brandes in the *Medicäer* admits two changes, and in the *Gasthoff* and *Der Schein betrügt* no change. In Stephanie's *Deserteur* there is only one change, but in his *Werber* occur frequent changes. Bodmer shows Shakespearean influence by changes of scene, but always at the beginning of acts. However, from about 1770 on, the number of those plays requiring frequent change of scene increased rapidly.

Of comedy it may be said in general that progress toward freedom of scene was slower than in tragedy because the plot was simpler and there was less need for change of scene. Even Lessing's *Minna* has only two different scenes, making the change only at the beginning of acts.

The requirement of strict unity of place explains the presence of a large number of the reports in the dramas examined. Authors who are, and when they are, bound by unity of place make relatively more use of reports.

However, other elements enter in to determine the occurrence and the extent of the employment of "reports." Granting the observance of strict unity of place, the subject-matter of the drama itself may be difficult of presentation on the stage; the action may include several battles or the like. Again multiplicity of detail may cause the full direct presentation of the action to increase unduly the length of the drama. Reports considerably condense presentation. Gebler's *Adelheid* illustrates this well. *Adelheid* is a theatrical play, with perhaps half the action on the stage. But there is much detail, too much to be worked into the stage action of that time, even with the four changes of scene. Hence much is reported.

The unity of time was strictly observed throughout this period. Only occasionally was there an example of moderate freedom. Thus Bodmer's *Brutus* lasts through somewhat more than twenty-four hours. Even Lessing carefully observed this requirement, and freedom came first with the new admirers of Shakespeare and the English, of whom Goethe was one.[1]

3. *The Author's Regard for "Delikatesse"*

As to why certain kinds of action are reported, the reason must be sought in what was termed "*französische Delikatesse.*" According

[1] Compare *Götz* for lack of unity of time.

to French canons it was vulgar to present bloodshed or fighting or any rough or energetic action upon the stage. Death itself was usually banished from the scene, or if admitted, was carefully rehearsed to eliminate all unpleasant characteristics. Elias Schlegel,[1] while still (1741) writing as a pupil of Gottsched "von der Unähnlichkeit in der Nachahmung" says:

> Der Abscheu vor der Sache, die uns vorgestellt wird, tötet öfters die Lust, die wir aus der Ähnlichkeit derselben empfinden wollen, und gebiert statt derselben in uns Widerwillen und Ekel. Sollten uns Raserei, Ohnmacht, und Tod so schrecklich abgebildet vor Augen stehen, als sie in der Tat sind; so würde öfters das Vergnügen, das uns die Nachahmung derselben gewähren sollte, in Entsetzen verkehrt werden, das Röcheln und Zücken eines Sterbenden würde die Beherztesten aus ihrem Vergnügen reiszen, und die Erinnerung, dasz es nur ein Betrug sei, würde zu schwach sein, unser Gemüth, welches einmal von traurigen Empfindungen voll wäre, wieder aufzuheitern. [Diese Teile der Handlung kann man] auch nicht hinweglassen, ohne den Menschen die lebhaftesten Vorstellungen zu rauben. Es ist kein anderes Mittel übrig, als dasz wir diese Bilder den Vorbildern unähnlich machen. . . . . man wird wenigstens dasjenige, was bei dem schrecklicken Augenblicke des Todes noch sanftes und süszes wahrgenommen werden kann; ganz gelinde Bewegungen, ein Hauptneigen, welches mehr einen Schläfrigen, als einen, der mit dem Tode kämpft, anzuzeigen scheint; eine Stimme, welche zwar unterbrochen wird, aber nicht röchelt, zu der Vorstellung des Todes brauchen können; kurz, man wird selber eine Art des Todes schaffen müssen, die sich jedermann wünschen mochte, und keiner erhält.

This protest of Schlegel's, and the readiness with which the French standard of delicacy, fine propriety (*Delikatesse*), was adopted by those Germans who were endeavoring to raise the standards of the German stage, can be correctly explained as a reaction, to an extreme at first, against the coarseness of the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* which until recently were the only German dramatic product. Germans began to realize that the usage of their neighbors was much more refined, and a first step was to adopt the foreign standards bodily.

Weisse, writing twenty years later in the *Beytrag zum deutschen Theater*, speaking of what the Germans might well learn from the French and from the English, and what they should avoid, says:

[1] Dramaturgische Schriften, *Werke*, III, 174; cf. *Deutsche Lit.-Denkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts*, XXVI, 102.

"Das Zügellose, Unregelmäszige und oft in eine Wildheit ausartende der Engländer, und das lächerliche, galante, coquettenmäszige und seichte der Franzosen vermeiden." So that Weisse still disapproved of the energy of the English stage. Bodmer, while an admirer and imitator of Shakespeare's historical plays, considered any attempt to bring battle-scenes or fighting upon the stage to be ridiculous and out of place.[1] So much from some of the dramatist-critics before and contemporary with Lessing.

It is necessary to observe to what extent these principles were carried out in the practice of dramatists of this period. In tragedy Gottsched, and his adherents generally, carefully avoided anything which might offend the most refined taste. In his *Cato*, Act V, Gottsched followed Addison closely, but Addison in his turn was an imitator of French technique. Hence Gottsched's imitation of him. Cato stabs himself behind the curtain and comes forth supported by attendants, to die after a long parting address[2] to son and daughter. This last scene is partly French, partly Gottsched's own, but not English. The death-scene is robbed of all unpleasantness. No fighting or roughness is permitted on the stage. Ephr. Krüger avoids death, battles, and duels. Schlegel avoids death-scenes by means of reports in *Dido, Die Trojanerinnen, Herrmann,* and *Canut.* He avoids acts of force, battles, and duels in *Orest*, as well as in all of the others named. Yet in *Orest* the king dies upon the stage, and we see Orest in his madness and the king in his rage.[3] Dido retires behind the rear curtain to stab herself, but after her scream the curtain is withdrawn and we behold the end.[4] Cronegk causes his hero, Codrus, to receive his mortal wound without the city gates, but he is carried in to play his rôle to the end and dies upon the stage as the curtain descends.

Weisse allows Richard III to enter with bloody dagger, and to strike dead the rascal Catesby before our eyes. In *Mustapha* (1761) we see at the last the band of rough janissaries in considerable numbers, the black servants of the Sultan, and *murder* upon the stage. In *Rosemunde* of the same year we see a double poisoning and death

[1] Seuffert, Introd. to Bodmer's *Karl von Burgund,* in *Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale d. 18. Jahrhunderts,* IX.

[2] Twenty-nine lines.   [3] Revised for the last time in 1745.

[4] *Deutsche Schaubühne,* V (1744). Final form.

upon the stage. Nothing is reported. In the *Befreyung von Theben* (1764) one murder is done before our eyes, wholesale slaughter is reported in the next room, and fighting without in the streets. In *Atreus* (1766) a tumult of the people is reported, but death occurs in Act V upon the stage, for here, as in *Krispus*, of the same year, the scene is changed for the express purpose of making the death upon the stage possible. Likewise in *Romeo* (1767) we see the death of Romeo and Juliet by poison and dagger at the family tomb. Here a curtain at the rear is used to secure the change of scene. In *Jean Calas* (1774) all sorts of action are both reported and seen.

In Brawe's *Brutus* the death of Brutus occurs on the stage.

In Gebler's *Adelheid*, on two occasions, a fainting fit of Adelheid is reported—in one case we hear the noise as she falls to the floor, striking a chair, as we are told later.

Moreover, II, vii, the madness of Siegmar is reported, not seen, perhaps out of consideration for the feelings of spectators. Yet in the fifth act Siegmar, in making a thrust at Dahlen of whom he is jealous, runs his own wife through with a sword and then kills himself in true "theatrical" style. Also in Gebler's *Klementine*, the taking of poison we see, but fainting and death occur elsewhere than on the stage.

Bodmer several times avoids death scenes by reporting, such as the death of Caesar in *Brutus*, and the slaughter of the banqueters in *Pelopidas*. He prefers to report fighting, as in *Italus* or *Pelopidas*. But several times he introduces considerable numbers upon the stage; in *Brutus*, V, iv, or in his *Cato* the group of women protesting against the bill to prohibit the wearing of personal adornment. And in his *Italus* he allows (III, ii) the strenuous heroine herself to stretch the false Alboin, her suitor, in the dust with his own spear when he boasts of killing her lover, Sigoveses.

In practice the theory is not always strictly adhered to, even by Schlegel himself, and as the English drama, meaning chiefly Shakespeare, became better known in Germany and Switzerland, the greater freedom in point of delicacy(*Delikatesse*) became apparent in the works of German dramatists.

It is of interest to note the almost entire absence of *ensemble*-scenes in the early plays of this period, and the substitution there-

for of narrative. The plays named above, *Mustapha*, *Brutus*, and *Cato*, are the only examples observed where considerable numbers occupy the stage at once. Bodmer may have been influenced by Shakespeare, but for Weisse the technique is surprising. On the other hand, a multitude of instances like the assassination of Caesar in *Brutus*, or the meeting of conspirators, testify to the use of reports to avoid such mass-scenes.

In comedy nice propriety (*Delikatesse*) is observed in other regards by the first writer of modern German comedy, Frau Gottsched, less than by her successors. Frau Gottsched practiced her husband's theory: "Es musz also eine Comödie . . . . die gemeinsten Redensarten beybehalten."[1] For example, in her *Testament* (1743) she uses oaths and figures which would be questionable in any society, one of her feminine characters, Amalie, joining in the merriment. On the other hand she reports, for instance, the scene at the table as do Cronegk, Gellert, Ayrenhoff, and Lessing in his *Der junge Gelehrte* (III, i). Now and then such a scene is presented for certain especial purposes, as when Stephanie shows the humble peasant family at supper with their own soldier son quartered at their home. The simple long-suffering of the honest parents gains an effective background from this scene. In Stephanie's *Werber* there is repeated eating and drinking. In Brandes' *Gasthoff* there is drinking upon the stage. These of course follow Lessing's *Minna*, where there is drinking. Just enjoys the landlord's good brandy without experiencing a change of sentiment toward the donor. In IV, i, the morning meal has just been taken, the table is cleared, and coffee is served and partaken of (IV, iii).

4. *The Author's Models for Individual Plays*

Especially in the earlier part of this period German writers of dramas regularly chose several plays, or often only one play, usually French, after which the new play was constructed.[2] In this process, since every other detail was closely imitated, it was natural that almost the exact technique of narrative reports was also faithfully if not always well reproduced. It is useless to attempt here more than to cite a few characteristic examples.

[1] *Critische Dichtkunst*, 2. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1737), II, ii, par. 19.

[2] See Gottsched's *Schaubühne* for names of such writers and the models used.

Gottsched with his *Cato* represents the one extreme of close imitation. "Reports" are copied word for word with the rest from the original of Addison and Deschamps.[1] Where Gottsched inserts any composition of his own it is only to elaborate the report found in the model.[2] In the translation of reports the technique sometimes suffers, as when Addison says (V, i): "Hark! a second groan! Heaven help us all," which Gottsched renders (V, vii): "Allein das Poltern wird zum andern Mal gehört. Ihr Götter! Steht uns bei!" With most other writers of "original" plays published in the *Schaubühne* there was similar close imitation of the technique of reports, without the direct borrowing of language from the model. The technique is that of the French plays published in translation in the *Schaubühne* as models.[3] In comedy, Frau Gottsched's technique in her three original plays[4] is very like that in her prose translations from Destouches.[5]

With Elias Schlegel it is difficult to speak of direct imitation of models in this detail of technique. For his first tragedies the ideas and material came from classical sources. He had studied with zeal Euripides, Sophocles and Horace, Hédelin and Boileau, Opitz and Canitz.[6] But in addition he had mastered the principles of the *Critische Dichtkunst*. To the material of Euripides and Seneca, therefore, he applied the rules learned from Gottsched in producing his *Trojanerinnen* and his *Geschwister in Taurien*. *Dido* was written at first to oppose a regular play to the irregular *Dido* of his friend Schell, a fellow-pupil at Schul-Pforta. In his later plays, while he takes materials and ideas from many sources in a very cosmopolitan way, his formal technique in the matter of reports remains always his own interpretation of the French rules learned from Gottsched.

In his earlier tragedies especially, Weisse clings closely for his material to dramas already successful. There is evidence enough that he was familiar with Shakespeare's *Richard III* before he wrote his own tragedy of that title. Here imitation of model in the technique of reports is unquestionable. The material of the English play is

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[1] Cf. Joh. Krüger in *D. Nat. Lit.*, XLII, 38.   [2] Cf. IV, iii.

[3] E.g., Racine, *Iphigenie* (translated by Gottsched); Voltaire, *Zaire* (Joh. Joach. Schwabe) and *Alzire* (Frau Gottsched); Corneille, *Horatier* (Glaubitz) and *Cid* (Lange).

[4] *Die ungleiche Heirat, Die Hausfranzösin, Das Testament.*

[5] *Das Gespenst mit der Trummel, Der Verschwender, Der poetische Dorfjunker.*

[6] Cf. Wolff, *Schlegel*, 5 f.

forced into French form. As late as 1764, when *Krispus* appeared, Weisse imitated essentially the technique of reports of his real though unacknowledged model,[1] Racine's *Phèdre* (1677). *Romeo und Julie* is another attempt to improve upon Shakespeare. It is interesting to compare the technique of reports. The action reported (III, i, v) appears upon the stage in the English plays. With Weisse, IV, i takes the place of V, i, ii with Shakespeare, but in Shakespeare we *see* Romeo as he receives the news of Juliet's death (V, i). The report of five lines (IV, v) does not appear in Shakespeare, but the reports in V, v (Weisse) and V, ii (Shakespeare) correspond. Thus Weisse makes more use of the report, but the reports of Shakespeare are far more effective.[2] It may be noted here in passing that in the first printed form of Weisse's play the speeches were much longer than in the later edition; IV, v, for instance, was twice as long.[3]

Direct imitation of one or a few definite models during the construction of an original play, including the technique of reported action, can be affirmed only of the first part of this period, say till 1750. It is as if the technique had to be learned by the German dramatists by working over concrete models. In the fifties and sixties frequent examples of such imitation are found, as in Weisse's *Krispus*. In general, however, the technique was by that time so well in hand that material from any source could be forced into the stereotyped form.

5. *The General Influence of Foreign Dramaturgical Ideas*

Unquestionably the dramaturgical ideas of Germany at the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century were adopted almost bodily from France. The French drama developed from the Latin; the tragedy especially from Seneca, without very great influence from the Greek.[4] Corneille was the first important dramatist and critic to interpret Aristotle for France. When the study of Greek models came to be given the place of first importance, the conventions which had developed in France out of the Latin drama had

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[1] Compare the reports in *Phèdre*, II, vi with *Krispus*, III, iii; *Phèdre*, III, iii with *Krispus*, III, vii. The reports in *Phèdre*, V, v, vi are not found in Weisse's version.

[2] Cf. IV, i (Weisse), V, i (Shakespeare).

[3] Cf. *Beitrag zum deutschen Theater*, 5. Th. (1768); *Trauerspiele*, 4. Th. (Leipzig, 1776).

[4] Cf. Miller, *The Tragedies of Seneca* (Chicago, 1907); Introduction by Manly, 6.

already been fixed or were taking definite form, and Corneille explained Aristotle in such manner as to support the French usage as he found it, and was making it.[1] It is of chief interest therefore to see the resemblance between the French drama even of the time of Gottsched, and the tragedies of Seneca.

Some of the characteristics of Seneca's tragedies are, to use Manly's phrasing, "love for broad description, for introspection and reflection, for elaborate monologue, and catchy sententiousness." He finds "an accumulation of horrors and a consistently unfortunate ending," "the perfection of form" only, "a formal schematism, clear because simple and lifeless." He mentions the "scanty scenery," as the "cause of long descriptive passages"; "passages of fine language, *eloquentia*"; and the "melodramatic character" of the plays.

Of these characteristics some went over to the French and some to the English, somewhat according to the temperament of the two peoples. In French tragedy we find love for description, introspection, reflection (with or without *confidants*), "a formal schematism," often "clear because simple and lifeless," "scanty scenery," "fine language." In English tragedy we find, rather than these characteristics, presentation of action of all sorts upon the stage, even "horrors"; death upon the stage in violent form; in general a much more marked tendency to melodrama. Descriptions in Shakespeare are rather short and suggestive than "broad."

Thus occurred a wide separation between the dramaturgical ideas of England and France. At the beginning of the period of this examination, the one-sided development of the French drama had nearly reached its culmination. It remained for Diderot to begin the criticism necessary to open the eyes of Frenchmen to the faults of their drama. In Germany Diderot found in Lessing one who eagerly took the best from him as he did from others and rejected what he

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[1] "Il faut donc savoir quelles sont ces règles; mais notre malheur est qu'Aristote et Horace après lui en ont écrit assez obscurément pour avoir besoin d'interprètes, et que ceux qui leur en ont voulu servir jusque ici ne les ont souvent expliqués qu'en grammairiens ou en philosophes. Comme ils avoient plus d'étude et de spéculation que d'expérience du théâtre, leur lecture nous peut rendre plus doctes, mais non pas nous donner beaucoup de lumières fort sûres pour y réussir.

"Je hasarderai quelque chose sur cinquante ans de travail pour la scène, et en dirai mes pensées tout simplement. . . . ."—Corneille, *Discours du poème dramatique*, 16.

found to be false. Germany proved to be better soil for the seeds of reform than did France; for the French ideas were after all exotic and superficial in Germany. French formality held far shorter sway there than had the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, the wild outgrowth of the Shakespeare stage in Germany. And now the return swing of the pendulum soon became rapid toward the English idea of action on the stage, character as expressed in action, not described. The movement began definitely with Lessing's prose tragedy of burgher life, in 1755. Two years later Brawe's *Brutus* appeared, in pentameter, showing influence of English form. In 1764 appeared Weisse's *Befreyung von Theben*, showing not only in external form (pentameter), but also in many other ways, English influence. The later tragedies of Weisse are all in prose. Weisse's concession to English ideas shows how popular those ideas had become in Germany. By the second half of the sixties, in fact, the reform was assured; and by the early seventies spirits were ripe for the Shakespeare revolution that came with *Götz*. The interest of this present examination stops, however, with the attainment of freedom from the slavery to rule, and leaves the further development into violent extremes for later observation.

To resume briefly, early in this period the German tragedy inherits from the Latin through the French the technique of reported action, the requirement of nice propriety (*Delikatesse*) being added by the French. The "horrors" of Seneca are passed on to the English, while the French refinement of taste becomes so affected that not even a box o' the ear is permitted without protest, not only from the owner of the ear, but from the critic as well. Only under Lessing's influence are the two elements of the Senecan tragedy reunited.

Moreover there is characteristic of the German plays of this period directly influenced by the French a strong tendency to paint human feeling, sentiment. It was an effort to present character as opposed to action. But it seems to me to be one expression in Germany of that sentimentalism or *sensibilité* which was a watchword of the eighteenth century in France. At first this characteristic was universal in German tragedy. The growth of English influence caused its disappearance to a large extent.

In the light of what has preceded, the relation of these changes to the technique of reporting action is apparent. Suffice it to say that the freedom gained from external forms and in the selection of subject-matter was accompanied by similar independence from requirements affecting narrative technique, such as the unity of place, *Delikatesse*, and the like; and it became the effort no longer merely to make reports formally perfect, but to make them *effective*, to make them *accomplish* something toward the action.

D. THE FUNCTION OR OCCASION OF REPORTS

1. *To Present Action*

After having thus far considered the technique and substance of reports and the place of their occurrence, let us examine as to the function of reports and the occasion for their employment.

Except where mentioned, no reports have been considered which are not necessary to the completeness of the dramatic action; but the dependence of the action upon reports varies greatly within this period. In the tragedies of Gottsched and his followers, Ephr. Krüger, Melchior Grimm, Pitschel, Camerer, and Elias Schlegel,[1] almost the entire action is reported. Cronegk depends somewhat less upon reported action. Bodmer reports almost all his action. Brawe reports some of the rising action, the falling action, and the retarding moment. Gebler, in Vienna, one of the last followers of the old "regular" school, supplies thus almost every step of the action in his *Klementine* (1771). Weisse's tragedies show much variation. In *Edward III* (1758), *Richard III* (1759), and *Befreyung von Theben* (1764), almost all the action is reported. In *Krispus* (1760–64) and *Romeo und Julie* (1767), somewhat more of the action is seen. But here in each case there is change of scene (V). In the *Flucht* (1769–70) and *Jean Calas* (1774) most of the action occurs before our eyes with change of scene. In the case of *Mustapha* (1761), *Rosemunde* (1761), and *Atreus und Thyest* (1766) there is little action and almost nothing reported. In the last-named play there is change of scene in the fifth act.

Weisse's use of the report to present action seems to depend first upon the matter chosen for the drama. If there was much

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[1] Whose early works belong in this category.

action he necessarily reported much. Secondly, if he allowed himself a little more freedom from the strict unity of place, the amount of narrative was reduced. But he never won any real independence from the narrow technique he had once for all learned of Gottsched.

Lessing, in *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), several times reports action. All the reports are in the fifth act. The administering of the poison is reported in four scenes: i, v, vii, x; the incident of the stranger who enticed away Mellefont is reported in three scenes: i, ii, iii; the departure of Marwood, in scene v; and the report that no physician could be found, in scene x. There is much here to remind one of the old technique, with elaborate reports, divisions of reports among several persons, with even a restatement of the narrative as a whole in one case.[1] But an essential difference between these reports and those of others of the same decade is, that these reports are interesting because of the fact which they communicate, and not as an elaborate account of an important action. For instance, it makes the end certain when we learn from Mellefont that no medical assistance can be found. Our interest is only for the fact. Likewise we have no desire to see the various stages of Miss Sara's fainting fit and just how the poison was administered. We are quite satisfied to hear the testimony. These are details subordinate as compared with those parts of the action which have occurred before our eyes. Lessing surrounds the framework of his action with interesting but *subordinate* reported action; his predecessors and many of his contemporaries presented the *framework* by means of narrative.

2. *To Motivate Expressions of Emotion*

Following a discussion of the use of reports to present the action of the drama, it should be observed that in most tragedies of the first half of this period the end of drama was not action. It was emotion that was portrayed. Not human beings moved to action by passion and will, but human sentiment expressed or described in what was considered to be sympathetic and beautiful language. Especially is this true of the Alexandrine plays of this time; so much so, that in support of this statement almost any one of them might justly be cited.

[1] The poisoning: the letter of Marwood recounts all the circumstances.

With this condition clearly in mind, it is no longer difficult to understand the use of reports to motivate the expression of emotion. A single report of very scant action suffices to set off long tirades, and a succession of such reports builds up a slender skeleton having the task of supporting and lending shape to a body only too often ponderously flabby. Whether consciously or not, the author aims first to express emotion. In effect he subordinates action, using it as a means to an end. Even substituting the report for presentation upon the stage, he makes action a mere source of motivation. The extent to which this process is carried varies greatly. Frequently it extends through the whole play, or only isolated speeches may be thus motivated.[1] But in this wise much of the "report" in the early part of this period is to be accounted for.

3. *To Motivate Action*

The next most important use of narrative is to motivate following action. Thus the matter of a report may or may not be itself a part of the action in the narrow sense; yet if later events would be unmotivated without the given account, the report becomes essential.

The employment of narration for the purpose of motivation occurs to a considerable extent in the tragedies of this period, especially the later ones, but is even more frequently found in the comedies. Thus in Gebler's tragedy *Adelheid* (1774), the report of armed men concealed in the woods motivates the presence of the bandit who sends the fatal letter to Adelheid. Or the reported reading of the letter by Adelheid motivates her whole succeeding action, her efforts to leave her husband, who appears now as the murderer of her former betrothed lover. In Frau Gottsched's comedy *Das Testament*, the report[2] of the broken carriages and the lame horses motivates the decision of Frau Tiefenborn to remain at home instead of going to the country as planned. In Weisse's *Matrone von Ephesus* (1744) he motivates the whole action by news concerning the body hanging on the gallows. In his *Poeten nach der Mode* (1751), II, ix serves to make the situation clear at once, and the following action intelligible; in like manner III, ii serves the same purpose. The same

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[1] El. Schlegel, *Herrmann*.   [2] III, iv.

technique is found in *Der Misztrauische gegen sich selbst, Der Projekt-macher*, and others. In Brandes' *Gasthoff* (1767) the whole action is rather sprawling and not well motivated, but the reported occurrences are parts of the action, and furnish a basis for further action. In Ayrenhoff's *Postzug*,[1] the steward (*Verwalter*) describes a table-scene, which motivates several events that take place later: the Count expresses suspicions, founded upon occurrences at the dinner, as to a love affair between his bride and the major; and the conversation with Lisette is an important scene for the action.

In Lessing's early comedies the reports motivate the action to a large extent, as for instance, in *Der junge Gelehrte*, II, iii, or III, i, the report of the table-scene. Sometimes this is done in a threadbare fashion, as in *Die alte Jungfer* (II, i) Lisette tells Lelia quite apparently so that we may know what to expect: ". . . . sie hat den Augenblick nach einem Schneider, nach einem Spitzenmanne, nach einer Aufsetzerin und nach einem Poeten geschickt."

A difference is noticeable in the comedies between the nature of the earlier and the later reports in many cases. The more strict use of narrative carefully to motivate a part of the action of the play as a whole is more often found in the later comedies. In the earlier ones the reports serve as a basis for the local situation without so much relation to the unity of the action. This of course was a fault of the whole play, not of the report. The early comedies were rather a succession of situations, capable of indefinite multiplication. A report was used in two ways: first, a comparatively short account was sometimes expanded to a ridiculous situation in the mere telling, as in Joh. Chrn. Krüger's *Candidaten*.[2] Johann dallies with his report, cracking jokes until his master threatens his life, when he pretends to begin to relate the events "historically" in lieu of a better order of events. The result is that a short report in substance covers four pages in the telling, and if well played the situation might be quite ludicrous. Or secondly, a narrative is made to open a situation, which is then so developed as to be laughable, as in Weisse's *Misztrauischer* (II, iii), where the bold Herr Pelfer turns to his own advantage Frau Drummer's report;[3] for he lets it be understood

[1] II, i.   [2] V, i.
[3] That someone unknown has presented her daughter with a beautiful gift, suitable as a gift from an accepted suitor.

under the very eyes of the real suitor, whose proxy (*Brautwerber*) he is, that he, Pelfer, is the lover and the author of the gift in question. Thus a ludicrous, if somewhat impossible, situation is developed, based upon the report of Frau Drummer.

4. *To Relieve the Author in His Helplessness*

Very frequently the occasion for narration is the pure helplessness of the author before the difficulties of dramatic composition.

If the author is in embarrassment as to how to gather up the loose threads of his story and put an end to the "action," for example, he inserts a narrative report, which serves his purpose immediately and quickly: as in Weisse's *Edward III* (V, ii), where Nordfolk lends the author much needed assistance in hastening the end. Especially in the Alexandrine tragedies the presentation is so broad that, to get anywhere, considerable action must be condensed into reports.

The natural inclination to advance along the line of least resistance explains the tendency to *describe* action in detail, supplying motives practically at will; because the spectator has no way of controlling the author's statement without seeing the action with his own eyes. This is assuredly a comfortable method of securing the desired effect of the action without the trouble of presenting the whole action in a convincing way to the spectator. This method is especially convenient where a psychological process has to be shown.[1]

Another kind of report is a manifestation of helplessness on the part of the author. The great dramatists of the world, among them Shakespeare and Schiller, when confronted with an extended action involving a mass of detail, have had the power of selecting characteristic and essential actions for careful presentation, of subordinating some minor details, and of rejecting what was unnecessary. The faculty rightly to select and reject is not the least sign of greatness in a dramatist. Among the dramas examined there are several in which the author is overwhelmed by the details and can help himself only by condensing them into reports and introducing thus *all* the circumstances of the action. By closer motivation much of the material carried along might have been dropped, and the action

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[1] Cf. Krüger, *Vitichab*, V, i; see p. 62.

made clearer and simpler. Here are evidences too of the naturalism which appeared at this time and manifested itself in various ways. In the drama there was a tendency to copy life as it actually existed, to present on the stage a bit of real life. Thus Weisse's *Jean Calas* (1774) presents dramatically before our eyes the "tragic" fate of a poor French Protestant, but is no tragedy. At the same time, the author introduces with great circumstantiality all the details of the current accounts of the event, making very frequent use of the report.

Short reports are used here and there to move the persons about, like wires of the puppet show. In Frau Gottsched's *Testament* (II, vii) occurs an excellent illustration. Amalie never allows her aunt to be alone for more than a few moments at a time, in her eagerness to overhear all plans with reference to the making of the aunt's will. This has gone on before our eyes continually. Just now the author wants to introduce an important situation in which the aunt receives and accepts an offer of marriage—a most important development in the "aunt's plot" of the action. Of course this situation must not be interrupted prematurely, so the author announces a reason why Amalie does not appear as we should otherwise expect: "Nein, ich habe ihr einen Brief an meinen Kaufmann in der Stadt zu schreiben gegeben. Den kann sie in keiner Stunde fertig bekommen." Again (II, x), Dr. Hippokras has disappeared for a time and he has to report how he has busied himself: "Fr. v. Tiefenborn: 'Haben Sie etwa wieder was erfahren?' Dr. Hippokras: 'Nein. Ich habe einige von euer Gnaden kranken Hofgesinde besucht, und da fast anderthalb Stunden zugebracht.'" Other such instances occur in the same play: III, vi, III, vii.

Gellert uses reports to move his characters about, usually short reports. Thus in *Das Loos in der Lotterie* (1746; II, vii) Damon has led his sister-in-law out to the garden; similarly in III, ii, vii; V, vii. Compare also *Die kranke Frau*.[1]

5. *To Effect Transition or to Occupy Time*

There are several minor uses made of reports which may be mentioned. A report stands occasionally at the beginning of an

[1] Written before 1747; *Lustspiele* (Leipzig, 1763).

act or of a scene to connect it with the preceding division. Thus
in Gebler's *Adelheid*, III, i seems to be distinctly a "transition"
report connecting Act III with Act II.   Dahlen, in Act III, takes
up the report begun by himself to the servant, Gotthard, in the last
scene of the previous act and completes the information concerning
Siegmar's attack of madness before passing to the further action
of Act III.

Again, a report may be used to occupy time in order to secure
the effect of verisimilitude (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*).   No better illus-
tration could be found than Act V, scene v of Gottsched's *Cato*.
Porcius is commanded by his father to run down to the harbor and
see if the fleeing fugitives are safe on the ships.   Thence he returns,
V, vii, with a report.   To fill in the time while Porcius does the errand
three scenes are inserted.   Of these scene v is a narrative.   To keep
us interested Phokas entertains us with a description of the innocent
sweet sleep and probable dreams of the noble man, Cato.   He
has just seen him lying in slumber behind the curtain at the back
of the stage, which perforce represents an inner room.   In addition,
this report is intended to center our attention upon Cato, and arouse
our sympathy for the hero just before he takes his own life.   The
catastrophe follows quickly after this, during the recital of Porcius.

Narrative is frequently used to substantiate as fact, as finished,
what has previously been outlined, or made probable, or agreed
upon before our eyes.   Such reports are found both in tragedy and
in comedy.[1]

6.   *To Reveal Character*

Reports of two other kinds should be discussed here, classified
according as they are used for the purpose of characterization, or of
presenting the author's philosophy in "purpose dramas."

Persons are made to report much, in the dramas examined, with
the effect, and doubtless also the intention, of filling in details in
our conception of this or that character of the action, making it
more real, or perhaps only more pronounced as a type.   There are
many degrees of closeness in the connection of such reports with
the action.   Here only those have been considered which contribute
directly to the action and to the conception of character.   Strictly,

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[1] E.g., Gottsched's *Cato*, II, vii; Chrn. Krüger, *Candidaten*, II, xii.

many such reports are episodes, serving as exposition rather than as action in the narrow sense. But in the period under consideration strict classification from a modern standpoint becomes impracticable, because of the different conception at that time of the nature of dramatic action.

To cite one example from many: In Bodmer's *Brutus*, IV, x, in a moment of the severest trial, as Brutus stands in Caesar's house with good reason for believing that his plot has been disclosed to the dictator, a slave comes bringing news to Brutus that his wife has fainted repeatedly. He knows the cause—anxiety for him and his undertaking. Yet he maintains a cool, self-reliant exterior; a test of strength well added.

7.   *To Present the Author's Philosophy*

Of "purpose dramas" there are two kinds. The author may so choose or shape his material that (*a*) the actions preach his philosophy without words. The reader draws the necessary conclusions. Or (*b*) the characters, with more or less introduction, make active propaganda for the author's views. Bodmer, in his national dramas, sometimes uses a narrative to introduce a subject for discussion, so to speak, an occasion for patriotic harangues. Slightly different in nature is the report in *Brutus*, III, iii. In one sense the action recounted is simple: Cassius took Brutus to the meeting of conspirators and they made plans to murder Caesar. But the author intends to report and does report more than the mere outward action. He wishes to convey to us an impression of the confusion of opinion among the conspirators before the coming of Brutus and their united sentiment afterward. To this end he causes Cassius to quote indirectly the different opinions expressed. At this point he very cleverly allows us to see Brutus deceive himself before our eyes in a characteristic manner. Cassius says, " . . . . in jedem Angesichte glühete der Zorn, der einen Vater, einen Sohn, eine Braut zu rächen hat"; Brutus substitutes for revenge his own higher motive: " . . . . wir wollen nichts rächen, Cassius, als das Vaterland, in ihm hat Caesar jedem Römer, Vater, Sohn und Braut ermordet"; and by unconsciously imputing his own noble sentiments to others Brutus fatally deceives himself.

Here the action to be reported is not merely a deed in the author's mind, not merely the coming together in a meeting, nor even merely the conclusion reached or determined upon; just as important it is to him to report the philosophy, the steps by which the determination was reached. The transition is easy from reporting such philosophizing to further discussion, and such a transition occurs. Brutus' speech cited above, coming after two pages of narrative, introduces a whole page of philosophizing upon the deserts of a tyrant, capable though he be, at the hands of republican patriots. Brutus, whose thoughts are upon deeds, then returns to the report of plans completed at the meeting. But even with Brutus Caesar is not briefly "Caesar," but ". . . . den . . . . der sein Leben nach allen göttlichen und menschlichen Gesetzen verwürkt hat." No chance is lost to promulgate the republican doctrine. The report finally goes over into a continued consideration of plans, supported by a further extensive course of philosophizing.

In Gebler's *Adelheid* less preaching is done, but the facts are made to speak loudly for themselves and the moral is plain: the evil of jealousy and of too passionate love.

8. *To Add Significant Coloring to Salient Features of the Action*

Occasionally actions gain in force by being reported, not seen. A number of reports can be cited where the account takes on color of some kind from the medium of transmission. In Gebler's *Klementine* (II, xi), Friedrich, in reporting the arrival of the police officials after the death of the Baron, contrives to add to the mere report the apprehension that foul play has been done. The report has gained this touch of suspicion from the medium of transmission. Or in *Adelheid* (I, vi), Hedwig reports to her brother Siegmar the visit of a strange man during his absence, with a communication for Adelheid, Siegmar's wife. This action, if seen, might be and was simple enough. Yet heard from Hedwig's lips, jealous of Adelheid and impetuous as she was, it was a different matter. As reported by her the account was colored with insinuations calculated to fire the suspicious nature of her brother, and from merely passing through this medium the report gained in effectiveness over the plain event if seen on the stage.

III. CONCLUSION

A. CHANGES IN THEORY

To review in conclusion the results of our examination of this period, we find very little expression of theory definitely applicable to the technique of reports. Starting with the borrowed views of Gottsched and his followers, as best stated in the *Critische Dichtkunst*, we find arguments for the strict observance of the unities, of *französische Delikatesse*, for correctness of form, for the use of verse (Alexandrine) in tragedy, and of prose in comedy. Following the straight line of development, Elias Schlegel is the next to offer any important contribution to theory, with his protest[1] against slavish adherence to the unities, especially the unity of place. He urges also the advantage of verse for comedy as well as tragedy.[2] Lessing alone seems to have heeded the young Schlegel, by whom he must have been influenced early in his career. And Lessing, who forced a hearing for himself, not only emphasized the protest of Schlegel,[3] but rebelled against the prevailing idea of *Delikatesse*,[4] supported with arguments[5] the middle-class tragedy which he introduced, taught the use of prose for the serious drama,[6] required real action in place of sentiment, and among other things emphasized the necessity of making the dialogue natural.[7]

The theories of these three men were by far the most important in determining the development of the technique of reports. It is unnecessary here to mention the theoretical writings of such men as Cronegk, who protested[8] vehemently against even the use of a curtain at the rear of the scene, or as Weisse, who, while giving out a policy of compromise between French and English dramaturgical ideas,[9] in effect followed the old pattern almost up to the last.

B. CHANGES IN PRACTICE

In practice, however, the actual evolution can be detected in numerous details, as appears in the foregoing. In closing, a brief review of the more important evidence is added.

[1] *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters* (1747).

[2] *Schreiben über die Komödie in Versen* (1740).

[3] E.g., *Hamburgische Dramaturgie.* 46. Stück.

[4] E.g., *ibid.*, 56. Stück.   [5] E.g., *ibid.*, 14. Stück.   [6] E.g., *ibid.*, 13. Stück.

[7] E.g., *ibid.*, 59. Stück.   [8] Preface to *Codrus*.

[9] *Beytrag zum deutschen Theater* (1765), Part I, Introduction.

Of considerable interest is the development of the monologue. At first it was carefully avoided to satisfy the requirements of verisimilitude (*Wahrscheinlichkeit*). As means to this end, *confidants* (*Vertraute*) were employed. With the conviction that the means were even worse than the original evil, the confidence was transferred to the audience, and now the monologue was used even to an extreme and without sufficient motivation, by authors like Brandes.

Toward the last years of Lessing's life, and through the influence of his example, the assignment of reports to certain types of characters ceased to a large extent, and it was possible for any character to be the bearer of a report properly motivated.

Not only was the pedantic use of types cast overboard; but there began with Lessing, or more properly with Elias Schlegel, a serious study of the technique of the drama hitherto unknown in Germany. Circumstances occasioned that only Lessing's thoughts should become widely influential. The changes found at this time were by no means all concretely introduced by Lessing; rather was it true that his great example stimulated emulation in others, even in this period. For we find some men such as Gemmingen, who worked well and thought with much independence.

Among other evidences of the deepening of the study of technique are the following changes in the technique of individual reports.

At the beginning of this period, the emphasis upon form extended even to the "reports." Their mechanism became very elaborate as formal technique developed, so that three different classes are distinguishable: undisguised narrative, embellished narrative, and veiled narrative. As a result of Lessing's influence and serious study the reports retain the best of this formal technique, with as little cumbersome machinery as possible; but their nature is essentially changed by the beginnings of psychological development.

In the early plays we find elaborate expansion of reports, even to great length, with labored attempts to increase the interest even to a small climax within the narrative. The element of excitement in reports is at first largely physical, later it becomes psychological. Moreover the introduction of real suspense marks a change from early methods. The conversational style is at first exceedingly circumstantial, and not until Lessing had set the example was a

rapidly moving natural dialogue attained, except occasionally. After the appearance of *Minna von Barnhelm* imitations were many. The use of minor details of technique, interruptions, and the like, Lessing essentially subtilized. There was an increase in the skilful use of "alarms" to accompany reports.

There is a remarkable development also in motivation: motivation of the choice of characters, of the use of the narrative, and of individual reports. At first external and obvious, or lacking entirely, the motivation became later skilful and usually psychological.

Psychological development in reports before the appearance of Lessing's later dramas is rather accidental than otherwise.

Aside from these narrow but not unimportant details of technique, there were broader changes affecting the "reports," tallying closely with the theories of Lessing already cited. The growing freedom from the slavish observance of the three unities and of *Delikatesse* made possible the introduction to the stage of much action hitherto reported. Matter was now excluded from direct presentation by reason of its unimportance or other impracticability, not for mere formal reasons. Thus, whereas "reports" were at first a necessity for the presentation of action, they were used later at the discretion of the author. Closely related to this also is the change in the end or object of the tragedy. After Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* especially a unified *action* was assured to the drama and not a mere dramatic presentation of emotion.

In the external form there is a gradual change from Alexandrine verse to the English measure, pentameter, and, through this intermediate step,[1] to prose. This is true for the tragedy. In the comedy, prose was used from the first by Frau Gottsched, although Alexandrines were employed occasionally by a few authors, among them Elias Schlegel. As is well known, Lessing was in large part responsible for the introduction first of pentameter, and then through his *Miss Sara Sampson*, of prose. Later, in his dramatic poem *Nathan*, Lessing returns to verse, a circumstance prophetic, as events proved, of the return of the German classic drama to a preference for verse.

Very marked is the change in style, reaching even the reports, from wordy, inflated descriptions to conversation, in both tragedy

[1] For others than Lessing, e.g., Weisse.

and comedy. Here the influence of the middle-class tragedy (*bürger-liche Tragödie*) is evident. There is less necessity for reporting action. Instead of the old descriptions of battles and the like, action difficult of reproduction upon the stage, the action now occurs naturally within four walls, perhaps. Moreover, from the nature of the case the style of language of the middle-class tragedy is simpler, homelier. In the comedy of Lessing, the dialogue is put upon a basis of sparkling intellectuality, in place of humdrum circumstantiality—in reports as elsewhere.

In conclusion, it may be said that the development of the technique of reports in the German drama of this period is away from that of the French drama. Beginning with complete adoption of French technique in this detail, as in others, as early as 1747 Elias Schlegel began to protest. To be sure, he had read La Motte's criticism as well as English dramas; just as Lessing had read Diderot. But in both cases the honor of the French prophet was least at home. The French were less ready than the Germans for reform, as Lessing says, because the drama, as it was, was a product of their own, and dear to them, while in Germany it was a foreign growth, more readily displaced by something better. Certain it is that with the appearance of *Miss Sara Sampson* in 1755 a period began in which the Germans led the French in the reform of dramatic technique.

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LATIN TEXTS OF THE DANCE OF DEATH

In the year 1833 Francis Douce, writing upon the subject of the Dance of Death, spoke of "a Latin poem that seems to have been composed in the twelfth century by our celebrated countryman Walter de Mapes, as it is found among other pieces that carry with them strong marks of his authorship. It is entitled 'Lamentacio et deploracio pro Morte et consilium de vivente Deo.' In its construction there is a striking resemblance to the common metrical stanzas that accompany the Macaber Dance." Douce then cites from two manuscripts of the poem, giving their names in a footnote; he indicates no difference between the two texts in structure, although such exists in marked degree.

Eight years later the French scholar Achille Jubinal, in his description of the "Danse des Morts" of La Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, repeated part of Douce's remark, saying that Walter Map was author of a Lamentatio resembling the Dances of Death; and Dufour, discussing that general subject in 1874, referred to the same passage. No examination of the texts described by Douce seems, however, to have been made; the article on French literature in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 841, again refers to Douce and his two manuscripts, but in passing only; and Künstle, in his valuable study of the Dances of Death and their source, alludes to the second of these poems as by Walter Map and as still unprinted.

The two Latin texts mentioned by Douce are printed below.[1] The first and briefer of these, which I shall for convenience term the *Vado mori*, is from the manuscript Lansdowne 397 of the British Museum; it is a transcript of the first half of the fifteenth century, made by John Wessington, prior of Durham, owner of the volume; the copy gives no clue as to authorship. In this poem a prologue of six lines, written in interlacing rime, is followed by twelve distichs, each beginning and ending with the words "Vado mori," and spoken by twelve different personages of graduated rank, from Pope

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[1] I make my print from photographs; the manuscripts I have not examined. In *Studi Medievali* III, 514 (April, 1910), is a note preliminary to this print.

to pauper. Of this poem another text exists, in the Amplonian
library at Erfurt; it is printed from the manuscript by Schum, in
his catalogue of the library, p. 41, and was briefly commented upon
by Carlo Pascal in the *Studi Medievali*, II, 559. It is again printed,
more correctly, by W. Fehse in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*,
XLII, 277 (October, 1910). Another copy also, in the Bibliothèque
Mazarin at Paris, No. 980, is mentioned but not printed by E.
Male, *Revue des deux mondes*, XXXII, 658.

The longer text is found in MS Brit. Mus. Royal 8 B vi, a mis-
cellaneous volume containing among other a copy of Petrarch's
version of the Griselda-story and several Latin debate-poems. The
hand of the scribe may be as late as the seventeenth century.
Another hand, certainly of that period, has written above the text
the title "Incipit Lamentacio et deploracio pro morte et consilium
de viuere deo." This version we may accordingly call the *Lamen-
tatio;* no author is mentioned. Its text, while obviously based on
the *Vado mori*, which it incorporates, has been expanded. Not only
is the exordium now of sixteen lines, and the number of personages
increased from twelve to nineteen, but a distich of response by some
person unnamed, beginning and ending each time with the words
"Vive deo," has been inserted after each "Vado mori" distich.
The scribe has written below the last couplet his "Explicit," so that
the allusion of Künstle to Map's concluding description of a vision in
which three lords are confronted by three dead men can bear no
reference to this text; and as yet no other copy of this *Lamentatio*
has been made known. Künstle's note asserts the existence of the
poem in English manuscripts of the fourteenth century, without
further particulars. The point would be of great interest in the
literary development of the Death-motive.

The connection of Map's name with either poem is of the most
shadowy and unfounded nature; the surmise of Douce, based as
he plainly says only upon the presence in the manuscript of other
work apparently by Map, was but a surmise.

THE *VADO MORI*

Dum mortem meditor crescit michi causa doloris
Nam cuntis horis mors venit ecce citor

Pauperis *et* regis communis lex moriendi
Dat causam flendi si bene scripta legis   4
Gustato pomo nullus transit sine morte
Heu missera sorte labitur omnis homo

Vado mori papa qui iussu regna subegi
Mors michi regna tulit eccine vado mori   8

Vado mori rex sum quid honor quid gloria regum
Est via mors hominis regia vado mori

Vado mori presul cleri populique lucerna
Qui fueram validus langueo vado mori   12

Vado mori miles victor certamine belli
Mortem non didici vincere vado mori

Vado mori monachus mundi moriturus amori
Vt moriatur amor hic michi vado mori   16

Vado mori legista fui defensor egenis
Causidicus causas descio vado mori

Vado mori logicus aliis concludere noui
Conclusit breuiter mors michi vado mori   20

Vado mori medicus medicamine non redimendus
Quicquid agat medici pocio vado mori

Vado mori sapiens michi nil sapiencia prodest
Me reddit fatuum / mors fera vado mori   24

Vado mori diues vt quid michi copia rerum
Dum mortem nequeat pellere vado mori

Vado mori cultor collegi farris aceruos
Quos ego pro vili computo vado mori   28

Vado mori pauper quem pauper Christus amauit
Hunc sequar euitans omnia vado mori

Variants of the Erfurt text, as printed by Fehse, *op. cit.*, are: L. 1 reads *cogito* instead of *meditor*. L. 2 opens with *Iam*, closes with *cito*. L. 9 ends *regni* instead of *regum*. L. 18 reads *resero* instead of the *descio* here written. In l. 19 the speaker is termed *laycus* instead of *logicus*. L. 25 reads *ad quid* instead of *vt quid*.

Four couplets of this poem, those of Rex, Miles, Medicus, and Logicus, are prefixed to a copy of "Earth upon Earth" in the manuscript Balliol College Oxford 354, printed by Flügel in *Anglia* 26, 217–19; and in that same poem, copied about 1500, there is an allusion to Lydgate's "Dance of Death"[1] as painted in Pardon Churchyard, St. Paul's. The poet says—

> Yf ye list of the trewth to se a playn figure
> Go to seynt powlis & se ther the portrawtour.

There is also a French poem of sixty six-line stanzas, "Le Mirouer de Monde,"[2] in which a series of personages speak their farewells to life; each stanza begins and closes "Je vois (vais?) mourir," just as these Latin couplets begin and close "Vado mori."

The interdependence of most of the existing Death-dances and their nearly allied forms cannot, indeed, be doubted; and this adds to the complexity of the problem which they present. We have upon the one hand some half-score of poems, French, German, and Spanish, dating mainly within the first half of the fifteenth century; in all of these the processional and dialogue-character is similar, and most of them were accompanied by paintings in which one or many skeletons urged on their unwilling victims. The Paris text of 1424 and its frescoes, on the walls of SS. Innocents, struck the eye of Lydgate, and his translation, with a series of pictures, was painted in St. Paul's cloister at the expense of John Carpenter, town clerk of London and sometime friend of Whittington. The same French verses, expanded and more elaborately illustrated, were frequently printed in France from 1485 on, and the line of painters of Death continues until Dürer and Holbein.

On the other hand we have, earlier than the fifteenth century, scattered representations of Warnings or Triumphs of Death, in which there is no processional character and no attempt at representing all classes of humanity. Frequently the painting shows a group of dead confronting a group of the living, as in the widely

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[1] This text, with introduction, will soon appear.

[2] Printed in the appendix to Méon, *Vers sur la Mort*, Paris, 1835; some stanzas are printed by Varnhagen, *Zeitschrift für roman. Philologie*, I, 548, from a fourteenth-century manuscript. I have a copy of Brit. Mus. Add. 29986, a fourteenth-century text.

popular idea of the "Three Living and Three Dead," which was common in France earlier than the first Death-procession of which record has survived, perhaps earlier than any Death-procession.   In this representation the latest investigator of the Death-dances[1] would find their source.

The texts here printed have, however, not yet been considered as links in the history of the Death-motive in mediaeval literature. The *Vado mori*, of which the Erfurt text is dated in the fourteenth century, is suggestive because of its processional character; and the *Lamentatio*, in which the *Vado mori* text is developed to dialogue, is yet more closely allied, as Douce said, with the typical Dance of Death verses.   And it is of a character which may awaken again the desire to treat the Dances of Death as a mimetic genus, to ally them with drama as well as with art.

THE *LAMENTATIO*

Dum mortem recolo: crescit mihi causa doloris
Nam cunctis horis: mors venit ecce cito
Mors genus omne terit? sequitur sed vita futura
Celica futura; nunc sibi finis erit   4
Equa lege capit: mors magnos atque pusillos
Nunc hos nunc illos precipitando rapit
Contendunt vario: sibi mors et vita duello
Illa suo bello? separat; ista pio suo   8
Pauperis et regis: communis lex moriendi
Dat eam flendi? si bene scripta legis
Mors vitam resecat sternit pro tempore fortem
Sed tandem mortem, vita probata necat   12
Gustato pomo? nullus transit sine morte
Heu misera sorte? labitur omnis homo
Ad certamen eo? litis lis certat amori
Dicis vado mori, consulo viue deo   16

Vado mori papa qui iussu regna subegi
Mors mihi regna tulit: heccine vado mori
    Viue deo papa: nunc mamona sit dea pape
    Desine papa dee: viuere: viue deo   20

[1] Karl Künstle, *Die Legende der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten und der Totentanz*, Freiburg, 1908.

Vado mori rex sum: qui(d) honor quid gloria regni
Est via mors hominis? regia vado mori
  Viue deo per quem? rex es . re nunc adorna
  Rex rege, rex deus est . rex ho(mo): viue deo   24

Vado mori presul? cleri populique lucerna
Qui fueram validus? langueo vado mori
  Viue deo presul; cuius vice stas in honore
  fforma gregi datus est: sta: bene, viue deo   28

Vado mori miles? belli certamine victor
Mortem non didici: vincere vado mori
  Viue deo miles? pacem patriamque tuere
  fforcior in fidei? robore . viue deo   32

Vado mori monachus? mundi moriturus amori
Vt moriatur amor? dic mihi: vado mori
  Viue deo monache: quodque avneris ipse memento
  Christo commoriens? in cruce viue deo   36

Vado mori? legista fui, defensor egenis
Causidicus causas? desero vado mori
  Viue deo: legista dei; lex vera probatur
  Ne te lex perdat? perdita . viue deo   40

Vado mori rethor: placitans florente relatu
Muneribus letor: langueo vado mori
  Viue deo rethor? iustas sustolle querelas
  Munera que cecant? respue, viue deo   44

Vado mori populo? verbum vite reserare
Qui solitus fueram? langueo vado mori
  Viue deo doctor? qui virtutes docuisti
  Cuncta que peccata? spernere: viue deo   48

Vado mori logicus? aliis concludere noui
Conclusit breuiter? mors vado mori
  Viue deo logice? premissas fac tibi vite
  Ne conclusa tibi? sit via: viue deo   52

Vado mori medicus: medicamine non redimendus
Quicquid agant medici? reppuo vado mori
  Viue deo medice: fallax est ars medicine
  Est medicina deus? optima viue deo   56

Vado mori cantor? frangens notulas modulando
In lacrimas muto; cantica: vado mori
    Viue deo Cantor? sit vox bene consona laudi
    Et mens concordet? sit bene viue deo   60

Vado mori sapiens? mihi nil sapientia prodest
Me reddit fatuum? mors fera, vado mori
    Viue deo sapiens? qui sursum sunt sapiendo
    Desipit hic mundus : tu sape . viue deo   64

Vado mori diues? ad quid mihi copia rerum
Cum mortem nequeant: pelleri vado mori
    Viue deo diues? opibus simul et pietate
    Pauper eget: fer opem . da tua . viue deo   68

Vado mori Cultor: collegi ferris aceruos
Quos ego pro vili? deputo . vado mori
    Viue deo Cultor: manus vtiliter colat agrum
    Religione dei? mens pia . viue deo   72

Vado mori . burgensis eram . sensum cumulaui
Omnia mors adimit: impia . vado mori
    Viue deo: seu burgensis: seu Ciuis in vrbe
    Vt sis viua dei? mansio . viue deo   76

Vado mori nauta: fluctus fulcans remigando
Mors proram perimit? naufraga, vado mori
    Viue deo nauta? que multos obruit vnda
    fforsan erit subita? mors tua: viue deo   80

Vado mori . pincerna fui . potum michi fellis
Hora proponandi . vltima vado mori
    Viue deo pincerna . dei sunt pocula vina
    ffons viuus deus est? hunc bibe . viue deo   84

Vado mori pauper? pro Christo: cuncta relinquens
Hunc sequar . euitans omnia . vado mori
    Viue deo pauper: tam re quam mente beata
    Nil vt heus . et heus omnia . viue deo   88

Vado mori . pietate potens benefactor egenis
Hanc mors non resecat? hac duce . vado mori
    Viue deo carus: rapiaris in eius amorem
    Tota fer in donum? viscera . viue deo   92

Nulli mors partis:? concludens singula fine
Omnia transibu(n)t:? preter amare deum
   Viue deo . bene viuis ei; si viuis amori
   Non potes ante deum:? viuere preter eum   96

Explicit

This poem is written in double columns, on folio 30, *a* and *b*, of the manuscript; the two lines of each couplet are connected at their inner ends by a brace, and the "Viue deo" is in each case written in the right-hand column parallel to its corresponding "Vado mori"; between them the scribe has written the name of the personage. He marks the last two distichs "Conclusio" and the two just preceding with an abbreviated word which is apparently "Elemosynarius." It should be added that many of these markings are in the hand which prefixed to the poem its title. At the foot of the last left-hand column are appended two "Vado mori" distichs, marked as possible substitutes for those of Rethor and Nauta; they are:

Vado mori placitor: hundredis et comitatu
Tmria[1] et fortitudo nunc deficiu(n)t: langueo vado mori

Vado mori nauta fluctus qui fulco marinos
Naufragor . aufertur . anchora vado mori.   100

An analysis of either the meter or the Latinity of this composition would take the student far afield. On the second point the crudities of the author are often painful; but it is noticeable that wherever the two poems agree, wherever the *Lamentatio* reproduces the earlier *Vado mori*, it moves more safely than in its added portions. The worst puzzles of the text[2] are in the "Viue deo" couplets, and in these couplets also the attempt at amplifying the *Vado mori*'s play with word-stems and with alliteration has occasionally resulted in barbarism. Comparing the *Vado mori* text, in its two copies Erfurt and Lansdowne, with that text as imbedded in the *Lamentatio*, we find the *Lamentatio* resembling Lansdowne in its reading of l. 49, Erfurt in its reading of l. 65, perhaps of l. 38. Much more numerous are its own variants: in l. 1 *recolo* spoils the rime-scheme; in l. 10 *eam* is miswritten for *causam;* in l. 21 *qui* appears instead of *quid;* in l. 21 *regni* instead of *regum;* in l. 34 *dic* instead of *hic;*

[1] This word reads thus in the manuscript, with no mark of contraction; it was perhaps intended for *Temperancia*.

[2] I have to thank my friend Dr. Edith Rickert for help upon these texts.

in l. 54 *agant* and *reppuo* (for *respuo?*) instead of *agat* and *pocio;* in l. 66 *cum* instead of *dum;* in l. 69 *ferris* instead of *farris;* in l. 70 *deputo* instead of *computo.* L. 85 is materially changed, and the word-order of l. 29 is altered. Twice the sign for an omitted nasal has been forgotten (94, 98), and twice the stroke above a letter is dragged into a misleading curve.

These slips, however, do not present so much difficulty as do a few passages in the text. In ll. 24 and 92 I have expanded the contractions *ho* and *do^m* to *homo* and *donum;* in l. 28 the scribe has written *sta* with line over *a*, and I have made no expansion to *sancta*, as the text is evidently corrupt in this line. The same is probably true of ll. 63 and 64; and in l. 82 *proponandi* should evidently read *propinandi.* In l. 35 one might desire to read either *muneris Christi* or *vulneris Christi*, but the manuscript shows an apparent running-together of *a* and *v—avneris.*

Whatever the shortcomings of scribe or poet, however, the value of the two works in the history of literature is not thereby affected. Were it possible to date the *Lamentatio*, to discover how far anterior to the seventeenth century its production lies, to place it earlier than the Death-dances of 1400–50, its text would become of the utmost importance to students of the subject. For in this poem, as compared with the *Vado mori*, the dialogue-form appears. It is noticeable that in the dialogue here the human actor speaks first each time; and the voice which replies is not necessarily that of Death, but perhaps of some ecclesiastic looking from his pulpit upon the passing figures. We are reminded, indeed, that this, according to Male,[1] was the earliest form of the Dances of Death—an "illustrated" sermon, such as that pseudo-Augustinian sermon from which derived the Processus Prophetarum of the miracle-plays. But we must note the formal difference between such a dialogue, composed of farewell speeches followed by anonymous comment, and a dialogue composed of the repeated summons of Death followed by farewell speeches.

Künstle, emphasizing the derivation of the Dances of Death from the legend of the Three Living and Three Dead, bases his argument

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[1] *Revue des deux mondes* (1906), XXXII, 647–79. Compare Bolte in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XVII, 41.

on the assumption that one of the two, Dance or Legend, must be derived from the other. He points out that the Legend is much earlier than all known Dances, and is found in the same countries and under the same conditions. He then asserts that it is not correct to see in the Dance-representations Death leading the living; rather have we the dead as monitors. For the processional treatment of the motive he would suggest an explanation from architectural conditions; in a wall-painting the two groups of three, the Living and the Dead, were necessarily broken up into three pairs, and this sequence of couples was then continued to fill the remaining wall-spaces. Thus grew up the procession of the Dead leading all classes of the living, erroneously termed the Dance of Death.

But if we were to deny the theoretic foundation of all this, the necessity of deriving either motive, Dance or Legend, from the other; if we preferred to regard the two as allied but independent expressions of the mediaeval Death-fascination, we should not be without evidence. A full demonstration is impossible until the dialogues between Man and Death have been gathered, until the history of tapestry-poems has been written, until the procession-motive of the Middle Ages, which Künstle minimizes, has been discussed. As example of the first, take the poem preserved in the manuscript Harley 7333, of the fifteenth century. Here Man addresses Death in 36 rimed lines beginning:

> Quis es tu quem video / hic / stare in figura
> In horribili visu turpissima statura
> In tuo toto corpore est macies obscura
> Me tua disposicio perterrint in pura. . . . . .

And Death replies in 36 lines beginning:

> Ego sum quem metuit omnis creatura
> Timent me preterita / presencia et futura. . . . . .

Were we possessed of the entire mass of death-dialogues written in the latter Middle Ages, we might argue more conclusively the question whether in the Dances it is Death himself or the dead counterpart of each victim who addresses the reluctant mortals.

The existing Dance-texts give us no certain evidence, and the pictures, with their frequent repetition of the skeleton as escort to the human figure, further confuse the discussion. In the Legend of the Three Living and Three Dead the case is clear; but the attempt to bring this clearness into the Dances of Death by the simple process of asserting their derivation from the Legend is not possible in view of the *Vado mori*. The *Vado mori* lies back of what is after all the distinguishing character of the Dances—their processional form; and it admits of no analogy with the Legend.

The text of the *Lamentatio* has no figure of Death, and that of the *Vado mori* is still simpler. The latter could be, so far as its form is concerned, the text of either a tapestry or of a dumbshow with a single "recitator," between which two types the external difference was very slight. Its brief couplets adapt its text especially to tapestry, although in later tapestry-poems, such as those of Lydgate,[1] the seven- or eight-line stanza is freely used; his *Life of Saint George* and his *Bycorne and Chichevache* are almost as wordy as his didactic productions. Even between the developed drama and tapestry a relation could exist; the French *Condamnacion de Banquet*,[2] supposedly of about the year 1500, contains the same characters and story as are found in the tapestry of Nancy, once the property of Charles the Bold (died 1477), and described in a letter[3] to him, before its purchase, by a subject of the duke's sojourning in Vienna.

Many impulses were at work in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—so many, that it is not yet possible to disentangle them and say: Here, at this point, arose the Dance of Death. One mental habit of the Middle Ages expressed itself in lists and classifications; another and more widespread, the fondness for contrast and for argument, expressed itself in debates—of Body and Soul, of Wine and Water, of the Owl and the Nightingale, of the Ivy and the Holly, etc. And upon each of these larger tendencies the immediate Death-interest of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could find a point of attachment. Wherever a list was connected with the

[1] These will shortly appear.

[2] See Fournier, *Théâtre français avant la Renaissance* (2d ed.), 216 ff.

[3] See Jubinal, *Tapisseries à Personnages* (1840), 52 ff.

idea of death, one step was taken, and the *Vado mori* resulted; when such a list became a dialogue, the *Lamentatio* took form; when in this dialogue Death (or the Dead) became the interlocutor, the Dance of Death appeared. But whether the list or the debate or the figure of Death were the fertilizing idea in the final union, what the exact relationship may be between two such mediaeval products as the Dance and the Legend of the Living and Dead, we have not yet sufficient evidence to decide.

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND

PROBLEMS OF AUTHORSHIP IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMATIC LITERATURE

The ground for the present discussion has to be cleared first by a determination of the period, and secondly, by a determination of what is to be reckoned as drama. As to the former, the closing of the theaters in September, 1642, affords a clear and definite end-date; but the beginning-date is not so easily settled. To go back to the production of our first known play would not only needlessly extend the period, but would leave us with a somewhat uncertain date to start from. Moreover the date would be liable to be pushed back by the discovery of some yet older drama, and even then there would be no guarantee that that play had not had a predecessor. To begin so far back would also mean the inclusion of a mass of literature not characterized by what we consider "Elizabethan" qualities. If there be objections to taking as our starting-point the probable date of production of the earliest known drama, there is even less to be said in favor of the usual course of taking the date of Elizabeth's accession to the throne. It is true that her name is usually given to the literature of the period, though it extended far beyond the limits of her reign, but the mere fact of her accession had little or no bearing on the dramatic art, and the literature with which her name is associated cannot be said to have come into being till many years later. If, because the literature is styled Elizabethan, we date it from 1558, we ought to end it at 1603. A better commencement-date is 1574, when the first royal patent for a company of players was granted, or 1576, when the first regular theater was built; but, if we want the closest possible dates including all of real literary and dramatic value in the theatrical work of the time, from the presentation of the first of Lyly's plays in or about 1579 to the production of Shirley's *Cardinal* in 1641, a better beginning-date than either is 1578, in which year was published Whetstone's forecast of the lines on which the great dramatists were to achieve their mighty work—the work of which Whetstone himself was inca-

pable.   Whether by reason of its closeness to Lyly's arrival upon the scene or from the point of view of literary and dramatic development, this seems to be the best starting-point to be found.   Let us then begin the period with the work of a critic who wrote drama not meant for the stage and close it with the annihilating legislation of those who hated it and were determined to end it.

Next I must state as briefly as possible what species of the literary work of the period I have regarded as coming within the scope of my consideration.   I have had no hesitation in including every original English work intended for the stage if it has action and a plot, and even such as have a mere thread of story connecting a lot of scattered incidents, as is the case in *Four Plays in One* or the three "Parnassus" plays.   On the other hand I have had no hesitation in omitting all those pseudo-dramatic pieces that are mere conglomerations of separate scenes, such as *The Parliament of Bees*, or again those that are only dialogues for perusal, as is Rowlands' *'Tis Merry When Gossips Meet*.   But between these certain "ins" and certain "outs" there is an equal number of classes of more or less dramatic work concerning which opinions may well vary. With some hesitation I have decided to disregard dialogues for representation (such as *The Muses' Looking-Glass*, *Aristippus*, *Summer's Last Will*, *The World Tost at Tennis*, and *Spring's Glory*) and also that other species of quasi-dramatic production that forms a mere setting for a dance in which the audience may take part—a class that includes every so-called masque except Milton's *Comus*, Shirley's *Triumph of Beauty*, and Nabbes' *Microcosmus*, which have regular plots and are not really masques at all.   A play such as Peele's *Arraignment*, having a regular plot in which a member of the audience has a place, is only semi-dramatic; and so too are compositions that differ from plays only in not being intended for the stage; but both of these classes I have included.   On these lines, and taking stock only of plays in English (wherever acted or published), excluding translations (but not adaptations) by such as have to their credit no extant play at least partly original, including no literal prose translations whatever, and, where there is a doubt as to whether or not a play comes within the prescribed period, following the probabilities, but omitting no play in which they are evenly balanced, we

have 599 or 600 dramatic and semi-dramatic works to deal with, my doubt as to the exact number being due to my ignorance whether or not *Demetrius and Marsina* is extant. I may add that I have not excluded any play because in its first form it certainly or probably dates back to a time anterior to 1578, so long as it is clear that some portion of the work falls within the period specified.

A word as to my object. It is not to attempt the settlement of questions of authorship, but to state what those questions are, and to classify them according to the value of the external evidence. Of the internal evidence I take no account except in one or two special cases, and my own views are not obtruded. There will thus be found in the following pages little that is original, but the writer hopes that what he has to say will prove helpful to others who may be tempted to enter the field of inquiry on which he has himself ventured twice or thrice and may aid them in a selection from amongst the problems that await solution. There are many plays of the period commonly treated as of assured authorship though their ascription to this or that dramatist rests on evidence of but little value. To direct attention to these may perhaps lead to fruitful investigations by students with time and inclination for such pursuits.

I

The first problem of authorship that calls aloud to the student is that of the altogether anonymous plays—the plays that have never been connected with the name of any dramatist on any sixteenth- or seventeenth-century evidence. They are not very numerous, amounting to only 49 in all (or 50, if *Demetrius and Marsina* be extant). Some of these are not worth bothering about, and some I have not seen, but there are a few that either from their intrinsic merits or from the place they occupy in the history of the development of the drama are entitled to attention. *Cyrus, Jack Straw, Leir, The True Tragedy,* and *Love and Fortune* are early plays that are very reasonably supposed to be joint works of our first generation of dramatists. *A Warning* and *A 'Larum* have been credited to Lodge, perhaps rightly, though the reasons for the attribution amount to little more than guesswork. Of the authorship of the non-Shaksperean *Richard II, Swetnam, London Chanticleers,* and

Knack to Know an Honest Man no opinion, so far as I am aware, has been expressed; while the views propounded concerning *Dick of Devonshire, Stukeley, Wily Beguiled,* and *Charlemagne* do not seem to have met with general acceptance. Professor Quinn has pointed out the likeness of *The Fair Maid of Bristow* to various other plays, without, however, making any suggestion as to the authorship; and finally the German editor of *The Queen* has ascribed that tragi-comedy to Forde. Of these plays, the early *Love and Fortune, Richard II, Richard III, Leir, Cyrus,* and *Jack Straw,* the middle-period *Warning, 'Larum, Wily,* and *Stukeley,* the later *Dick* and *Swetnam,* and the still later *Queen* are the ones particularly recommendable for study. Every one of them is worth it—one or two of them on their merits, others for their connection with other plays, their early date, or the probabilities of their being joint works, with the chances of one or other of the great writers being concerned in their production. The determination of the authorship of even the least important of them is a matter of some consequence; but not even the most important has so strong a claim to the attention of the student as some of those yet to be mentioned. Before proceeding, however, it may be well to name the remaining plays of this class, some of which I have not seen, and as to the merits of which I am therefore entirely ignorant. They are *Antonio of Ragusa, Belleosa* (perhaps of later date), *Birth of Hercules, Caesar's Revenge, Claudius Tiberius Nero, Costly Whore, Cruel War, Cyprian Conqueror* (perhaps later than 1642), *Diana's Grove, Edmund Ironside* (perhaps of later date), *Fatal Marriage* (ditto), *Female Rebellion, Ghost, Grobiana's Nuptials* (perhaps later than 1642), *Love's Changelings* (ditto), *Love's Victory, Lady Alimony, Liberality and Prodigality* (perhaps of earlier date), *Narcissus, Nobody, Partial Law, Pedlar's Prophecy* (attributed to Wilson senior, because of its likeness to that dramatist's *Cobbler's Prophecy*), *Pelopidarum Secunda* (the MS of which in the British Museum is plentifully sprinkled with the date October 16, 1725, though the contents of the volume in which it appears are in a sixteenth-century hand and include Donne's Satires), *Señor Hidalgo, Sight and Search* (perhaps of later date), *Tell Tale, Timon, Trial of Chivalry* (as to the authorship of which there has been more than one unconvincing guess), *Two*

Noble Ladies, Weakest Goeth to the Wall (which Mr. Fleay has ascribed without much reason to Mundy), *Welsh Ambassador, Wit of a Woman,* and *Wizard.*

II

There is another class of anonymous play—that concerning the authorship of which there is no direct evidence, but with which there is more or less good reason to connect some particular dramatist or dramatists. Of these, *Histriomastix* may be inferred to be Marston's inasmuch as it contains many of the words which Jonson in the *Poetaster* accused Crispinus of using, Crispinus being shown to be intended for Marston by his acknowledgment of the authorship of passages from *Antonio and Mellida* and *Jack Drum's Entertainment.* The play seems to me to be only in part Marston's, there being perhaps two other writers present. *Dr. Dodipoll* is connected with the name of Peele by the fact that a song in it is found in Drummond's extracts from Peele's *Hunting of Cupid;* but, whereas the inference in the case of *Histriomastix* is exceedingly strong, that which would attribute to Peele any share in *Dr. Dodipoll* is particularly weak. *The General* bears the name of a play for which Shirley wrote a prologue, but even if it be identifiable with that production it does not follow that Shirley was the author. In his capacity as manager of the Dublin theater at which it was produced, he may well have been called on to introduce it to the public with a few lines. *The Famous Victories* contains an amount of clowning that Mr. Fleay is probably right in attributing to Tarlton, inasmuch as that comedian played the clown in it and is known to have been an improvisor of clowning scenes. *Pathomachia* may be supposed to be Tomkins', inasmuch as it is not only written on the same plan as that author's *Lingua,* but in its first scene has "Methinks it were fit now to renew the claim to our old title of affections which we have lost, as sometimes Madame Lingua did to the title of a sense." It is quite compatible with this allusion to look upon the author of the play as a mere imitator of Tomkins, but the two are more likely to have been identical. *The Lady Mother* contains many phrases common to Glapthorne, and has been plausibly conjectured to be the play that was entered in the Stationers' Register as his under the title of *Noble Trial.* Of these six plays the one whose authorship

most calls for determination is *Dr. Dodipoll*, because of the occasional poetry that illumines its general dullness; but *Pathomachia* and *The Lady Mother* may also be recommended, and so may the three other plays of the class that have yet to be considered.

Barnaveld is universally recognized on grounds of style to be the work of Fletcher and Massinger; their part authorship might in fact have been surmised from the circumstances that they were the regular poets of the King's Company, by whom this play was produced, and that about the same time they collaborated with Field in another Dutch play now lost. It is not a strong inference, but the evidence of style seems to be tolerably conclusive. *Soliman* is commonly awarded to Kyd; but the only ground for the ascription, save similarity of style, phraseology, and construction, is the identity of its story with that of the play within the play of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. Finally, there is *Sir Thomas More*, which Mr. Fleay awards to Lodge, on the ground that that writer acted the part of Suresby in it, but which has also been claimed in part for Shakspere as having been acted by the Chamberlain's Company and tinkered by the company's poet, who was certainly no other than Shakspere. This drama is particularly worthy of attention, for, though scarcely a great play, is has some magnificent passages. It may be worth while to point out to prospective students of it the number of short lines either beginning or ending speeches in scenes 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 17; the frequent doublings (reminiscent of *Titus*) in scenes 2, 5, 7*a* (Dyce, pp. 24–29), 14*c* (from servant's entry), 16; the couplets separated by short lines in scenes 11, 12; the habit of addressing characters by their full names in scenes 3, 6; the quotations from Seneca in scenes 12, 14; the fondness for "A' God's name!" in scenes 13, 15, 17, and the first part of 18; the likeness of 7*a* to the manner of Shakspere; the difference between the run of the verse in 10*b* (Dyce, pp. 53–68) and that of the verse elsewhere; and, finally, the spelling in 10*b*. The play is probably of composite authorship, and these matters have a direct bearing on the work of determining the responsibility for its various scenes.

III

There is another set of plays that is practically anonymous, the evidence for their authorship being almost worthless. *The Double*

Falsehood was published in 1728 by Theobald as Shakspere's, "revised and adapted to the stage" by Theobald himself! He may have had some old MS bearing Shakspere's name; but, again, he may not. Grosart attributes it, I know not on what grounds, to Shadwell. If his, it is of too late a date for inclusion here: indeed, we have only Theobald's word for it that it belongs to the period under review. *Philotus* is possibly, but improbably, identical with the drama of that name written by Lateware. *The Puritan*, published in Shakspere's lifetime as by "W. S," was included in the third folio of his works, having previously been attributed to him by Kirkman and Archer, but the two cataloguers were presumably misled by the initials on the 1607 quarto. The fact that the play was produced by Paul's children is almost conclusive against Shakspere's authorship. The writer, judging by the initials, may have been Wentworth Smith; but the critics favor Middleton and Rowley. There remain of this class half a dozen plays depending for their ascription to various authors entirely upon the attributions of one or other of the old cataloguers; so it is well before going farther to consider precisely what is the value to be attached to their entries.

There are three of them in all; and of the three it is Kirkman who counts for most, and rightly so. Putting aside those late plays in regard to which he must be held to be a first-class authority, his attributions (and the same may be said of the others') may be divided into three classes—those in which he followed the ascriptions on the title-pages, those in which he varied from such ascriptions, and those in which he provided names of authors for anonymous plays. Of these three classes, the entries belonging to the first do not matter, those of the second are as likely to be blunders as corrections of errors, and those of the third have a considerable value in some cases, the presumption being where the name of an author many years dead and not in high repute is given that there existed some copy with his name upon it. Kirkman never mentions any author in connection with Fletcher, never names Beaumont, and only on sixteen occasions ascribes a play to more than a single author, Rowley figuring in ten of these, Webster in five, Middleton in five, and Dekker in four. Archer never names more than a single author till his list has progressed to initial L, but thenceforward he makes an

exception in the case of Beaumont and Fletcher, the only two plays subsequently given wholly to Fletcher being really entirely his, whereas he alone has been mentioned for the joint plays in the early part of the list.   Although the catalogue appears at the end of a play ascribed on the title-page to three writers it gives that play to one of the three only; therefore it is certain that the attributions are not meant to be regarded as complete.   Rogers and Leys (spoken of henceforth as "R. and L.") once have "Beament Flet." to a play and on nine occasions "B.F." for the same pair of writers; in no other case is more than a single authorship hinted at. These facts are worth bearing in mind.

Langbaine essayed to be more than the compiler of a catalogue, and he undoubtedly took pains to be accurate, but it is to be noted that he never throws light on dark places, that he follows Kirkman almost invariably, and that he seems to consider an attribution on a title-page decisive.   That being so, he need not be mentioned here more than occasionally.

All three of the cataloguers make a few glaring mistakes.   Some are typographical, whereof no notice need be taken, and some are anachronistic, such as Kirkman's ascription of *The Fleire* to Marmion (which, however, may be due to the repetition of the name by a printer's blunder).   These too may be ignored; but there remain a few that, while not impossible so far as date is concerned, are so convincingly contradicted as to be regarded indubitably as blunders. In some of these cases the cataloguers followed the title-pages of the old quartos: those in which they did not do so may as well be mentioned here and now.   Kirkman gives *Apollo Shroving* to "E.W." (because it was "E.W." who gave that play to the press, though it is he who is our sufficient authority for its authorship by Hawkins); *Arraignment of Paris* to Shakspere; *Duchess of Suffolk* and the two *Robin Hood* plays to Heywood; *Princess* to Sir. W. Killigrew; *Three Lords*, in his later list, to "W. R." (he has "R.W." in his earlier one); and *Arthur* to Trotte.   Archer awards *The Arraignment of Paris, Hoffman,* and *A Trick* to Shakspere; *Cynthia's Revenge* to one John Swallow (the cataloguer being misled probably, like a later critic, by F. C.'s commendatory verse referring to one swallow making a summer, the plain interpretation of which is merely that

an author may gain a reputation with a single play); *Duchess of Suffolk* to Heywood; *Faithful Shepherdess* to John Dymocke (the result of confusion with Dymocke's *Faithful Shepherd*); the two *Iron Age* plays to Dekker; *Noble Stranger* to Machin; *Octavia* to Thomas (instead of Samuel) Brandon, and the two *Passionate Lover* plays to "Lodowick Loyd" instead of Ludowick Carlell. R. and L. give *Bondman* twice, once rightly to Massinger, and the second time to Fletcher; *All's Lost* to Massinger; *Cynthia's Revels* to Fountaine (an amusing blunder); *False One* to Beaumont, and *Noble Stranger* and *Sophy* to Shirley. To make the list complete I may as well add the anachronistic blunders: Kirkman—*Selimus* to Goffe (his interpretation of the initials "T. G." on the quarto); Archer—*Lost Lady, New Inn*, and *Love's Cruelty* (owing to confusion with *Love's Cure*, which he also calls "Love's Cruelty") to Beaumont and Fletcher; *Selimus* to Goffe; the two early versions of the second and third parts of *Henry VI* to Sampson, and the second entry of *Love's Labor's Lost* (the first being given to Shakspere) to Sampson; R. and L.—*Unfortunate Lovers* to Beaumont and Fletcher. Archer is also unquestionably wrong in part in attributing to Beaumont as well as Fletcher the *Little French Lawyer, Lovers' Progress, Loyal Subject, Sea-Voyage, Spanish Curate, Wild-Goose Chase, Wife for a Month*, and *Woman's Prize;* and R. and L. err similarly in regard to *Island Princess, M. Thomas*, and *Pilgrim.*

But, it will be urged, there are many other mistakes made in all these catalogues. Doubtless; but in the other cases we only *infer* them to be mistakes, principally by the internal evidence of the plays themselves; we do not *know* them to be errors, as we do those named here. Every one of these will be mentioned when its time comes.

In regard to the half-dozen plays I am about to speak of, the ascriptions of the cataloguers are negligible because every one of them is to be accounted for by a confusion of ideas or by the proximity in the list of some other play attributed to the same author. Thus *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools* is given by Kirkman to Chapman, owing evidently to the similarity of its title to that of Chapman's *All Fools*. Similarly, Archer gives *Every Woman in Her Humor* to Jonson, the author of *Every Man in His Humor;* both Archer and R. and L. give *The Taming of a Shrew* to Shakspere

(though, as neither of them names *The Shrew*, the ascription may be in point of fact intended for Shakspere's play); and *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is given by Kirkman and Archer to Lyly, the author of *Love's Metamorphosis*. *Edward III* is flanked on each side by a (blundering) Shakspere entry in R. and L.'s list, and is given to Shakspere accordingly; and Archer names Bernard, the translator, as the author of *Arden*, the result probably of the propinquity of Bernard's *Andrea*. *Arden*'s claim to rank among even the Shakspere apocrypha is on external evidence absolutely *nil;* nor is it his on the internal evidence. Mr. Fleay long ago proclaimed Kyd's authorship, and Mr. Crawford has since made out a strong case for it; but while I also, working independently, came to the conclusion that Kyd was concerned in it, I was equally convinced of Marlowe's presence, and not at all certain that these two had it to themselves. Parts of the play are full of Marlowe parallels, although Mr. Bullen, who, as an editor of Marlowe, might have been supposed to be reasonably acquainted with his work, declared that the entire play offered but one. "With mighty furrows in his stormy brows" he thinks might have come straight out of *Tamburlaine* (one could quote half a dozen such lines from different sources); "but," he adds, "in no other part of the play can we find a trace of Marlowe's influence." It is amazing that he could have missed the numerous instances in which lines occurring in Marlowe's plays are found in *Arden*. As one of the finest and most effective tragedies of the period, there is scarcely any Elizabethan play more recommendable than *Arden* to anyone wishing to consider questions of authorship; but he must first steep himself in Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, and their contemporaries. It has been suggested that the play may be a recast of the *Murderous Michael* of 1578; but, as Michael is far from being either the most important or the most murderous character in the drama, the suggestion does not seem very plausible. It is more likely that the real name of the early play was *Murderous Machiavel*. Of *Edward III* and *A Shrew* it is also most desirable that the authorship should be ascertained. Though the external evidence of Shakspere's participation in either is of the slightest, I personally am a believer in his responsibility for Acts I and II of *Edward III*, from the meeting of the king and the countess onward

(with the exception of the first seven speeches of II, 2) and parts of III, 3 and 5 and IV, 4; but most of the critics who admit his presence confine it to the king and countess scenes. Anyway, all the rest of the play is still wanting an author or authors. There may be some basis for the attribution of *Maid's Metamorphosis* to Lyly, for it contains many resemblances to his work. The critics generally have inclined to accept a theory of Day's authorship.

IV

Leaving this class, of which *The Puritan, Maid's Metamorphosis, Arden, Edward III*, and *Taming of a Shrew* are the ones offering particular inducements to study, we turn to that class of plays concerning which we have a choice of authors, without any ascription rising above probability. This is a species of which the scope may prove to be smaller than that of those previously dealt with, inasmuch as the student's first endeavor would naturally be to see whether either of the named authors was concerned in the production, and only on finding that parts of the play could not thus be accounted for would the inquiry need to assume broader proportions. Two plays connected with Shakspere's name appear in this list, the one being *The Merry Devil*, which Kirkman and Archer ascribe to him and which was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1653 as his, but on a MS of which Drayton's name is said to have appeared; and the other *Pericles*, which was published in 1609 as Shakspere's but to which Wilkins seems to put in a claim. There can be no doubt, on the internal evidence, of Shakspere's part-authorship of the latter play; but it is well to remember that so far as the external evidence is concerned it is in no better case than *London Prodigal* or *Yorkshire Tragedy*. All three were published as Shakspere's during his lifetime, all were included in the third folio, and not one of them was included in the first; yet those good people who poohpooh the examination of plays with a view to determining questions of authorship do not hesitate to accept *Pericles* as entitled to a place in the Shakspere canon, and to deny places to the other two. It is a curious fact that both Shakspere and Wilkins are connected with two of these three plays—*Pericles* and *Yorkshire Tragedy*. But this is a digression; for the latter, like *London Prodigal*, must be dealt

with later. As to *The Merry Devil*, Drayton's authorship is by no means improbable, and those who will may infer from the resemblances between it and Shakspere's Falstaff trilogy some connection between Shakspere and this comedy or between Drayton and the other plays. That it has not come down to us in its original form is abundantly obvious, but to me at least the play seems the work of one man, and that one is presumably Drayton.

In 1647 was published *The Country Girl* as by "T. B." Kirkman interprets this Anthony Brewer; Archer, Thomas Brewer. The British Museum catalogue attributes it to the former; but Thomas Brewer is much the likelier. He wrote over the initials attached to this play, and issued a prose tract on the "Merry Devil of Edmonton"; so as the scene of part of *The Country Girl* is also Edmonton, his authorship of the play would have seemed probable, even had Archer not credited him with it. His work was evidently done early, and an examination of the play has convinced me that Massinger revised it, his share being parts of I, 1, the greater part of I, 2 (excluding the Old Gentleman's first speech), II, 1 (to "Enter 6 Country Wenches," the earlier part of it to "Exit Thrash" containing, however, matter not his), II, 2, parts of III, 1, IV, 1 (which is corrupt and perhaps of mixed authorship), the first 8 speeches of IV, 2, parts (perhaps all) of V, 1, and parts of V, 2, the rest of the play being the original author's. This is nothing more than a personal view, mentioned only to induce careful examination of the play by others with more time for the purpose and better qualifications for the work. Massinger's touch is very distinct and is clearly ascertainable from a study of the sixteen dramas published as his, of which *A Very Woman* is the only one that an examination does not show to be entirely his work.

The Bastard was published in 1652 with Goffe's name on some copies, but is attributed by Archer (and also by Coxeter) to Manuche, its right to inclusion here, if that ascription be correct, being very doubtful. *Guy of Warwick*, published in 1661 as by B. J. and perhaps identical with the play of the same name entered in the Stationers' Register as by Day and Dekker in 1619–20, does not call for much remark. Langbaine was told it was by Jonson, but doubted it. *Alphonsus of Germany*, published in 1654 as by Chapman, is

given by Kirkman to Peele, and there may be some good reason for the attribution. The MS from which it was printed may have borne the initials "G. P.," misread "G. C." I do not see that much is to be made of the argument that Chapman (or, for the matter of that, Peele) has nowhere else shown such knowledge of German as is displayed in this play: the answer is that a show of such knowledge would in the other plays of either author have been out of place. *Fortune by Land and Sea* was published in 1655 as by Heywood and Rowley, but it must not be overlooked that in 1637–38 there was entered in the Stationers' Register, as by Henry Shirley, "Martyr'd Souldier, with the Life and Death of Purser Clinton." *The Martyr'd Souldier* has nothing to do with Purser and Clinton, but this play has. Two plays must then have been entered together. Fleay accordingly assigns the Purser and Clinton scenes of *Fortune* to Henry Shirley. It seems to me probable that the ascription to Heywood and Rowley is due to a misreading of "Heywood Shirley" on the MS as "Heywood & Rowley."

In November, 1653, was entered in the Stationers' Register as by Glapthorne a play published the next year as Chapman's. This is *Revenge for Honor*. In the Register it is given a double title, the other being "The Parricide." There was a play of that name licensed for the Prince's Company in 1624. If this be identifiable with the existing play, Glapthorne can have been nothing more than a reviser, for 1624 is far too early a date for him. The prologue speaks of a single author. Is it possible that "Chapman" can be a misreading of "Glapthorn"? If so, it is well to bear in mind that there was a George as well as a Henry of that name, and "George Glapthorn" might easily be misread "George Chapman." That the "a" should be taken for "or" in the writing of the period would be easy enough. It is however, quite possible for "Henrye" to be so written as to be mistaken for "George." The known writers for the Prince's Company in 1624 are a Barnes (of whom nothing is known to have survived), Sampson, Brome, Forde, and Dekker.

Finally, there is the play which, for want of a title, is known as *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. This is contained in a MS on the back of which is said to be observable the name of William—afterward altered to Thomas—Gough. (I could not, for my own part,

see the former name.) Chapman's name was substituted for that
of Gough, and later (very much later) this in turn was scratched out
to make way for Shakspere's.   Thomas Goffe was nineteen in 1611
when the play was licensed, and so the strongest claim, on the exter-
nal evidence, is Chapman's, especially as his name was evidently on
the MS when Warburton credited the play to him.   Shakspere's name
had displaced Chapman's before Oldys' time, but late enough not
to bother us.   It has been suggested, however, that this play is to be
identified with *The Tyrant*, which (according to *Biographia Dramatica*)
was sold among Warburton's books in November, 1759.   If so,
Warburton must have been mistaken in declaring that that play was
among the ones destroyed by his deplorable cook.   It is in favor
of this view that a tyrant is the principal figure in the play, and that
he is known only as "The Tyrant."   On the other hand *The Tyrant*
was not only entered separately by Warburton, but was also entered
by Moseley in the Stationers' Register in 1660 as Massinger's, while
this play (called by him *Maid's Tragedy, 2nd Part*, as if it were a
continuation of Beaumont and Fletcher's play) was entered in 1653
without any author's name.   Though Fleay is opposed to the idea
of Middleton's authorship, I believe this *Second Maiden's Tragedy*
to be the work of that dramatist, though there may also be a second
writer (perhaps the author of *The Revenger's Tragedy*).   The play
is worthy of a minute examination; and so, among the other plays
of this section, are *Alphonsus of Germany*, *Merry Devil*, *Pericles*,
Fortune, *Country Girl*, and *Revenge for Honor*.

V

Next to be considered are plays with ascriptions not quite negli-
gible, but unworthy of acceptance in the absence of confirmation.
Some of these concern Shakspere.   To him (absurdly enough) is
given by Archer the first part of *Jeronimo*, the authorship of which
play is to seek, for there are strong reasons against the assumption
that it was by Kyd, who wrote *The Spanish Tragedy* (which also
Archer credits to Shakspere).   Not only does *Jeronimo* contradict
the *Tragedy*, but the run of the verse is totally unlike Kyd's.   *Locrine*,
published in 1595 as corrected by W. S. (most likely Shakspere,
though possibly Sly), was not included in the first folio, but found its

way into the third folio, and subsequently was credited to Shakspere in Kirkman's second list (in his first, he had given it to "W. S."). This play has received much attention; and excellent reasons have been shown for giving it to first one and then another of the fathers of our drama, but it remains still unattached, the most convincing argument being Mr. Gaud's on behalf of Peele; but the fact must not be overlooked that it contains two hints of Shakspere: Hector is slain by the Myrmidons, as in *Troilus;* and Brutus, *alias* Posthumius, is the husband of Innogen, as in *Cymbeline.* It has been plausibly suggested that Shakspere edited the play for the dying Peele, its author; but I think that in that case Peele's name would have appeared on the title-page. In all probability it was a composite work. *Mucedorus* (to be spoken of later), *Fair Em*, and *The Merry Devil* (already dealt with) were all bound together in Charles II's library in a volume labeled with Shakspere's name; but this is *Fair Em's* only claim to be considered the work of the great dramatist. *Bloody Banquet* was published in 1620 as by "T. D.," and modern editors are inclined to interpret these initials as standing for Drue. Why not for Dekker? Archer gives it to "Thos Barker"; and, as in the same list Dekker's *Match Me in London* and *Fortunatus* are both credited to "Thomas Barker," while elsewhere "Darker" is used, it is evident that "Barker" is merely a misreading of "Dekker." That writer is, anyhow, the only dramatist to whom external evidence, however slight, attributes the play. Similarly *The Careless Shepherdess*, published in 1656 as by "T. G.," is ascribed by Kirkman to Goffe. Of this class the ones claiming attention are *Em*, *Locrine*, and *Jeronimo.* Some may suppose that *The Queen*, previously mentioned, should have been included in this class by reason of Archer's apparent ascription of it to Fletcher; but this is probably only a blunder, due mainly to the use of the word "Queen" as a heading. Three successive entries are *Queen, Queen of Corinth*, and *Queen of Her Sex*, and only the first-named is given an author. As the subtitle of *The Queen* is "The Excellency of Her Sex," the problem of Archer's meaning is apparently solved. The entries should run:

> Queen
>   "   of Corinth   Fletcher
>   "   of Her Sex   ——
>   425

It may be, however, that the ascription of *The Queen* to Fletcher
results from the mention of Fletcher's name in the commendatory
verse by "R. C."

VI

The next class consists of a couple of plays of alleged joint author-
ship, the attribution of each being in part probable and in part of
very little value. These are *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Birth of
Merlin*. And here it may be as well to point out that there are at
least three, perhaps as many as five, dramatists whose names were
of such weight as to induce unscrupulous publishers to use them
fraudulently long after the writers themselves had passed away.
Beaumont's name was of value in after-years only when joined with
Fletcher's, and Marlowe's only for a part of the time; but the names
of Shakspere and Jonson and Fletcher made a constant appeal.
Hence the attribution of *Birth of Merlin* to Shakspere and Rowley
forty-six years after the death of the former and probably about a
quarter of a century after the latter had ceased to write may be held
to be very weak evidence in favor of Shakspere but to constitute a
strong probability in the case of Rowley, not because the one lived
much nearer to Kirkman's own times than the other, but because
in 1662 Rowley's name was of no weight, while Shakspere's was, and
because, therefore, we cannot imagine Rowley's being attached to the
play otherwise than in good faith, while Shakspere's may have been
used with intention to defraud. In all cases of publications dating
subsequent to the outbreak of the Revolution we may assume that
the names of the lesser-known dramatists were cited because they were
found on the MSS from which the quartos were published, because
the publishers remembered the authorship, or because someone
vouched for it. One cannot take these ascriptions as conclusive
only because one does not know what was the evidence by which
the publishers were guided. In the case of *The Birth of Merlin*, if
that play date from the middle nineties, as seems probable, it is
likely that in its original form it was not Rowley's. The connection
of this play with Middleton's *Mayor of Quinborough* is not to be
overlooked.

The other play (which, like *The Birth of Merlin*, will well repay
study) was entered in the Stationers' Register and published in 1634

as by Fletcher and Shakspere, named in publishers' advertisements of 1653, 1654, and 1661 as by Beaumont and Fletcher, and published in the 1679 folio of the works of those dramatists, but is also found bound with eleven undoubted Shaksperean plays. Though the attribution to the greatest of dramatists is not worth much, it is not necessarily wrong; but the evidence in favor of Fletcher is certainly the stronger of the two. The mere fact of its being listed as Beaumont and Fletcher's after being published as Fletcher and Shakspere's gives an air of probability to the ascription to Fletcher and casts a doubt on the correctness of the use of Shakspere's name.

VII

The next class is a long one, for it consists of those plays in regard to which the evidence must be regarded as probably correct but still lacking certainty. Among these are plays which were published anonymously, but to which one or more of the cataloguers have attached the names of various authors for no reason that may be guessed except information from supposedly reliable sources or the authority of old MS attributions. There is no reason why in some cases this evidence should be considered ample and in others be disregarded: in reality they are all on the one footing, and must each stand or fall by the internal evidence.

Kirkman gives *Blurt* and *Phœnix* to Middleton, and the two parts of *Edward IV* and *Fair Maid of the Exchange* to Heywood; while he and Archer both give *The Family of Love* and *Michaelmas Term* to Middleton, *Revenger's Tragedy* to Tourneur, and *Mucedorus* to Shakspere. Of these attributions the only ones rejected by the critics are those of *Mucedorus* and *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, but to me the quiet acceptance of Tourneur's authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy* is strange.

This play differs so entirely from *The Atheist's Tragedy*, which is unquestionably Tourneur's (and on the internal evidence can be given to no one else), that I cannot conceive of the two as being by the one author. To accept Tourneur as the writer of *The Revenger's Tragedy* we have to suppose that he alone of the Elizabethan dramatists did not develop but absolutely revolutionized his manner of writing. That the author of this tragedy was not a one-play drama-

tist may be inferred by his mastery of his medium, but I know of
no one among the named writers of the time to whom I would
attribute it, unless it be Middleton, to whose verse alone the swing
of the verse of *The Revenger's Tragedy* makes some approximation.
The student may compare it with *Women, Beware Women*, which
internal evidence shows to be wholly Middleton's, and which exhibits
his style in tragedy. I prefer, however, to consider *The Revenger's
Tragedy* as the greatest work of its period of that prolific writer
"Anon," and look upon the establishment of the identity of the
author as one of the chief problems to be tackled by students of
Elizabethan drama.

The authorship of *Edward IV* is an interesting question. Hey-
wood's claim is anything but strong; but the claim of Shakspere,
to whom R. and L. give it, is weaker still, inasmuch as the play was
performed by Lord Derby's Company. If Mr. Greg be right in
supposing *Henry Richmond*, Part 2, for which Robert Wilson, Jr.,
was paid £8 in November, 1599, to have been a sequel, it is likely
that Wilson was author or part author of *Edward IV;* but the ground
for Mr. Greg's supposition is not very firm.

Mucedorus, according to Malone, was by Greene, but Fleay
favors Lodge's authorship because "Musedor" equals "Muse of
Gold," and "Golde" was Lodge's anagrammatized pen-name. As
for *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*, its ascription to Heywood was
doubted by Langbaine "since his name is not prefixt, neither does
the style or œconomy resemble the rest of his labors." Mr. Fleay
thinks it Machin's.

To the same class belong five plays published under authors'
initials, the full names being supplied rightly or wrongly by the
catalogue-compilers. Two of these are *A Trick* and *A Mad World*,
both published as by "T. M." and given by Kirkman to Middleton.
As both these comedies were acted by Paul's children the ascription
is probably correct. Archer anticipated Kirkman in the attribu-
tion of *A Mad World*, but the other play he credited to Shakspere,
though a study of it shows Kirkman to be right. The "G. C." of
Humorous Day's Mirth, the "W. R." of *Match at Midnight*, and the
"W. S." of *Cromwell* are interpreted by both Archer and Kirkman
as indicating Chapman, Rowley, and Shakspere respectively, and

in each case the name of the acting company adds reason to the attribution. *Cromwell* found its way into the third Shakspere folio; but, though it was acted by the Lord Chamberlain's men, its "W. S." need not have been Shakspere. Printed in 1613, it was acted before 1603. Wentworth Smith is not known to have been connected with the Lord Chamberlain's company; and Sly, who belonged to it, is not known to have engaged in dramatic composition. We need scarcely doubt that the initials were meant, whether fraudulently or honestly, for Shakspere. Perhaps, though written by some hack, *Cromwell* was produced under his name. Like this play, *Match at Midnight* is worth examination. It is certainly an alteration; and it has been surmised that the original author was Middleton. It is probably the play licensed as *Match or no Match* for the Fortune in 1624 as by "Mr. Rowley," but in its first form it was much earlier. *Humorous Day's Mirth* may be believed to be Chapman's, because his hand may be traced and the comedy contains nothing not possibly his. The attribution to him is the more readily acceptable after a study of *The Blind Beggar* and *Gentleman Usher*, of which the former is obviously by one writer, whom the style here and there shows to be Chapman, wretched as the verse is for him, while the latter, a twice-written play, shows the contrast between the early Chapman, as seen here, and the late Chapman, as seen in *M. d'Olive* (also entirely his).

As regards all five of the plays just dealt with, the value of the attributions by the cataloguers is not easy to gauge: they may be blunders, they may be the outcome of actual knowledge or of more or less reliable information, or they may be the result of a guess-work interpretation of the initials under which the plays were published; but in any case there is no reason to call in question their good faith. In three of the five cases the attributions are accepted by the critics, and in a fourth it is accepted in part.

Others of this class are plays published after the closing of the theaters and then attributed to some or other of the lesser men no longer living—meaning by "lesser" here, as elsewhere, not those of less merit, but those of less fame. These are *Old Law* (rightly ascribed to Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley), *Thracian Wonder, Virgin Widow, Witch of Edmonton, Thierry and Theodoret* (published in 1648 as by Fletcher, and the next year as by Beaumont and Fletcher,

and ascribed by Archer to the two poets, jointly), *Lust's Dominion* (printed in 1657 as by Marlowe, but containing matter based on a pamphlet issued after his death, and probably identical in its present form with the *Spanish Moor's Tragedy* of Dekker, Haughton, and Day, though the acceptance of the theory of their authorship does not necessarily exclude the idea of the original authorship of Marlowe), *Anything for a Quiet Life, Appius and Virginia* (the contrast between the classical restraint of this play and the fiery romance of Webster's undoubted work making it especially worthy of close study), *Cure for a Cuckold, Mayor of Quinborough* (printed in 1661 as by Middleton, but containing a passage that cannot possibly be Middleton's, and must have been written after the closing of the theaters), *More Dissemblers* and *No Wit* (both of which are clearly rightly attributed to Middleton), and *Old Couple.* *Cure for a Cuckold* was published in 1661 as by Webster and Rowley, and the statement in the publishers' address that "many persons remember the acting" adds to the probability of the good faith of the ascription. Webster's touch is not very obvious in this play, and I do not feel absolutely certain of his being concerned in it. At first I thought I saw Massinger's hand with Rowley's in the two scenes of Act I and was much inclined to see Middleton instead of Rowley in III, 1, and the part of IV, 2 preceding Bonvile's entry, and in part of I, 2. I mention this because Mr. Fleay at first gave Act I to Massinger and the rest of the play to Rowley, and afterward substituted Middleton for Massinger. On further examination, however, I came to the conclusion that neither Massinger nor Middleton was concerned in the play, and that Webster must be accepted as part author. Rochfort's story and the story of Compass are wholly Rowley's, while the Clare part is Rowley's, rewritten by Webster: at least, that is my view. *The Mayor of Quinborough* is vouched for in its preface as "the first flight" of the author, and this might make the correctness of the attribution to Middleton more probable were it identifiable with the *Vortiger* first produced by the Admiral's men in 1596. In an extant MS, however, it is called *Hengist*, which was the name of an old play revised by the Admiral's men in 1597. If this be it, Middleton can be no more than a reviser, and an older writer's work may be looked for.

In the same category come a few dramas published prior to the closing of the theaters but subsequent to the decease of their reputed authors.   These are *The Antiquary, Chaste Maid, Edward II* (which R. and L. give to Shakspere, but Kirkman to Marlowe—rightly, as is shown by a study of the play), *Faustus, Martyr'd Soldier,* and *A Shoemaker a Gentleman* (published as by "W. R.," shown by the Stationers' Register entry to be Rowley).   The two quartos of *Faustus* offer an interesting problem.   The 1604 edition was entered in the Stationers' Register in January 1600–1, and so is not likely to contain the additions made by Bird and Samuel Rowley in 1602. It does, however, contain matter that must date from a time subsequent to Marlowe's decease—matter omitted, by the way, from the edition of 1616, which contains lines imitated in *The Taming of a Shrew* (printed 1594).   In the later edition there is, however, other matter dating later than Marlowe.   Originally the play was by a single author, as shown by the "Auctor" at the end.   I believe that in the earlier quarto all the serious parts are Marlowe's, and the rest partly Marlowe's and partly the work of a reviser, and that in the later quarto there is also a third hand observable.   An intelligent endeavor to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious portions of the play—a task not accomplished by merely subtracting the clowning portions, some of which are probably Marlowe's own—would be very welcome.

There are a few other plays in the same class.   *Faithful Friends* was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1660 as by Beaumont and Fletcher, and the MS also bears their names.   The fact that it was not included in the second folio of their works does not necessarily mean anything.   Nor does the exclusion of *London Prodigal* and *Yorkshire Tragedy* from the first Shakspere folio really imply that those plays are not Shakspere's.   The latter, which is attributed to him in the Stationers' Register, is, as has been shown by Mr. Fleay and Mr. Dobell, strangely connected with Wilkins' *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, and Mr. Dobell makes out a good case for that dramatist's authorship, while both regard it as constituting the original tragic ending of *The Miseries*, which was originally a tragedy, as is shown by the Stationers' Register entry of July, 1607, where it is so described.   There are, however, difficulties in the way of the

acceptance of these ideas, such as the fact that the 1608 quarto of
Yorkshire Tragedy describes it as "All's One or One of the Four Plays
in one called a Yorkshire Tragedy." *The Miseries* certainly deals
with Calverley's life and needs the *Tragedy* for its completion, though
in the latter the characters are without names, while in the former
they have false names. But on the other hand it is to be noted that
in scene 2 of the *Tragedy* the husband speaks of having chosen a
wife (whereas according to *The Miseries* she was forced on him),
that his guardian is still alive, and that in scene 1 the husband has
been married long enough to have two or three children before Clare
(if the young mistress spoken of be indeed she) hears of it, and that
this scene has no connection with the story of Calverley's wife that
forms the plot of the play. As for *London Prodigal*, Mr. Fleay showed
the most excellent reasons for believing it to be a satirical sketch
dealing with an incident in the career of Greene, only to (apparently)
abandon the idea when he found the play to be of later date.

The two parts of *The Troublesome Reign* were issued during
Shakspere's lifetime as by "W. Sh." and in 1622 with his name in
full, but found their way into no Shakspere folio, probably because
the collection already contained a *King John*. The quartos' ascrip-
tions may have been due to fraud or (though less probably) to con-
fusion with Shakspere's play. That he used these two plays is
undeniable: that they are to the slightest extent his is highly improb-
able.

Sir Clyomon, which may date from before our period, has a MS
ascription to Peele of which the genuineness may be questioned.
If this be a modern forgery, the place of the play should be among the
strictly anonymous, if it be included at all.

Andromana, which was published in 1660 as by "J. S." and was
attributed in a prologue at a revival to Shirley, need not detain us;
nor does *Club Law*, of which Hawkins (who presumably had some
authority for his statement) in 1741 declared Ruggle to have been
the author, make any great demands upon our consideration. *The
Inconstant Lady*, entered in the Stationers' Register in September,
1653, as by Arthur Wilson, is also of no great importance; but the
authorship of *Nero* is a matter of moment. It is attributed to
Massinger in an old hand and is said to be found bound with his

plays. It however shows no trace of that writer. It was transferred from one publisher to another with two of May's works, but its style shows no resemblance to that of May.

George-a-Greene is another play worthy of attention. It is almost invariably treated as Greene's because of a MS note to which the very gravest suspicion ought to attach. I feel so certain that this note is a modern forgery that I would treat the play among those to whom no one's name is attached by the external evidence but for one circumstance—its place in the Cockpit list. In this list the plays are grouped according to authors, and *George-a-Greene* appears between Forde's plays and Heywood's. It is out of the question that it can be Forde's, and as it dates from prior to December, 1593, it would be very early for Heywood; but it was not printed till 1599, and as it stands may be a recasting by Heywood of the work of an earlier writer. Perhaps, however, Heywood's revision may have been much later in date, not applying at all to the extant version. It may be as well to add that it is unlikely that the play is put in this position in the Cockpit list as the single work of another author, because the "singletons" stand alone at the end of the list.

Another play, *Case is Altered*, is in this group for another reason. It did not appear among Jonson's collected works, and when it was published in 1609 his name appeared on some copies only. It may have been added to the later copies because the authorship had been ascertained, or it may have been removed after appearing in the earlier ones, because it had been found to be incorrect, because Jonson objected, or for some other reason. The case is essentially one for internal evidence; and this has made the critics unanimously accept the comedy as Jonson's. Was it entirely his? Concerning *Arcadia* there is a slight doubt, because, though published in 1640 as by Shirley, it does not appear in the list of his published plays which Shirley issued in 1652, while *Ajax*, published anonymously in 1640 and as Shirley's in 1659, was also omitted. Probably the omission of each is due to an oversight. *Look about You* was published anonymously in 1600–1, but the promise made at the close of the play by one of the characters, the Earl of Gloster, to fire the Saracens out of Portugal connects it with Wadeson, who wrote for

the Admiral's (the company which produced *Look about You*) a play called *The Humorous Earl of Gloster and His Conquest of Portingal*, acted in 1601, whence it may be inferred that Wadeson was in part at least the author of this work also.

It is doubtful whether *The Twins* should belong to this group or to the class to be dealt with later in which are comprised plays of attributions presumably complete. That depends upon the time when its author flourished. It need not detain us. The two *Tamburlaine* plays are always given to Marlowe, but the evidence for the ascription is not of the strongest. The printer's address to the 1592 edition states that both are the work of one writer, but it does not give his name. Harvey in 1593 calls Marlowe "Tamburlaine," but that does not necessarily mean that Marlowe wrote the plays. It is just as reasonable to regard the statement of 1604 regarding Nashe, that the spiders "went stealing over his head as if they had been conning of Tamburlaine," as proof of Nashe's authorship. Langbaine says, "Had I not Mr. Heywood's word for it . . . . I should not believe this play to be Marlowe's." Presumably he is referring to Heywood's prologue to Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, which he misread. Kirkman, after leaving the authorship blank in his earlier list, filled in Marlowe's name in the later, the presumption being that he had in the meantime obtained information in regard to it which he considered reliable; but that was about three-quarters of a century after Marlowe's death.

In a MS volume labeled "Geo. Wilde's Plays: Miscell. Poems" is found *The Converted Robber*. The other contents are *Love's Hospital* (with an ascription to George Wilde), a Latin play by the same writer, and a number of poems by various authors. It is probably by Wilde, and may be in the handwriting of the author.

There is one other play to be spoken of in this class, the extraordinary *Two Tragedies*. This play contains two separate stories most loosely woven together, if they can be said to be woven together at all. The subject of the one is Merry's murder of Beech; the other's is that of the old nursery tale of *The Babes in the Wood*. In the latter part of 1599 Haughton and Day handed over to Henslowe for the Admiral's men a "Tragedy of Merry" (licensed January 1599–1600). About the same time Chettle received 10s. from

Henslowe on behalf of the same company in earnest of an "Orphan's Tragedy," while in January 1599–1600 Day was paid £2 in advance on an "Italian Tragedy of ——," which Mr. Greg identifies with this "Orphan's Tragedy," on which apparently Chettle was still at work in September, 1601. In that year was published "Two Lamentable Tragedies. The one of the murther of Master Beech . . . . done by Thomas Merry. The other of a Young Childe murthered in a wood by Two Ruffins, with the consent of his Unckle. By Rob. Yarington." Who was Rob. Yarington? With the exception of Mr. Fleay, who looked upon the name as an assumed one, the critics have all treated him as a single-play writer; but quite recently Mr. Greg has seen reason to regard him as the mere transcriber of the play, who put his name at the end of the MS, whence it found its way to the title-page of the quarto. For myself, I have long been of opinion that the name is a misreading of Wm. Haugton (that is to say, Haughton).

Of the numerous plays of this class the student may be particularly recommended to study the two *Tamburlaine* plays, the two *John* plays, *Edward II*, *Faustus*, *Lust's Dominion*, *George-a-Greene*, *Case Is Altered*, *Yorkshire Tragedy*, the two parts of *Edward IV*, *Look about You*, *Match at Midnight*, *London Prodigal*, *Cromwell*, *Mucedorus*, *Two Tragedies*, *Faithful Friends*, *Thierry*, *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, *Revenger's Tragedy*, *Nero*, *Appius*, *Cure for a Cuckold*, and *Thracian Wonder*.

VIII

Closely connected with both the fatherless plays already dealt with and those of doubtful parentage just considered are those whose begetters' names are masked under initials not connected by sixteenth- or seventeenth-century evidence with the names of any particular dramatists, initials which may or may not be correctly given and which in any case may not indicate full authorship. Such are *Old Wives' Tale*, by G. P., always attributed to Peele and in all probability his, though the initials are also those of Puttenham (who, however, had been dead five years when the play was put into print); *Alphonsus of Aragon*, published in 1599 as by R. G., and always ascribed for this very inconclusive reason to Greene, who died in 1592; *The Three Ladies* and its amplification, *The Three Lords*,

whose "R. W." is supposed to be the elder Wilson, but may possibly be Wilmot; *Petronius Maximus*, by W. S., possibly Sampson, possibly, but very improbably, Wentworth (or William) Smith, most likely some unknown man; and *Valiant Scot*, which has Webster's initials, but may be by the publisher Waterson. I put *The Lanching of the May* here because I know not on what grounds it is attributed to Methold. Its "W. M.," might stand as well for Montague, though Methold, by reason of his connection with the East India Co., is the likelier. If there be good reason for the ascription to him, the play should rank in a much later category than this.

Of these plays *Alphonsus* and *Old Wives' Tale* are particularly worthy of study because of the probability of their authorship by two of the founders of our drama, but to assume Greene's responsibility for the former, as is generally done, is unwarranted. Kirkman gives it to "R. C." This might be thought to be a printer's error, were it not for the fact that Langbaine does the same thing. The question arises, has he followed Kirkman, or was there an "R. C." edition? If so, Greene's claim, not too strong in any case, becomes very weak. Personally I think it surprising that the ascription to him has remained unquestioned, because the differences between the style of this play and that of his undoubted dramatic work are very marked. *Friar Bacon*, for instance, I take on both the external and the internal evidence to be wholly his: if *Alphonsus* is to be regarded as by the same writer, he must be considered to have greatly developed subsequently to his writing of it, for it does not show even the germs of his future excellence.

There are three other plays in this section, all published by "R. D." in 1662 in one volume with commendatory verses by "Theatro-Philos," who congratulates "his worthy friend Mr. R. F. upon his publishing his ternary of English Plays." As this versifier not only credits these plays to R. F. (presumably a misprint for "R.D."), but also seems to say that they were never acted, while R.D. credits them to "three several wits," and one of them at least has clearly been on the stage, it may be that the plays had been revised before publication but never acted in their new shape. That one of the three (*Thorny Abbey*) has been rewritten is very evident. The only known dramatist of the period with initials R.D. who may have been living

as late as 1662 is Davenport. The identity of this publisher and possible editor is not, however, of great consequence.

Of these three plays, one (*Grim*) is printed as by I. T., another (*Thorny Abbey*) as by T. W., and the third (*The Marriage-Broker*) as by M. W. This last-named writer, who is described on the title-page as an M.A., may have been Martin Westcomb (M.A., of Oxford, 1638) or Michael Wigmore (M.A., of Oxford, 1611), who both wrote, though they are not known to have written for the stage. *Thorny Abbey* may be by Thomas Weaver (who in 1654 published *Songs and Poems of Love and Drollery*), Thomas Wharton (a writer of verses, born 1614, *ob.* 1673), Sir Thomas Wroth (who published in 1620 a translation from Virgil and was also the author of a century of epigrams), Thomas Washbourne (who wrote "divine" poems), or Thomas (Viscount) Wenman (who had Barnabe Barnes as a servant and wrote commendatory verses for Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*). If it be more reasonable to search for the author among those known to have written for the stage, there are to be considered Anthony (that is to say, Tony) Wadeson and Thomas Watson, and the initials fit the latter better than the former. The play shows clearly one writer of early and one of late date, the revision being very thorough. The prelude (with its Fool and its mention of pre-Elizabethan fools) is early, and so is the epilogue, while the prologue is quite late in style. The play proper tells two distinct stories, the first being mentioned in scenes 2 and 6, but being practically wholly contained in scenes 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11, while the other scenes are given up to the second story. In the latter, after scene 11, we have a chorus, with a dumb show of the succeeding events. This must be a relic of the old play; but it is the other plot which shows most archaism in its language. "For to" is frequent; and note also such antiquated tags as "Here by the 'uncouth cavern of a wall" (scene 3), "ere his eyes Had closed their fleshy windows of their light" (scene 4), "his clamorous cries" (scene 4), "And gone to wander in eternal night, And ransack some Cimmerian fearéd cave" (scene 9), "let's invocate the powers above For to reveal the horrid murderers" (scene 9), "Waste these life-seeing tapers of mine eyes Till they drop forth the sockets of my skull But I will find the execrable slave," (scene 11) and "hideous, fearful cries" (scene 11). All this reeks of the age

and manner of Kyd. The second story (that of Thorny) has much
less of the older writer or writers left, and phrases such as "Words
able to infuse an appetite In a cool votarist" smack of Massinger
and a period forty or fifty years later than Kyd or Watson. *The
Revenger's Tragedy* is palpably imitated, in Thorny's speech on the
skull which he holds in his hand:

> What swearer sees this mouth and does not tremble?
> Oh, man! how vain art thou that speakest thy labors
> For the bewitching minute of this world,
> And after all thy joys to hell be hurled,

and again in the line in a later scene, where the skull in introduced
once more, "This face will not deceive me." (The character of the
verse precludes the supposition that these passages were in the early
play, and that the author of *The Revenger's Tragedy* saw the possi-
bilities in them and boldly borrowed the ideas and transformed them
into some of the most passionate lines in the language.) It may be
urged that the other part of the play is later than *Macbeth* inasmuch
as that play is palpably imitated, but the imitation may not have
been in the original version or may have followed some much earlier
version of *Macbeth* than that which is extant.

It is not my object in this paper to put forward views of my own
based on considerations of style. If in this case I have to some
extent diverged from the path I have set myself, the interest of the
subject must be my excuse. *Thorny Abbey* is not a great play—
far from it; but the apparent fact of its earliness of date in its origi-
nal form and the circumstance that the initials of its reputed author
are those of Thomas Watson make it well worthy of study, inasmuch
as not one of his dramatic productions is known to be extant, and
this is, so far as I am aware, the first suggestion yet made that he
may be partly responsible for any one of the hundreds of plays of
the period which we possess. To judge by this, the loss may not be
great; but to judge any writer so would not be just. In fact, Wat-
son's fame as a dramatist was high. He died in 1592. Six years
later he was mentioned by Meres as among the best for tragedy
(one of the two stories told in *Thorny Abbey*—the one in which the
older writer's presence is most obvious—is a tragedy); but a more
marked tribute to his merit or his repute is Heywood's mention of

him in his "Hierarchie of Angels" published in 1634 (forty-two years after Watson's death), where he is mentioned (between Kyd and Nashe) with the following poet-dramatists: Greene, Peele, Kyd, Nashe, Beaumont, Shakspere, Jonson, Fletcher, Webster, Dekker, May, Middleton, Forde. As Heywood was merely showing how the most famous writers had their Christian names familiarly shortened, the omission of the names of Tourneur and Chapman and Peele need excite no remark, for "George" and "Cyril" do not lend themselves to abbreviation; but Heywood seems thus to esteem Watson (and also Nashe—of whose dramatic ability we can form no proper judgment—and May) above Massinger, Marlowe, Shirley, Lyly, Rowley, Day, and Field. The poem says:

> He wrote
> Able to make Apollo's self to dote
> Upon his muse.

He was a friend of Lyly and Peele and Kyd, and the last-named did not scruple to lift into his *Spanish Tragedy* an extract from Watson's *Hekatompathia*, slightly altered. After his death, William Cornwallis in his charge against him said he "could devise twenty fictions and knaveries in a play, which was his daily practice and his living." Anyone who wants a quite new field of Elizabethan study might first steep himself in a knowledge of Watson's poetry and then read the dramas (and especially the unattached dramas) of the period prior to the middle of 1592, with an eye to determining his presence. That he had something to do with some of the anonymous plays of that time or with some of Kyd's plays or some of Peele's is not at all unlikely.

While on this subject it may be urged that the value of Heywood's testimony to the greatness of Nashe as well as of Watson can only be judged by the discovery that some anonymous play of the period is wholly or mainly his work; and this too is a task that should commend itself to some of our students; though, as they could lay their foundation for a knowledge of Watson's style only on his poems, so they could for an understanding of Nashe's rely only on his prose tracts, his quasi-dramatic *Summer's Will*, and so much of *Dido* as may be his (in my opinion, I, 2, from Aeneas' entry; I, 3; [?] IV, 1; and IV, 2; the rest being Marlowe's with the exception of II, and

perhaps III, 3, which are joint, while V, 2 may also contain a little
of Nashe's work; so that, if my view be correct, there is not very much
of Nashe to judge by).   As for *Thorny Abbey*, it may be on the whole
more probable that the initials on the title-page are those not of the
original author, but of the reviser (in which case of course they would
not belong to Watson); and the likelihood would be increased if it
could be definitely ascertained that the initials given with the other
two plays of the "ternary" were those of revisers.

   The I. T. (probably meaning J. T.) of the third play of the "ter-
nary" may be Tatham, but if so "J. T." must be the initials not of
the original author, but of a reviser, for the play dates back to the
time of Elizabeth, when, as internal evidence shows, it was called
The Devil and His Dame.   Fleay ascribes it to Haughton, because
Haughton was paid 5s. "in earnest of a book which he would call"
by that name for the Admiral's men in 1600; but, as the entry was
afterwards canceled, it would seem that the money was refunded.
It is possible therefore that the play was never written; or it may
have been written and sold to some other company.

   Concerning *Old Wives' Tale*, Peele's claim to which must rest
almost entirely on the internal evidence, though it is always treated
as indubitably his, I have said that it is against Puttenham's claim
that he was dead when it was published under his initials.   This
may be thought inconsistent with my suggestion of Watson in similar
circumstances as the original author of *Thorny Abbey*.   In reality
there is no inconsistency.   In the latter case, if R. D. published a
play with the initials of an author who had been dead 70 years, it
was presumably because he found the initials on the MS and did not
know to whom they belonged.   In the other case, it should not have
been difficult for the publisher to ascertain the authorship of the
play, which had been acted not very many years before, and, as Put-
tenham was dead, there would be no hesitation about printing his
name in full.   When only initials are given it will usually be found
that a play was published by the author or with his sanction, or else
that the publisher did not know to whom the initials belonged.   If
this play could be shown to have been published without Peele's
authority I should say that the chances were against its being his;
as it is, there is no one else with any serious claim to its authorship.

IX

The next class comprises plays of which the authors' initials are definitely known, the versions extant being authorized and therefore to be regarded as complete, though the authors' names have absolutely to be guessed at. Of these, the "A. M." of *Two Italian Gentlemen*, which, Langbaine tells us, is in old catalogues ascribed to Thomas Barker, is doubtless Mundy; the "J. D." of *Knave in Grain* may perhaps stand for Day (Denham being unlikely); and the "S. S." of *Honest Lawyer*, which was published in 1616, was perhaps Samuel Sheppard, who ten years previously had been Jonson's amanuensis. The "J. C." of *The Two Merry Milkmaids* may stand either for Joshua (or John) Cooke or for John Cumber, for whom Mr. Fleay claims it. The printer's address implies that the play was given to the press by the author. The address to the reader of *The Valiant Welshman* is clearly by the author, "R. A.," who may have been, but more probably was not, Robert Armin. The "J. S." of *Phillis* may represent Shirley. If not, the play, as a mere translation, should not find a place here. The "E. S." of *Cupid's Whirligig* is generally interpreted as indicating Sharpham, though Oldys says the play "has been ascribed to Shakspere." If so, the Shakspere must have been Edmund. As, however, Sharpham's *Fleire*, given to the press the year before, was also acted by the Revels' children, the ascription to him is probably correct. In *Scourge for Simony* (generally known as "the second part of *The Return from Parnassus*, though it is not called the second part in the quarto) there is interpolated matter that may not be the author's, though one copy has a dedication by J. D., which serves to show that the edition was an authorized one, especially as the same initials are on the Lansdowne MS. The other two *Parnassus* plays are spoken of in the final play as being by the same author and their MSS may be taken as genuine. The authorship of this trilogy affords a capital subject of investigation; and so too does *Two Italian Gentlemen*, as being one of the earliest dramas of the period (albeit probably not an acting drama). This play has, however, mysteriously disappeared, and I treat it as extant only because of the unlikelihood of its having been destroyed.

X

The next group consists mainly of so-called "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays. Here we have plays in each of which we have a definite choice of authors, one of whom was certainly concerned, though on the evidence it cannot be said definitely which one. In the case of most of the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays of this class both authors may have participated, and in none of them is there any certainty of the ascription being complete. Though so much attention has been paid to the works of the "twin stars" of our drama there is yet plenty of scope for others. Mr. Fleay was the pioneer in this field; and it is safe to say that had he not shown the way none of his successors (of whom I have been one) would have trodden that path. He remains the most original and the most imaginative, but not the most reliable, of investigators in this field. The first of his followers was Mr. Boyle, whose intolerance of all views running counter to his own must not blind us to the excellence of much of his work. That he is never mistaken is, after all, his misfortune; and even the childish animosity with which he so perseveringly assails those who venture to disagree with him may be charitably set down to the phenomenal degree of importance which he attaches to all technical matters in which he happens to be interested. Such seriousness of aim would be most admirable if it did not run to rancor. Of my own work I need not speak; and of later laborers in this field the most noteworthy is Professor Thorndike, whose chronological conclusions approximate tolerably closely to mine, though these were deemed absurdly revolutionary when I put them forward some twenty years ago.

Of the thirteen Beaumont and Fletcher plays that have to be considered here *The Captain* and *Coxcomb* are Fletcher's according to Archer and Hills, Beaumont's according to R. and L.; the authorship of *Four Plays in One* is Fletcher's according to Archer, and Beaumont and Fletcher's according to R. and L.; *Nice Valor* and *Women Pleased* are joint works if Archer may be believed; regarding *Honest Man's Fortune* there is no evidence save Kirkman's and Gardiner's, both of whom give it to Fletcher; Archer, Lovelace, and R. and L. all give *Valentinian* to Fletcher; and as for *Wit without*

Money, it was published in 1639 as a joint work and is so treated by both Archer and R. and L.; while both of these give *Bonduca* to Fletcher. So far as the dates of these can be ascertained, Beaumont is available for every one of them. Concerning the authorship of *Valentinian, Women Pleased*, and *Wit without Money* there is virtual agreement; but as to the other half-dozen, all of which are worthy of the student's attention, there is a great variety of opinion. In regard to *Honest Man's Fortune*, by the way, I came to the opinion soon after the appearance of my Beaumont and Fletcher paper that Tourneur was my "unknown author." In 1613 no one else was writing in that style, and if I was at first kept from recognizing his presence it was because of the attribution to him of the altogether different *Revenger's Tragedy*. It will be noticed that Tourneur has here dropped rhyme, which he elsewhere used sparingly, and does not end his speeches with his lines, as he usually does in *The Atheist's Tragedy*. [Since the above was written it has been definitely ascertained that *Bonduca* and *Valentinian* date from not later than 1614, so that in dating them 1612 in my Beaumont and Fletcher paper of some twenty years ago instead of the ordinarily accepted 1616 or 1617 I was clearly on the right track, as also in regard to the possibility of Beaumont being concerned in the authorship of *Bonduca*.]

The four other plays now to be mentioned also call for study. *The Woman-Hater* was published in 1648 as by Fletcher (and the next year as by Beaumont and Fletcher), is stated in the prologue to be the work of a single writer, is given by Davenant to Fletcher, and bears that author's name written on a copy of the anonymous edition of 1607, with Beaumont's name substituted for it later. The external evidence thus declares the comedy to be the product of either Beaumont or Fletcher, but not of both. *Beggars' Bush* is given by Archer and Hills to Fletcher, and by R. and L. to Beaumont, and was in 1661 published in their joint names. It probably dates from a time when it was quite possible for Beaumont to be concerned in its production. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* is given by Archer to Fletcher, but was published in 1635 as by Beaumont and Fletcher. The quarto contains contradictory assertions as to its being by one writer and by more than one. *Love's Cure* raises a very interesting question as to both date and authorship. Ascribed by Archer, and

also by a revival prologue, to Beaumont and Fletcher, it is declared
in the epilogue to be the work of a single writer. As to the date,
Fleay and Dr. Thorndike have shown excellent reason for attributing
it to 1608 or earlier, and I myself surmised a similar period for its first
production.   All this reasoning and surmise would, however, appear
to be heavily discounted by the fact that the play has since been
found to be based on a Spanish drama licensed for publication in
Valencia only some six months before Fletcher's demise.   Accord-
ingly the view has been put forward that neither Beaumont nor
Fletcher had a hand in it; but if so, how has it found its way into
the folio ?   And how is the prologue's definite attribution of it to
both of them to be accounted for ?

The absence of Fletcher may be conceded, the resemblances to
his work being slight and unconvincing and the epilogue speaking
of a single author; but despite the discovery of the late date of the
Spanish play on which this is founded, I cannot abandon my view
of Beaumont's participation.   The allusion to the Prince of Orange
as "Grave Maurice" (giving, as Professor Thorndike points out, a
date of not later than 1618) and to the *Miraculous Maid* (1604) are
both in portions of the play in which I saw the hand of Beaumont,
and if III, 1 be not by Jonson it should be an imitation of him by
Beaumont.   Is it not possible that Massinger incorporated in his
version of the Spanish play some scenes out of an early play by
Beaumont ?   I do not know the Spanish play, or how much of the
English comedy is derived from it, and so this suggestion may be
utterly opposed to the facts of the case, but I shall be surprised to
learn that the Spanish original shows any sign of the humors of
Lazarillo (a distinctly Beaumontesque character) or more than a
little of the contents of Act III.   If it do, I shall not be ashamed to
confess myself mistaken.

Not less a suitable subject for investigation is the comedy so
absurdly known as *Green's Tu Quoque*, which was published in 1614
as by "Jo. Cooke."   A later edition (1622) fills up the name as
"John Cooke," and so Archer, Kirkman, and Langbaine, and so
also the modern editors; but why should not the "Jo" of the first
quarto have stood for "Joshua" ?   The name Joshua Cooke occurs
in a MS note on the title-page of *How to Choose*, and the attribution

to Cooke of such a comparatively uncommon name as Joshua does not seem to me to be likely to be incorrect. It is of course possible that the two plays were by two different men of the name of Cooke, but they are of the one pattern, and with both Heywood had some unexplained connection.

As in this case we have to choose between Joshua and a possible John, so in *The Hector* we have to choose between Wentworth and a possible William Smith. This play was published in 1615 as by "W." Smith, which Langbaine interprets as William Smith, but which is perhaps as likely to have stood for Wentworth. So in *Game at Chess* we have a choice between the known Thomas and a possible Edward Middleton. An entry in the Privy Council Register of August 30, 1624, names the author as Edward Middleton; but a somewhat suspicious and certainly incorrect statement of facts in regard to the circumstances attending the production of the play speaks of Thomas Middleton as the author. There is every likelihood that the Council entry was a mistake.

XI

We have next to consider plays certainly of joint authorship, with the identity of one author certain and the identity of one doubtful. Of this class also a great majority are Fletcher plays. In *The Custom, Little French Lawyer*, and *False One* it is known that Fletcher had a hand, but also that he did not work alone; and, as these plays date from a time subsequent to Beaumont's death, it is reasonable to assume that his colleague was Massinger, who is known to have been concerned with him in the production of many of the plays of the "Beaumont and Fletcher" folio. *Wit at Several Weapons*, ascribed by Archer to Beaumont and Fletcher, is stated by a revival epilogue to have been only partly by Fletcher, and is worth study. *Lovers' Progress*, also given by Archer to the two friends, appears in the folio of 1647 and must be identical with Fletcher's *Wandering Lovers*, licensed December 6, 1623, for the King's men, by whom *Lovers' Progress* was acted. The prologue and epilogue declare it to be an alteration of Fletcher by another dramatist; and as, on September 9, 1653, Moseley entered in the Stationers' Register a *Wandering Lovers* by Massinger, it may be that that dramatist

was the reviser of Fletcher's play, though, as it had already appeared in the folio as altered by Massinger, it is hard to see why Moseley should enter it. It may be pointed out also that the sub-title of this play, according to Moseley, was "The Painter" and that no painter appears in *Lovers' Progress;* but it was Moseley's trick to get two plays entered for the one fee, *The Bashful Lover* and *Alexius, Very Woman* and *Woman's Plot, Believe as You List* and *The Judge* being separate plays so entered. The internal evidence, however, makes it quite clear that the alterer of Fletcher's play was Massinger. *Noble Gentleman* was licensed for the stage shortly after the death of Fletcher, but is credited by both Archer and R. and L. not only to him but also to Beaumont. The prologue tells us it is the work of more than one writer, and the interesting question arises whether the play was not a very early one found among Fletcher's papers after his death. For this reason it is worthy of attention. It is unfortunate that Malone does not tell us clearly whether or no Herbert names Fletcher as the author of this play, *The Prophetess, Sea Voyage, Spanish Curate, Wife for a Month, Rule a Wife,* and *Fair Maid of the Inn.*

Especially worthy of consideration is *The Spanish Tragedy*, which in its earlier form may be ranked among plays of which the authorship is known, the ascription being not merely correct but presumably complete, though I am by no means sure on grounds of style that some other (perhaps Watson, from whom there is some free borrowing) had not a hand in it; but in its later form it has to be dealt with here because the additions are uncertainly connected with the name of Jonson. Whether or no these additions are those known to have been made by him is a very interesting problem. The external evidence is strong in favor of the view that they are; and this view is supported by the fact that these additions are apparently parodied in the scene between Balurdo and the painter in Marston's *Antonio.* There are two other plays in this class—Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, which was patched by an "F. J." who may or may not have been Jaques, and *Humor Out of Breath*, in which Day acknowledges a partner, who may possibly have been Chapman, to whom R. and L. attribute the comedy (though this is probably only by confusion of the title with that of *Humorous Day's Mirth*).

XII

There are several plays in which we are sure of one author, but in which the presence of another (named) author is a matter of doubt. Such is Shirley's *Constant Maid* (published in 1640 as by Shirley and in 1661 as by "T.B.," and in which consequently Thomas Brewer or Thomas Barker or some other may have had a hand). Such too is Daborne's *Poor Man's Comfort*, the "P. Massam" of which may have been either finisher or merely transcriber. The name resembles Massinger's, but the play offers no sign of the handiwork of that dramatist and seems to me pure Daborne. Others are *Wyat* (in which Heywood, Wentworth Smith, and Chettle may have been concerned as well as Dekker and Webster), Newcastle's two plays (in which the noble author may have received some assistance from Shirley, who is known to have helped him in his work of this nature), the two parts of Rutter's *Cid* (in both of which the two young Sackvilles perhaps took a hand, one of them certainly contributing something to the first part), *Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (published in 1659 as Day's, perhaps entirely revised by that writer, but more probably containing some of the work of Chettle, who originally wrote it with him in 1600), and Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, which may have been patched by Heywood. *Parliament of Love* was licensed in 1624 as Massinger's, but was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1660 as Rowley's, an ascription followed by Warburton. One might by this judge the play to be partly Rowley's, but the evidence of style is conclusive as to Massinger's sole authorship. *Bashful Lover* was first published in 1655 as Massinger's, but some few copies attributed it instead to "B. J.," though the Stationers' Register entry had credited it to Massinger. There is no sign of Jonson's presence in the play. Heywood's *Royal King* has some of Wentworth Smith's work in it, if, as is doubtful, it be identical with the *Marshal Osric* acted in 1602. Though published as Heywood's and with his motto on the title-page, and therefore in all probability by his authority, the epistle to the reader declares it to be an old play, and it shows many signs of alteration. Whether Heywood in revising worked on an old drama of his own, or on the *Marshal Osric* he wrote in collaboration with Smith, or on a play

by some other dramatist, can only be determined by the internal evidence.

The Chances is certainly partly or wholly Fletcher's, but R. and L. give it to Beaumont, and Archer ascribes it to Shakspere. Its date makes Beaumont possible as a collaborator. *The Widow* was published in 1652 as by Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, the attribution being vouched for by Gough; but a MS note worthy of attention says it was by Middleton alone. Kirkman gives it to Middleton and Rowley. The first part of *The Honest Whore* was published in 1604 as by Dekker, but is shown by Henslowe's entry to have been partly by Middleton, unless we are to assume, as is improbable, that his work was thrown out and replaced by some of Dekker's before publication. *The Elder Brother* was published in 1651 as by Beaumont and Fletcher and ten years later as by Fletcher alone, to whom also the cataloguers give it. Hills also testifies to Fletcher's presence, which is certain; but, though the probable date of the play renders Beaumont's co-operation possible, there is no trace of him in it. With *Cupid's Revenge* it is otherwise. Published in 1615 as Fletcher's, this play was republished in 1630 as by Beaumont and Fletcher, to whom also R. and L. give it.

The remaining eight plays of this section are worthy of very careful examination, as are also the four just dealt with. *The Bloody Brother* was in 1639 entered in the Stationers' Register as by "J. B.," which may stand for "Jonson, Beaumont" or for some unknown writer. When published, it was ascribed to "B. J. F."—either the initials of an unknown writer or an indication of the authorship of Beaumont, Jonson, and Fletcher, (or "Beaumont, John Fletcher"). The next year it was reissued as Fletcher's, to whom it is attributed also by the cataloguers. His connection with the play is moreover rendered tolerably certain by the statement contained in Hills's verses. The question for consideration is the presence of Beaumont and Jonson. In my own view the latter wrote part of the play, and this view has been confirmed by the striking parallels adduced by my friend Mr. Charles Crawford in his *Collectanea;* but for Beaumont the probable date of the play is too late. *The Ball* and *Chabot* were both published in 1639 as by Chapman and Shirley but were entered in the Stationers' Register as by Shirley, who claims them as

his in his list of 1652, without any mention of indebtedness to Chapman (not perhaps a very vital point). *The Ball* was however licensed in 1632 as Shirley's without any mention of Chapman. R. and L. also attribute it to Shirley, while Archer, who gives *Chabot* to that poet, credits *The Ball* to Chapman. To judge by the internal evidence, *The Ball* is entirely Shirley's, while *Chabot* is mainly his, his revision of Chapman's work being very slight in Act I, material in II and III (though he has not touched III, 1 to the Queen's entry or the first half of III, 2), complete in IV, and very extensive in V. *The Traitor* has been claimed mainly for one Rivers, a Jesuit, and may possibly have been his on a first draft, but as it stands it shows no sign of containing the work of anyone but Shirley, who moreover definitely claims it in his dedication. *A Mad Couple* was published in 1653 as by Brome, and is given to him by all the list-makers; but, as it appears between Rowley's plays and Shirley's in the Cockpit list of 1639, it is probably founded on a play by the former. *Orlando* was sold by Greene, but may have been partly the work of Peele, inasmuch as the credit for passages from it is divided between him and Greene in " England's Parnassus." *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, entered as Dekker's in the Stationers' Register in 1631 and 1633, was published in 1634 as by "S. R." and so may have been partly by Samuel Rowley (unless the initials stand for Samuel Rowlands or some other). Finally, *The Insatiate Countess* affords an interesting problem. Published in 1613 as Marston's, it was reissued in 1631 with an attribution on some copies to Marston, and on others to Barksted. Its style is generally admitted to differ greatly from that of the purely Marstonian plays, and it does not appear in the collection of Marston's works published in 1633. It contains two lines from Barksted's poem "Myrrha." It therefore seems probable that Barksted had a hand in it, though there need be no doubt of Marston's participation.

XIII

There are a couple of plays that differ from those of the class that includes *Hey for Honesty* and *Humor out of Breath* in that, while we know that each of them is a joint production, we have no hint as to the name of any author save the one whose presence is tolerably

certain. These are *Goosecap* and *Knack to Know a Knave*, both of which are worthy studying. Of the latter all we know is that the "Merriments" of the men of Gotham are by Kemp: the bulk of the play is entirely anonymous. Of *Goosecap* all we know is that its author was dead before 1636 (see Perry's dedication to the edition of that year) and that in 1605–6 it was entered in the Stationers' Register to Blount conditionally on its being printed "according to the copy whereat Master Wilson's hand is at," wherefore as printed in 1606 it must have contained the younger Wilson's corrections, and indeed that it has undergone alteration is obvious. The critics are tolerably well agreed in looking on it as Chapman's.

XIV

I am approaching the end of my task when I come to consider plays which are conclusively attributed to certain authors, without one having any reason to suppose that the attribution is complete as well as correct. Of such are plays whose authorship rests upon their inclusion in posthumous collections. Such attributions must be regarded as in part correct but as very likely incomplete, inasmuch as the collector would not omit a play because he knew it to be partly the work of another. Such plays may prove to be to only a very small extent the work of their reputed authors. In this category appear no less than 22 of the 36 plays that figure in the first Shakspere folio. Some of these are mentioned by Meres as Shakspere's and so might be assumed to be wholly his, but in the long years that elapsed between Meres's mention of them and their appearance in the folio—their first appearance in print—there was ample opportunity for the patcher and the reviser to do their work. In the plays published in the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647 other dramatists than the two named were represented, all that the inclusion of a play meant being that that play was in part at least by one or other of the pair: so too in the Shakspere folio all that is necessarily meant by the inclusion of a play is that Shakspere had a hand in writing it. It is not so with the authorized collections of Marston or Jonson, because there is a vast difference between a collection or selection made by the poet himself and one made after his death by his executors, his relatives, or those who possess the

copyright of his works. Of the "Beaumont and Fletcher" plays there are 14 that come within this category. Of four or five of these we know definitely the original authorship; but we cannot be sure that they were not rewritten later. Davenant's Works supply two—*Distresses* and *Fair Favorite*. The others in this group are *Battle of Alcazar*, passages from which are attributed to Peele in "England's Parnassus," and which may consequently be assumed to be entirely the work of that writer; *Selimus*, in which the same authority declares Greene to have had a hand, whence similarly his entire authorship may be assumed, though it was published in 1638 as by "T. G." (which might possibly stand for Thomas Green, the actor, but was more probably a blunder); *Hoffman*, published anonymously in 1631, but shown by Henslowe to have been (originally, at least) the work of Chettle; and *Fortunatus*. The very title of this comedy (*Old Fortunatus in His New Livery*) implies that it is a revision of an old play. We know that the "End for the Court" in 1599 was by Dekker; and, though the play as printed has no name on the title-page, it has Dekker's name at the end. Whether Dekker was revising a play of his own or one by another dramatist is a matter for the consideration of the student of style. To me the play seems entirely Dekker's. It must not be overlooked that Jonson is on one occasion styled "Fortunatus" and that Greene gave that name to his son.

Of all these, the plays particularly recommendable for study are the three *Henry VI* plays (in which I include the two "Contention" versions of parts 2 and 3, ascribed to Shakspere in the 1619 edition, but of doubtful authorship), *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, *Henry VIII*, *Tempest*, and *Timon of Athens* (the authorship of the supposed non-Shaksperean parts of these nine plays being a matter of moment), *Selimus* (in regard to which Mr. Crawford's argument in favor of Marlowe's authorship is worthy of careful consideration), *Fair Maid of the Inn* (which as a posthumous Fletcher play is to be studied for the same reason as *The Noble Gentleman*), *Knight of Malta*, *Laws of Candy*, and *Queen of Corinth* (which three plays are the subject of some differences of opinion among "Beaumont and Fletcher" investigators), *Love's Pilgrimage* (which, according to Malone, was entered by Herbert in his diary as by

Fletcher and Shirley), and *Fortunatus*.   It is strange that there has never been undertaken any thorough detailed comparison of the various scenes of the *Henry VI* trilogy and its sequel, *Richard III*, with other plays of the period. *Arden, Edward III*, and many others offer interesting points of resemblance; but for lack of time I must leave the work to others.

<div align="center">XV</div>

The plays that remain may all be accepted as of certain authorship, unless the internal evidence is such as to cause us to doubt the external; but they are of two distinct classes—those that were obviously given to the printer by the writer or with his consent, and those of which that cannot be predicated. Even in the former case we cannot be absolutely sure of the authorship, for the claimant may have been a rogue willing to annex to himself the work of a dead comrade or a vain ass who had persuaded himself of his entire responsibility for a work in which he had only a share; but this class assuredly gives us the nearest approach to certainty that we can obtain. In the other there is no small likelihood of the publisher having been content with the name of the chief writer even when he knew there were two or more, of his being unaware that his author's work as he had it had been touched up by the players or their hacks, of his being ignorant that his author's work was based on the older work of a deceased dramatist, or even of his confusing it with some other work of similar title or on the same subject. Some of them again were published anonymously, and our knowledge of the authorship is due to references by other writers.   In this connection note may be taken of Heywood's statement in the epistle that prefaces *The Rape of Lucrece*, wherein he informs us that he used to sell his copy to the players, and therefore supposed he had "no further right to print them without their consent, which is the reason that so few are in print, and that some of these plays that are so have been copied by the ear and printed uncorrect without his knowledge."

In all the cases in this class the ascriptions may be presumed to be complete, unless there be definite cause to doubt it.   Among them are Fletcher's *Woman's Prize* (which Archer gives partly to

Beaumont), *Wild-Goose Chase* (which has undergone alteration), *Loyal Subject, M. Thomas, Humorous Lieutenant,* and *Rule a Wife,* Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and No King, Maid's Tragedy, Scornful Lady,* and *Philaster,* and Fletcher and Shirley's *Night-Walker* (which was published in 1640 as by Fletcher, but which undoubtedly contains the alterations known to have been made in it by Shirley). Others of this group are Grevile's two, Barry's *Ram Alley,* Berkeley's *Lost Lady,* eleven of Brome's, Anthony Brewer's *Love-sick King* (which Archer ascribes to Thomas Bernard), Cartwright's four, half a dozen of Carlell's, Chapman's *Gentleman Usher, Bussy, Blind Beggar, May-Day,* and *M. d'Olive* (the first-named two of which show signs of alteration), two of Davenport's, Davenant's *Siege, Love and Honor, Unfortunate Lovers,* and *News* (the last-named being obviously an alteration), Denham's *Sophy,* Dekker's *Wonder* (which has evidently undergone alteration) and *Shoemaker's Holiday,* Drue's *Duchess of Suffolk,* Field's *Amends,* Phineas Fletcher's *Sicelides,* Fisher's *Fuimus Troes,* Greene's *Friar Bacon* and *James IV* (which has certainly been altered, and which Mr. Fleay thinks in part Lodge's), Glapthorne's *Argalus,* three of Goffe's, Gough's *Strange Discovery,* Haughton's *Englishmen,* Heming's two, Heywood's *Captives* (certainly altered) and *Woman Killed,* Habington's *Queen of Aragon,* Holiday's *Technogamia,* Jonson's *Tale of a Tub* and *Devil is an Ass,* Lodge's *Wounds* (which Allot credits to "D. Lodge"), Lyly's eight, (including *Campaspe,* which as we have it, has been revised, probably by Lyly himself), Mayne's two, two of Middleton's, two of May's, Mead's *Love and Friendship, Jack Drum's Entertainment* (which the internal as well as the external evidence shows to be Marston's), Mundy's *John a Kent,* Marlowe's *Massacre,* Massinger's *Believe as You List* and *Guardian,* Peaps' *Love in Its Extasy,* Peele's *Arraignment* (which Kirkman and Archer attribute to Shakspere), *Edward I* (which has obviously undergone alteration), and *David,* Porter's *Two Angry Women,* Rowley's *All's Lost* (which R. and L. ascribe to Massinger) and *New Wonder* (certainly altered), Randolph's *Amyntas,* Shirley's *Coronation* ("falsely ascribed to Fletcher" as Shirley says, and clearly the later writer's both on the internal and the external evidence), Suckling's four, Tomkins' *Albumazar* and *Lingua,* Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy,* Tailor's *Hog,* Wilde's *Love's Hospital,* Wilde's

Benefice, the *Cobbler's Prophecy* of Robert Wilson, Sen., Arthur Wilson's *Swisser*, Wilkins' *Miseries* (certainly remodeled, probably by Wilkins himself), and Shakspere's *Othello*, *Richard II* (a quotation from which is given to Drayton in "England's Parnassus," as one from *Love's Labor's Lost* is credited to Daniel), *Richard III* (which seems to me to be partly by Kyd), *Romeo* (in which a second hand has been suspected), *The Merchant of Venice*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado*, *Merry Wives* (these four having all been subjected to some revision), *Hamlet* (the earliest quarto of which may contain some of the old *Hamlet*, conjectured to be Kyd's), the two *Henry IV* plays (both altered), and *Lear*. There are moreover Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido*, the *Eastward Hoe* of Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, Massinger and Field's *Fatal Dowry*, Massinger and Dekker's *Virgin Martyr*, Markham and Sampson's *Herod*, Dekker's *Honest Whore*, part 2 (in which it is possible that Middleton may have had a hand, as he had in the first part), Mundy and Chettle's two *Robin Hood* plays (which Kirkman gives to Heywood), Greene and Lodge's *Looking-Glass*, Dekker and Webster's *Northward Hoe* and *Westward Hoe*, the *Patient Grissil* of Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton, Middleton and Rowley's *Spanish Gipsy* and *Changeling*, Dekker and Forde's *Sun's Darling*, and that *Oldcastle* of which some copies were issued in 1600 under Shakspere's name, but which Henslowe shows us to have been written by Mundy, Drayton, Hathwaye, and Wilson, Jr. The division of this play between its four authors is a pretty hopeless task. In I, 1, 2, III, 1, and perhaps IV, 4 we have one whose verse is prose cut into lengths, with a fair percentage of bad run-ons; in I, 3, II, 3, III, 4, IV, 1, and V, 9, an old-fashioned, regular versifier; in V, 1, a stiff and jerky writer. The rest of the play (including doubtfully III, 3 and IV, 2 and 3) may be set down to Drayton's credit, differing from the verse of *The Merry Devil* mainly in its freedom from rhyme. (As against this division, note that the poet's idea of the Irish idiom is shown in V, 2 in the use of "me's," while the author of V, 10 uses instead "me be.")

Grissil is ascribed in an old MS note to Chettle alone. Were it not known to have been originally the work of three writers, I should hesitate between giving it to one author (whom I should pronounce to be Dekker) and giving it to two (Dekker in that

case being credited with I, 2, II, 2, III, 1, IV, 1, 2, V, 1, and the bulk of V, 2).

There are yet others. *Troilus* has certainly been altered, and there have been many suggestions made in regard to it. Mr. Fleay has put forward the idea that it contains "débris" from an old play by Dekker and Chettle, while Mr. Boyle has argued at great length, but quite unconvincingly, in favor of Marston's participation. To me it seems that the play contains nothing that is not Shakspere's. *City Madam* is another play that has indubitably undergone alteration, but an examination of it shows no hand but Massinger's. *Very Woman*, on the other hand, though licensed in 1634 and published in 1655 as the work of Massinger, contains numerous traces of Fletcher's presence, so that the attribution to Massinger must be taken as only partly correct. It is a pity that Malone has not made it clear to us in this case as in that of *The Bashful Lover* whether or not Herbert has named Massinger as the sole author of the play.

Of all these plays the ones offering attractions to the student in questions of authorship are *Richard III, Hamlet, Lear, Merry Wives, Edward I, James IV*, the second part of *The Honest Whore, Patient Grissil, Wonder of a Kingdom, New Wonder*, and *Very Woman*.

But there remain three others of this class, all of them well worthy of attention. One is *The Cunning Lovers* published in 1654 as by Alexander Brome. As it appears in the Cockpit list of 1639, when Brome was only nineteen years old, he must have been either very precocious or nothing more than a reviser in later years. As in that list it appears between two of Heywood's plays it may on the external evidence (I have not read it) be considered a play originally by Heywood, afterward patched by Alexander Brome. The second of the three is *Titus*, the external evidence in favor of Shakspere's authorship of which is just as strong as is the evidence in favor of any of the admittedly Shaksperean dramas in this class. I do not say that the internal evidence bears out that view; in point of fact, it seems to me that there is more of Kyd than of Shakspere in the play, but certainly also, as some critics are not willing to admit, some of the ostensible author's work. But for those to whom external evidence means everything there should be no doubt of Shakspere's authorship. The only thing against it is Ravenscroft's improbable

and in all likelihood baseless tradition that it was the work of "a private author" given "some master touches" by Shakspere. This was ridiculed by Langbaine, and in any case need not be regarded as of authority. The attempt to identify this play with the *Titus and Andronicus* acted by Sussex' men at the Rose in 1593–94 is absurd, because the presence of the little word "and" which serves most effectually to differentiate them, is no mistake, as is shown by the fact that it recurs in a Stationers' Register entry as late as 1626. Moreover the play in this entry of 1626 cannot be the one in the folio, and the entry clearly infers that it is not Shakspere's, inasmuch as it speaks of "Master Pavier's right to Shakspere's plays or any of them, and *Titus and Andronicus*." Neither can the play as we have it be the *Titus and Vespasian* produced by Strange's in 1592, because there is no Vespasian in it; but, as there is a Vespasian in the German version of the play, this may have been the tragedy which Shakspere retouched. The third play is *How to Choose*, which contains such striking resemblances to Heywood's *Wise Woman* that Mr. Fleay thinks it must be his, despite the MS ascription to Joshua Cooke. Such resemblances are usually capable of two or more interpretations, and it is possible in this case to infer that some of Cooke's work is to be found in the Heywood play. Heywood's connection with Cooke is shown by his address to the latter's *Green's Tu Quoque*. This address, it may be noted, hints that Cooke is dead, but does not expressly say so. Is it possible that Joshua (or Jo.) Cooke is a myth affording a pen-name for Heywood? The circumstance, however, that his name has been written on the title-page seems to contradict the idea that he was not a real personage. It may be worthy of remark that the metre used for narrative in *How to Choose* is the same as occurs in the epilogue to *Woman Killed with Kindness*.

XVI

As the plays of the single remaining class are the only ones on which a knowledge of the respective authors' styles in various *genres* can be based with anything like absolute safety, it may be as well to indicate what ones belong to it. There are Alexander's four, Armin's *Two Maids*, Brandon's *Octavia*, Brome's *Antipodes*,

Jovial Crew, and *Weeding of Covent Garden*, Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, Baron's *Mirza*, Burnell's *Landgartha*, Chamberlayne's *Swaggering Damsel*, George Cartwright's *Heroic Lover* (a closet drama which may date from after 1642), Elizabeth Carey's *Marian*, Cowley's couple, Carlell's *Deserving Favorite*, half a dozen of Chapman's, Cokain's two, *Travels of Three Brothers* (by Day, Rowley, and Wilkins), five of Davenant's, Day's *Law Tricks* and *Isle of Gulls*, Daborne's *Christian*, Daniel's four, Davenport's *John*, four of Dekker's, Forde's seven, Freeman's *Imperiale*, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, Field's *Woman*, Gomersal's *Sforza*, four of Glapthorne's, Heywood and Brome's *Lancashire Witches* (which may be assumed to have been given to the press by Heywood, since it has his motto on the title-page), Heywood's *Challenge* (which also carries his motto), eighteen others of his (if his *Calisto*, which I have not seen and of which I know nothing, be rightly included in this section), Harding's *Fatal Union*, Hawkins' *Apollo Shroving* (given to the press by his friend, "E. W."), Hausted's *Rival Friends*, Hughes and Fulbeck's *Arthur* (the title-page being too precise in its statement of the division of the work to permit us to doubt its authority), Jaques' *Queen of Corsica*, fifteen of Jonson's, Jordan's *Walks*, Jones's *Adrasta*, Thomas Killigrew's four, Henry Killigrew's *Pallantus*, Knevet's *Rhodon*, Kirke's *Seven Champions*, Kyd's *Cornelia*, Lower's *Phœnix*, Moore's *Arcadian Lovers* (which may possibly be of a later date), two of Marmion's, seven of Marston's, Middleton's *Witch*, Middleton and Dekker's *Roaring Girl*, ten of Massinger's, Montague's *Shepherd's Paradise*, Markham and Machin's *Dumb Knight*, Mason's *Turk*, May's *Antigone* and *Cleopatra*, Milton's *Comus*, Nabbes' half-dozen, Neale's *Ward*, Percy's six, Randolph's *Jealous Lover*, Rutter's *Shepherd's Holiday*, Rowley and Middleton's *Fair Quarrel*, Rawlins' *Rebellion*, Richards' *Messalina*, 28 of Shirley's, Strode's *Floating Island*, Stephens' *Cynthia's Revenge*, Sharpe's *Noble Stranger*, Sampson's *Vow-Breaker*, Sharpham's *Fleire*, Tatham's two, Whetstone's two, three of Webster's, *Tancred*, and Zouch's *Sophister* (which is, by the way, the same play as *Fallacy*—with considerable variations, not, however, sufficient to account for the two titles being generally referred to as applying to two different plays). There is also Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me You Know Me*, which, though it was published in 1613

without a dedication, may be deemed to have been given by him to the press, inasmuch as it describes him on the title-page as "Servant to the Prince." There is ample evidence of the authorship of all of these dramas; and we may quite ignore the attribution of Davenport's play in a MS note on one old copy to "W. Daven" (meant evidently for Davenant) or Drummond's mention of *The Faithful Shepherdess* as Beaumont and Fletcher's; nor need we attach importance to the omission of *Honor and Riches* and *The Young Admiral*. from the list of his plays which Shirley issued in 1652 (they must have been overlooked, as each has a dedication by him), or the erasure of Heywood's name and initials in an existing copy of that writer's *Golden Age;* nor yet need we worry over Oldys' note that "Ben Jonson charged Forde that *The Lover's Melancholy* was purloined from Shakespeare's papers." The inclusion of *Tancred* may cause surprise inasmuch as it was acted in 1568, but Wilmot, one of its original five authors, rewrote it, probably shortly before he published it in 1591. I put Verney's *Antipo* in this class, but I have not seen it, and do not know if this is its proper place.

Naturally enough this class offers nothing especially recommendable for our purpose save *Byron's Conspiracy*, which has certainly been greatly altered, and in which Mr. Fleay has suggested Jonson's participation. If, however, Jonson was concerned in the original draft of the play, it is likely that nothing of his work was left when it was revised prior to publication. The single-author plays of this section are, to be sure, worthy of study, but it is not because they themselves offer problems for solution, but because they make possible the solution of problems offered by other plays. They are, in short, the plays on which one may most safely ground a knowledge of the style of the various dramatists concerned in them.

To sum up, the dramas I would particularly recommend to students desirous of settling questions of authorship are:

A (unclaimed plays): *Swetnam, Queen, Love and Fortune,* the non-Shaksperean *Richard II, Stukeley, Wily Beguiled.*

B (plays unclaimed but having possibilities of specific authorship which have first to be considered): *More, Soliman, Dodipoll.*

C (plays claimed on altogether inadequate grounds): *Arden, Edward III, A Shrew.*

D (plays of diverse claims, lacking certainty): *Second Maiden's Tragedy, Pericles, Fortune by Land and Sea.*

E (plays of joint attribution, partly probable and partly of very little value): *Two Noble Kinsmen.*

F (plays as to which the evidence of authorship is strong but not quite adequate): *Revenger's Tragedy, George-a-Greene, Nero, Yorkshire Tragedy, Appius,* the first part of *Tamburlaine* (a settlement of which carries with it a settlement of the second part also), *London Prodigal, Cromwell.*

G (plays only part-authorship of which is certain): *The Shrew,* the three *Henry VI* plays, *Cymbeline, Timon of Athens.*

H (plays regarding which the external evidence is sufficient unless contradicted by the internal): *Titus, Richard III.*

Apart from such study of individual plays one of the most interesting tasks any literary detective can set himself is a search through the drama of the first quarter of the period with the object of determining whether or no there is any of the dramatic work of Watson extant. The proof of the existence of something more than the mere fragment of Nashe's dramatic work that we now possess would also be of great interest, and the discovery of Tourneur's presence elsewhere than in *The Atheist's Tragedy* would be of value as helping to prove or disprove the theory that *The Revenger's Tragedy* is his, while, finally, anything tending to elucidate the relations between Cooke and Heywood is worth some trouble to ascertain.

As to how the detection of the presence of unknown writers in any of the plays I have named is to be effected and their identity determined, that is a matter which every investigator must settle for himself. All I have sought to do here is to state the problems, not to endeavor to impose upon others my ideas of the best means of solving them.

<div style="text-align: right">E. H. C. OLIPHANT</div>

LONDON
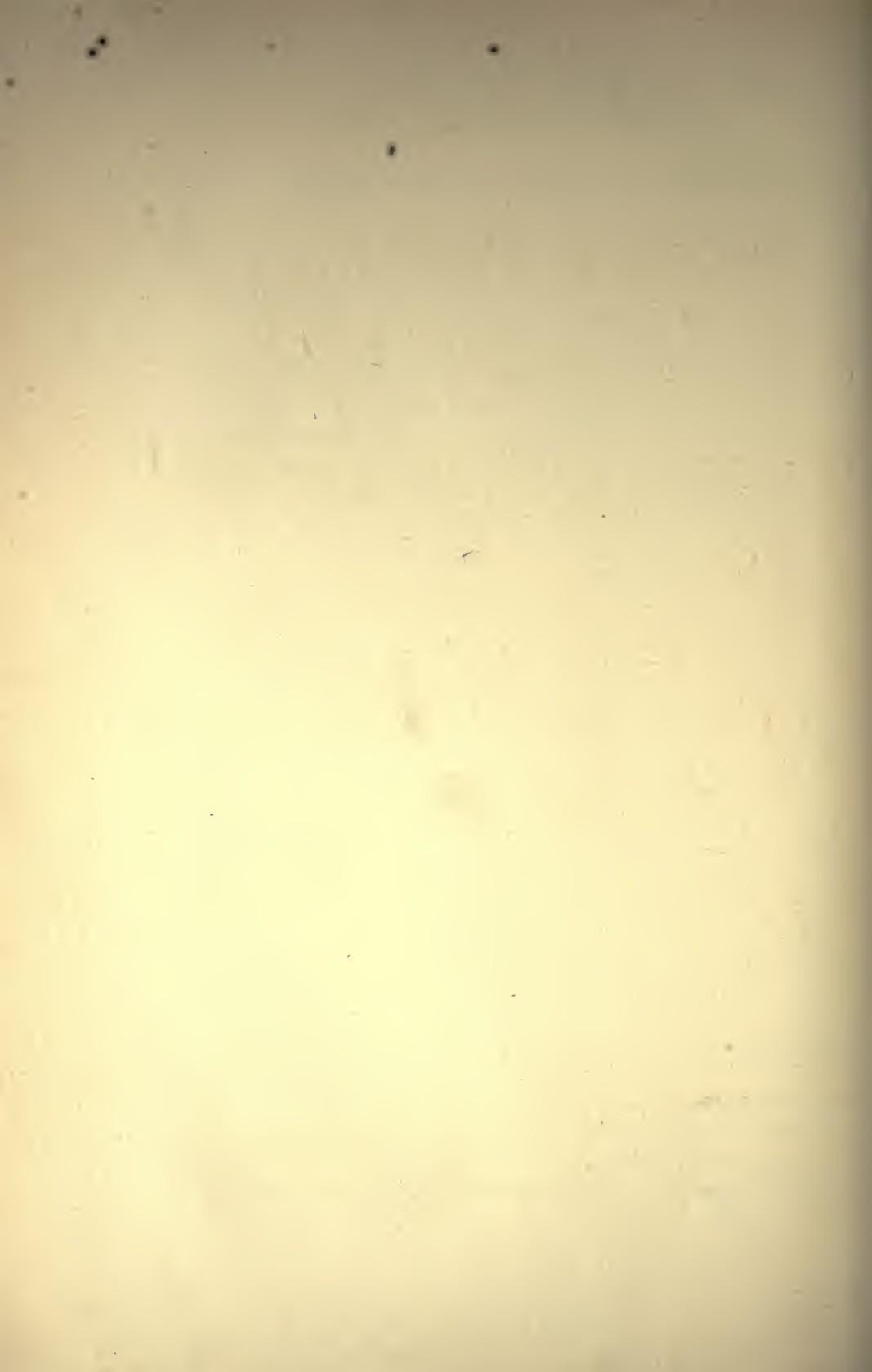
THE SEMASIOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WORDS FOR "PERCEIVE," ETC., IN THE OLDER GERMANIC DIALECTS

INTRODUCTION

It is a well-established psychological as well as semasiological fact that words denoting abstract ideas, such as 'perceive, think,' and other direct designations of mental activity, must have arrived at this meaning through stages of associative development more or less involved. The work here undertaken is an attempt to show the semasiological development of such words in the older Germanic dialects.

There are obviously two general divisions for words of this kind. The one comprises a class whose primary meaning in Germanic seems already to have been the abstract one of 'perceive,' or 'think,' such, for example, as Goth. *þagkjan*, OHG. *denchan*. For an explanation of these we must go to related words outside of the Germanic to establish a development of meaning. The other, by far the larger class, contains the words developing from some more primary meaning expressed in the word itself or in some related Germanic word.

In order to arrive at any uniform classification of the various developments shown in these words, it has seemed best to use, as a basis for semasiological classification, the meaning from which the ideas 'perceive, think' sprang directly. Thus the original meaning may be entirely disregarded as far as its influence upon the classification is concerned. This is necessary because two words may

spring from the same primary meaning and yet may develop in very different ways. To illustrate: No. 43 starts from a primary meaning 'turn' and develops the meanings 'turn toward, pay attention to: perceive.' No. 73 also starts from the meaning 'turn' and develops 'bend backward, look, see: perceive.' These belong, therefore, to two different classes since they develop the meanings, in one case through 'pay attention to, perceive,' and in the other through 'see, perceive.' Note also the following for divergence of development from a primary idea: III (b), 'separate, distinguish, understand,' and VIIIA (c), 'separate, count, arrange; calculate: think.'

The order in which the different classes follow each other has been determined principally by the closeness of relationship of the various groups, the object being to class, as near together as possible, groups which in their development tend to merge into each other.

It will be observed that certain developments, more notably the first seven groups, lead to the meaning 'perceive, understand,' while the groups VIII to XVII more especially, to 'consider, think.' We may find cases, however, in many of these groups where both sets of meanings have been developed in certain words, and therefore no conscious division is here attempted between words meaning 'perceive' and those meaning 'think.'

No attempt has been made at giving or explaining all the modern words for 'perceive, think.' Often they are mentioned in connection with older related forms. In some cases they are brought in where the older forms do not show clearly enough the figurative development, or they may serve simply as a parallel semasiological development.

I

Grasp: Understand

Probably the most familiar and obvious development of the idea 'perceive, understand' is that obtained from the concrete meaning 'take hold of a thing, grasp.' Expressions like 'Do you catch on?' 'You get my point, do you not?' 'He grasps my meaning,' etc., where the verbs all mean 'perceive, understand,' are too familiar in colloquial English to need further comment.

This development in meaning is common not only to all the Germanic dialects but is found also in other Indo-European languages, as: Lat. *prehendo* 'seize, catch, grasp; seize, apprehend, comprehend,' *capio*, 'take, seize, grasp,' etc., *concipio* 'take; apprehend, perceive; understand; conceive, think,' *percipio* 'perceive,' etc.; Gk. λαμβάνω 'seize, grasp; understand, comprehend,' Skt. *lábhatē*, *lambhatē* 'fasst, ergreift; erfährt; nimmt wahr, erkennt, weiss.'

I have divided the words developing 'grasp: understand,' into two general groups. The first (*A*) includes those words having the meanings, 'take hold of, get, grasp,' the subdivisions under this developing the conception 'grasp' in different ways. The second group (*B*) starts from the meaning 'grasp' and develops the meaning 'include' or 'comprehend' in its more literal sense. In (*b*) of this group, however, the idea 'comprehend' develops rather from 'embrace' or 'inclose' than from 'grasp.'

A. (a) Take, seize, grasp: understand

1. ON. *taka* 'take hold of, seize, grasp; reach, touch; undertake; receive,' OSw. *taka* 'nehmen aufnehmen, annehmen, empfangen, ergreifen,' MSw. *taka* 'taga på, röra; komma till; gripa; erkänna; anse, betrakta, upfatta, förstå,' 'take, touch; reach; perceive, see, understand,' MDan. *tage* 'gribe, tage; røre ved; faa i sinde, bestemme, agte paa,' 'grasp, take; touch; understand, determine, observe,' MDu. *getaken* 'aanraken, vatten, grijpen; vatten, begrijpen,' 'touch, grasp, seize; comprehend,' NE. *take* 'touch, grasp, seize; catch the sense of, understand; suppose, consider.'

2. Goth. *kunnan* 'kennen, wissen,' *gakunnan* 'erkennen, Kenntnis haben,' *kannjan* 'bekannt machen,' OHG. *chunnēn*, MHG. *kunnen* 'kennen lernen, erforschen, prüfen,' OHG. *kunnan*, OS. *cunnan*, MHG. *kunnen*, *künnen* 'wissen, kennen, verstehen, sich worauf verstehen; können, vermögen, möglich zu machen wissen,' OHG., MHG. *kennen* 'kennen, erkennen,' OE. *cunnian* 'try, test,' ME. *cunnen* 'know, be able,' *can* 'know, know how, can,' *kennen* 'know, acknowledge; make known; teach,' NE. *cunning* 'wise, crafty; sly, deceitful,' OFris. *kanna*, *kenna* 'kennen, anerkennen, untersuchen, bekennen,' *kunna*, *konna* 'können, wissen,' ON. *kunna* 'know, understand, feel angry or pleased; be able; happen,' *kenna*

'know, recognize, claim; impute; feel, perceive, taste, scent,' MSw. *kunna* 'känna, veta, kunna, förstå; lära,' 'feel, know, be able, understand; teach,' *känna* 'låta veta, känna, veta; förnimma, märka; erkänna,' 'make known, feel; know; perceive, notice, recognize,' MDan. *kunne* 'have magt over; pp. forstandig, kyndig,' 'have power over; intelligent, well-informed,' *kende* 'lære, dømme; erkende, anse (for), mærke,' 'teach, judge; comprehend, think, notice,' MDu. *connen* 'kunnen, vermogen; verstand hebben, weten,' 'be able, understand, know,' *kennen, kinnen* 'kennen, weten; inzien, begrijpen,' 'know, perceive, understand,' *beconden* 'bekend maken, gevoelen, weten,' 'make known, feel, know,' *gekennen* 'herkennen, onderscheiden; te weten komen,' 'recognize, distinguish; come to know,' *onderkennen* 'onderkennen, onderscheiden,' 'discern, distinguish.'

To this same IE. base also belong: ON. *knā* 'know how to do, can,' OE. *cnāwan* 'know, understand, recognize,' ME. *cnāwen* 'know,' OE. *ge-cnāwan*, ME. *gecnāwen* 'know, understand, recognize,' OE. *oncnāwan* 'know, understand, recognize, perceive, acknowledge,' *to-cnāwan* 'discern, distinguish; understand, know,' OHG. *irchnāan, bichnāan* 'erkennen,' *urchnāt* 'Erkennung,' *irknuodilen* 'vernehmbar werden.'

Of the several semasiological explanations of the above group the most plausible is that suggested by Wood, *Class. Phil.*, III, 86. He assumes a base *$\hat{g}enē$- 'get, grasp,' whence $\hat{g}enē$- 'get, beget, conceive' in Lat. *gigno*, Gk. γίγνομαι, Skt. *jánati* 'beget,' OE. *cennan* 'beget, conceive,' etc.; and $\hat{g}enē$- 'grasp, perceive, know' in Lat. *nosco*, Gk. γιγνώσκω, Skt. *jānāti* 'perceive, know,' and in the Germ. words given above.

(b) *Find, get, grasp: understand, perceive*

3. Goth. *bigitan* 'finden, erlangen, antreffen,' ON. *geta* 'arrive at, get, learn; be able; beget, engender; guess, think, mean; speak of,' *gāta* 'riddle,' MSw. *gāta* 'kunna, omtala, nämna; gissa,' 'be able, mention, name; guess,' *gät* 'gissning,' 'conjecture,' MDan. *gœde* 'mene, gætte,' 'mean, guess,' *gœtte* 'gætning, mening,' 'guess, meaning,' OE. *āgietan* 'discover, find,' ME. *ageten* 'seize, attain, perceive,' OE *ongietan* 'seize, assail; perceive, see, hear, feel; understand, know, recognize,' ME. *angiten* 'perceive,' *angit* 'intellect,'

OE. *andgiet* 'intellect; comprehension, sense; meaning, purport,' OS. *ongitan* 'wahrnehmen,' MDu. *begeten* 'bedenken.'

The following compounds have developed the meaning 'to lose perception, understanding': OHG. *firgezzan*, MHG. *vergezzen* 'vergessen, in Vergesslichkeit geraten,' OS. *fargetan* 'vergessen, unbeachtet lassen,' OFris. *forieta* 'vergessen,' OE. *forgietan*, ME. *forgeten* 'forget, obliviscor,' MSw. *forgäta* 'förgäta, glömma,''forget,' MDan. *forgætte* 'glemme,' 'forget,' OFris. *urieta*, OHG. *argezzan*, *irkezzan*, MHG. *ergezzen* 'vergessen, postponere,' OE. *ofergietan* 'forget.' The three prefixes OHG. *fir-* etc., Goth *fra-*, OHG. *ar-*, *ir-*, Goth. *us-*, etc., OE. *ofer-* all have the same force. The *ofer-* in OE. *ofergietan* is like NE. *over-* in 'overlook.' These prefixes denoting primarily 'separation' develop a negative idea. Thus *forget* is the opposite of 'get' in the sense of 'perceive' and therefore denotes a 'lack of getting' or a 'loss of what one has got, perceived,' etc.

To the same base with similar semasiological development we may also assign the following: MSw. *gissa* 'gissa, förmoda,' 'guess, conjecture,' *gissan* 'gissning, formodan,' ME. *gessin* 'guess, suppose, have an opinion, expect,' MLG. *gissen* 'mutmassen, vermuten, raten; ausdenken,' *gisse* 'Mutmassung, Raten,' MDu. *gissen* 'op iets bedacht zijn; peinzen, denken over iets; weten; raden, gissen,' 'think of, think over; know; guess.'

The IE. base *ghed-* of the above words is also well represented in other Indo-European dialects. The following may be connected: Lat. *prehendo* 'fassen, anfassen, ergreifen,' Gk. χανδάνω 'hold, take in,' OBulg. *gadaja* 'errate, vermute,' Cymr. *genni* 'contineri, comprehendi, capi.' Cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wb.*, 489, and references.

(c) *Touch, take hold of, grasp: perceive, understand, know, think*

4. Lat. *tango* 'reach, arrive at, come to; touch, take hold of, handle; take in hand; undertake,' Gk. τεταγών 'taking hold of,' Lat. *tongēre* 'know,' Goth. *þagkjan* 'denken, bedenken, nachdenken, überlegen,' OHG. *denchan*, MHG. *denken* 'denken, gedenken, woran denken; nachdenken, überlegen; beimessen; in Gedanken fassen; erdenken, ersinnen; beabsichtigen,' ON. *þekkja* 'perceive, know, espy, notice,' MSw. *þäkkia* 'tyckas, synas; känna, erfara; täckas, finna behag,' 'seem; know, perceive; be pleased,' *þykke*

'tycke, mening, åsigt,' 'thought, meaning, opinion,' *þykkia* 'tyckas; betyda; känna, anse,' 'seem; mean; know, perceive,' MDan. *tœkke* 'synes, behage,' 'think, please,' *tykke* 'skøn, mening,' 'opinion,' *tykke* 'synes, mene,' 'think, mean,' OS. *thenkian* 'denken, gedenken, überlegen, aufmerken,' OE. *þencan* 'think of, consider, be intent on, determine, wish,' ME. *þenchen* 'think,' OFris. *thanka, tinsa* 'denken,' *tochta* 'Gedanke,' MLG. *denken* 'denken an, auf etwas; gedenken, sich erinnern,' MDu. *denken* 'denken, peinzen, meenen; bedenken, beramen; uitdenken, verzinnen, in den zin komen,' 'think, mean; plan, consider, deliberate, think out,' *dunken* 'dunken, voorkomen, om iets denken, aan iets indachtig zijn; zich voorstellen, meenen, denken aan, gelooven,' 'seem, think of, meditate; imagine, mean, believe.' Cf. Wood, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIV, 259 f. and also *Class. Phil.*, III, 85 f.

(d) *Catch: perceive, know*

5. Goth. *fra- hinþan* 'gefangen nehmen,' OE. *gehendan* 'hold,' ME. *henden* 'capture,' OFries. *henda* 'ergreifen,' ON. *henda* 'catch, pick up, observe,' MSw. *hanna* 'beröra; träffa, känna,' 'touch; find, feel, know.' For a similar development cf. ME. *cacchen* 'catch, chase; understand,' derived from OFr. *cachier*, Folk-Lat. *captiare*, class. Lat. *captāre*.

B.   (a) *Grasp, comprehend: perceive*

6. ON. *grīpa* 'grasp, seize; encompass with the mind, understand,' *greipa*, 'grasp, comprehend, commit,' MSw. *gripa* 'gripa, fatta; omfatta; begripa, besinna,' 'grasp, seize; encompass; comprehend, think,' OHG. *grīfan*, MHG. *grīfen* 'tasten, fühlen; fassen, greifen; anfassen; ergreifen; begreifen, wahrnehmen,' MHG. *grīflich* 'greiflich, sinnlich,' OE. *grīpan* 'clutch, seize; understand,' ME. *grīpen* 'grip, seize, grasp,' MDu. *gripen* 'grijpen; opvatten, een plan opvatten, in den sinne grijpen,' 'grasp, take up, conceive a plan, comprehend,' OE. *grāpian* 'touch, handle, feel; grope,' ME. *agrāpien* 'apprehend, comprehend,' OHG. *bigrīfan*, MHG. *begrīfen* 'befassen, umfassen, umschliessen; erreichen, erfassen, ergreifen, begreifen,' OFris. *bigrīpa* 'begreifen, auffassen; ergreifen; befassen, enthalten,' *begrīp* 'Begriff.' MLG. *begripen* 'ergreifen, fassen, besetzen; ertappen;

betreffen; umfassen; in Gedanken ergreifen, ersinnen, begreifen; bestimmen, gründen,' MDu. *begripen* 'aangrijpen, bereiken, treffen, innemen, onderstaan; aannemen, bevatten,' 'take hold of, reach, meet, take in, undertake, accept, comprehend,' ME. *bigrīpen* 'apprehend, comprehend,' MSw. *begripa* 'gripa, fatta, omsluta; bestämma; begripa, förstå,' 'grasp, seize, enclose; determine; comprehend, understand,' MHG. *durchgrīfen* 'vollkommen begreifen, erkennen,' MDu. *ommegripen* 'omvatten; begrijpen, bevatten.'

7. Goth. *fāhan* 'fangen, ergreifen,' *gafāhan* 'fangen, ergreifen; erlangen; begreifen,' MHG. *bevāhen, -vān* 'umfassen, in sich begreifen, erfassen, einnehmen; begreifen, verstehen,' MDu. *bevaen* 'grijpen, vangen; bereiken; vernemen; omvatten, begrijpen, verstaan; overleggen,' 'grasp, seize, reach; perceive; comprehend, understand; think over,' OS. *bifāhan* 'erfassen; umgehen, umfassen,' 'comprehend,' *farfāhan* 'fassen, fangen, ergreifen; umfangen; geistig auffassen, vernehmen,' OHG. *firfāhan*, MHG. *vervāhen* 'fassen, erfassen, spüren; einfassen; vernehmen, wahrnehmen, geistig auffassen; unternehmen.' MLG. *vorvān, -vangen* 'fangen, einschliessen; begreifen; gewinnen, erlangen, fördern, ausrichten,' MHG. *gevāhen* 'fassen, erfassen, umfassen, angreifen, empfangen; begreifen; erlangen.'

8. MSw. *fakla* 'trefva, famla, fatta; söka att finna; gissa,' 'grope, feel one's way, grasp, seek to find, guess,' MDan. *fagle* 'gribe efter, efterstræbe,' 'attempt to seize, strive after,' *fage* 'list, svig,' 'cunning, fraud.' These probably from a base *fang-* in the preceding group. Cf. Falk og Torp, *Etym. Ordbog*, I, 145.

9. MLG. *vaten* 'anfassen, ergreifen, befestigen; aufladen, in sich aufnehmen, erfassen, verstehen,' MDu. *vaten*, 'vatten, bevatten; begrijpen,' 'grasp, understand,' MSw. *fata* 'fatta, taga, gripa; innesluta, bestämma,' 'grasp, touch, enclose, determine,' MDan. *fatte* 'gribe, tage; indfatte, faa i sinde, give sig af med, 'grasp, take; comprehend, undertake,' MDu. *ommevaten* 'omvatten, omvangen; met zijne gedachten omvatten,' 'encompass; encompass with one's thoughts.' While the OHG. and MHG. do not show a figurative development of this word, the NHG. *fassen, auffassen, erfassen, fassbar, fasslich, Fassungskraft*, etc., all show the development 'perceive, understand,' etc.

(b) Embrace, enclose, take hold of: comprehend, think over

10. ON. *umfaðma* 'embrace,' MSw. *umfämna* 'omfamna, omfatta; taga, gripa, valja; tänka på,' 'embrace, enclose; take, seize, choose; think over.'

The related NE. *fathom* also develops the meaning 'comprehend' but in a different way from the MSw. The meaning of the noun in OE. was 'embracing arms,' which later developed the meaning 'breadth of comprehension, grasp of intellect,' now obsolete. The NE. verb has the following meanings: 'encircle with extended arms, embrace; measure, get to the bottom, penetrate; see through, thoroughly understand,' (NED., *s. v.*). Here, however, 'understand' developed from the idea 'go to the bottom,' as in No. 128.

11. MHG. *sliezen* 'schliessen, umfassen, begreifen,' MLG. *sluten* 'schliessen; beschliessen, einen Entschluss fassen; umfassen, begreifen; sich fügen, passen,' MSw. *besluta* 'sluta, innesluta; besluta, bestämma,' 'close, enclose; determine, decide,' MDan. *beslutte* 'indeslute; indse,' 'enclose, perceive, comprehend,' OFris. *biskluta, bisluta* 'schliessen, enthalten; beschliessen.' Cf. also OFris. *biluka* 'einschliessen; beschliessen.'

II

TAKE, TAKE TO ONESELF: PERCEIVE

Closely allied in development to the words under I are those which have the meaning 'take, take in.' We may separate these into two divisions, the first (*A*) having the development 'take, take to oneself, take in: perceive,' etc., the second (*B*) 'take away; take apart, intercept, take in: perceive.' The difference between these two lies in the idea of separation in (*B*), which is given to the verb by the prefix. The usual prefixes found with the force of separation are: Goth. *fair-, fra-,* OHG. *fir-, far-* etc.; OE. *tō-,* OS. *ti-;* OHG. *zir-;* OS. *undar-,* OE., MHG., OFris. *under-,* ON. *undir-,* OHG. *untar-.* In use these prefixes may be compared with Lat. *inter-* in the sense of 'between, apart' in *intercipio* 'to take any object by coming, or by putting anything *between* it and its destination, intercept, take away,' etc.

A. Take, take to oneself, take in: perceive, understand, think

12. OHG. *neman* 'nehmen, ergreifen, auffassen; aufnehmen, geistig auffassen,' MHG. *nemen* 'nehmen, fassen, ergreifen; wählen; unternehmen, annehmen, erhalten, empfangen; benehmen, wegnehmen; vernehmen, lernen, bestimmen; vornehmen, bedenken; überlegen,' ON. *nema* 'take, seize upon; reach, touch, hit; perceive, catch, hear; learn, take in,' MSw. *nima* 'fatta, taga; lära; erfara, få veta,' 'seize, take; teach; perceive, know,' MDan. *næmme* 'tage, faa; lære; forstaa,' 'take, receive; teach; understand,' MDu. *nemen* 'nemen, aanvatten, grijpen; verhinderen; aannemen, iets opnemen met den geest; beramen, vaststellen,' 'take, seize; hinder; accept, perceive; plan, determine,' MLG. *nemen* 'nehmen, ergreifen, wählen; wegnehmen, holen; bekommen, empfangen; verstehen,' *to sik nemen* 'wahrnehmen, sich merken,' Goth. *ganiman* 'zu sich nehmen; erhalten; mit dem Geiste auffassen, lernen; schwanger werden,' MDu. *genemen* 'nemen, opmerken,' 'take, notice,' MLG. *upnemen* 'aufnehmen, heben; wegnehmen; empfangen, annehmen; einnehmen; bestimmen; übernehmen; vernehmen, vermerken, anerkennen; verstehen,' MDu. *opgenemen* 'opnemen; op zich nemen; verstaan, begrijpen, vatten,' 'take up, take to oneself; comprehend, understand,' MLG. *overnemen* 'zu viel nehmen; über sich nehmen, ertragen; vernehmen, merken,' MDu. *overnemen* 'overbrengen; tot zich nemen, kennis nemen van eene zaak,' 'bring over; take to oneself, take cognizance of a thing.'

B. (a) Take away, take apart, intercept, take in: perceive, understand

13. OHG. *farneman* 'wegnehmen, in Besitz nehmen; vernehmen, hören; wahrnehmen,' *fernunft* 'Wahrnehmung, Verstand, Vernunft, Aufmerksamkeit,' MHG. *vernemen* 'gefangen nehmen; hören, vernehmen, erfahren; unternehmen, wagen; erfassen, begreifen, verstehen,' OS. *farneman* 'vernehmen, hören, wahrnehmen, merken,' OFris. *fornima, urnima* 'vernehmen,' MLG. *vornemen* 'mit den Sinnen auffassen, merken, wahrnehmen, erfahren; geistig verstehen, begreifen; fassen, deuten,' MDu. *vernemen* 'opvangen, opnemen, bemerken, opmerken, ontdekken; kennis krijgen van,' 'take up, notice, discover; get knowledge of,' ON. *fornema*

469

'perceive,' MSw. *fornima* 'förnimma, få veta, erfara, märka; be-
stämma,' 'perceive, know, mark; determine,' MDan. *fornemme*
'mærke, erfare, indse,' 'mark, perceive,' *fornumst* 'fornuft, forstand,'
'sense, understanding,' OE. *underniman* 'take, steal; take into the
mind,' ME. *undernimen* 'seize, catch, undertake; perceive,' MLG.
undernemen 'abschneiden, unterbrechen; wegnehmen; bestimmen;
vernehmen.'

<center>(b)   *Intercept, seize, take: understand*</center>

14. MHG. *understān* 'etwas bewahren, über sich nehmen, unter-
nehmen, erreichen, an sich reissen, entreissen,' MLG. *understān*
'unter etwas treten um es zu übernehmen oder auszuführen, wagen:
sich unterwinden, erdreisten; verstehen, merken,' OE. *under-
standan* 'take for granted; perceive, understand,' ME. *under-
standen* 'receive; perceive, understand.'   The prefix has here the
same force as in NE. *undertake* 'take upon oneself,' MHG. *unter-
nehmen*, etc.   We have further: ON. *undirstanda* 'perceive, under-
stand,' *undirstaða* 'true sense, meaning,' OSw. *undirsta, -standa*
'verstehen,' *understandelse* 'Verstand, Einsicht,' OFris. *understonda*
'erfahren, verstehen.'   Cf. Wood, *MLN*. XIV, 257 f., XV, 29 f.

Apparently the same development of meaning is found in com-
pounds of the verb and the prefix *for-*.   MLG. *vorstān* 'etwas über-
stehen, aushalten; in Anspruch nehmen, übernehmen, behalten;
mit den Sinnen fassen, merken, vernehmen, verstehen,' ON. *for-
standa, fyrirstanda* 'understand,' MSw. *forstanda* 'förstå, inse, känna;
tänka, tro, mena,' 'understand, perceive, know; think, believe,
mean,' MDan. *forstande* 'erfare, mærke, forstaa,' 'perceive, notice,
understand,' OE. *forstandan* 'obstruct, stop; understand,' OFris.
forstonda 'verstehen,' OHG. *farstantan*, MHG. *verstān, -stēn* 'hin-
dernd wovortreten (=' intercept'), wahrnehmen, vernehmen, merken,
verstehen,' MDu. *verstaan, -staen* 'vernemen, verstand hebben van
iets,' 'perceive, understand.'   A similar force of prefix we find also
in: MHG. *erstān, -stēn* 'aufstehen, entstehen, durch stehen erwer-
ben; refl. merken, verstehen,' OHG. *intstantan* 'aufstehen, verstehen,
intelligere,' MHG. *entstān* 'erstehen; einsehen, merken, wahrneh-
men, verstehen; sich erinnern.'

15.   OE. *undergietan*, ME. *undergiten* 'understand, perceive,'
OE. *orgiete* 'to be perceived clearly, manifest';' cf. No. 3 OHG.

<center>470</center>

untarfaran, MHG. *undervarn* 'unter od. zwischen etwas fahren (es zu fassen, geistig zu erfassen),' cf. No. 33.

The use of the prefix *unter-, under-,* etc., as given in the above examples is not uncommon. Compare the following examples where the force of the prefix is 'intercept, take away': OHG. *untardringan* 'einen od. etwas durch Zwischendrängen beseitigen; einem durch Zwischendrängen etwas wegnehmen,' *untarfāhan* 'unter od. zwischen etwas fassen, auffangen; aufhalten,' *untargān* 'worunter od. wozwischen treten; hindernd in den Weg treten; entziehen,' *untarneman* 'intercipere, verhindern; refl. sich gegenseitig nehmen,' *untarwintan* 'sich einer sache unterziehen, etwas über sich nehmen; den Besitz übernehmen,' *untarziohan* 'unterziehen, einem etwas entziehen, über sich nehmen wofür zu sorgen'; cf. introduction to II.

(c) *Choose, pick out, take to oneself: perceive*

16. MDu. *lesen* 'scheiden, oprapen, zamelen, plukken, kiezen; leeren,' 'separate, take up, gather, pluck, choose; teach,' *horen ende lesen* 'op allerlei, wijzen vernemen,' 'perceive in all manner of ways,' MHG. *lesen, lāren* 'auswählend sammeln, aufheben, an sich nehmen; in Ordnung bringen; wahrnehmen, erblicken; lesen, vorlesen.' The development of these words and those in the next group is analogous to that of Lat. *intelligo* for *inter+lego* 'choose between: perceive, understand, comprehend.'

(d) *Taste, try, choose, pick out: discern, distinguish, perceive*

17. OHG. *chiosan,* MHG. *kiesen* 'kosten, schmeckend prüfen; erproben; unterscheiden, wahrnehmen, sehen; herausfinden, wählen, auswählen,' Goth. *kiusan* 'prüfen, erproben, wählen,' MHG. *kurc* 'wahrnehmbar, sichtbar, ausgezeichnet,' OE. *cēosan* 'choose, select; accept, decide,' ME. *chēosan* 'choose, distinguish, discern,' OS. *kiosan, keosan* 'wählen, erkennen, ausersehen,' MLG. *kesen* 'sehen, bemerken; ausersehen, wählen,' ON. *kjōsa* 'choose, elect,' MSw. *kesa* 'pröfva, anse, besluta; välja, utse,' 'try, consider, determine; choose,' OHG. *archiosan,* MHG. *erkiesen* 'prüfen, erfinden, sehen; bemerken,' OFris. *bikiasa* 'erkiesen, küren, bei sich wählen, beschliessen,' MHG. *bekiesen* 'vernehmen,' OHG. *gachiosan,* MHG. *gekiesen* 'wahrnehmen, sehen,' Goth. *gakausjan* 'durch Prüfung kennen lernen, befinden,' MDu. *verkiezen* 'bemerken, opmerken.'

Connected with the same base are: Goth. *kustus* 'Prüfung,' OE. *costian* 'try, test, tempt, afflict,' OHG., OS. *costōn*, MHG. *kosten* 'prüfen, prüfend beschauen; versuchen; erkennen, wahr- nehmen, merken; schmeckend prüfen, schmecken.' Outside of Ger. we connect Lat. *gustāre* 'taste, partake of, enjoy,' Gk. γεύομαι 'koste, geniesse,' etc. Cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wb.* 279, and references.

III

SEPARATE: DISTINGUISH

A considerable number of words develop the meaning 'distin- guish' directly from the idea of 'separate.' This 'separating' does not imply a 'taking to oneself' as in II *B*, but is rather a devel- opment like Lat. *cerno* 'scheiden: unterscheiden, deutlich wahr- nehmen, erkennen, sehen,' *discerno* 'absondern: unterscheiden, entscheiden,' *distinguo* (=*dis-* 'apart'+-*stinguo*, Gk. στίζω 'mark with a pointed instrument') 'absondern, trennen: unterscheiden, entscheiden,' Gk. κρίνω 'separate, part: distinguish, judge,' κρίσις 'decision, judgment.' The words have been grouped under several headings according to the shades of deviations in the development of the meanings.

(a) *Divide, separate: distinguish*

18. Goth. *dails* 'Teil, Anteil,' *dailjan* 'teilen, zuteilen,' ON. *deila* 'deal, divide; give, bound; distinguish, discern,' MSw. *dela* 'dela, tilldela; utstaka, döma,' 'separate, mark out, judge,' OFris. *dela* 'teilen, urteilen; erkennen,' MDu. *delen, deilen, dielen* 'deelen, verdeelen, beslissen, oordeelen,' 'separate, divide, determine, judge,' OFris. *bidela* 'erkennen, gerichtlich entscheiden,' OE. *tō-dǣlan* 'divide, distribute, share; separate; discern, distinguish.'

19. ON. *grein* 'branch of a tree, sub-division, point, head, part; distinction, discernment, division, understanding,' *greina* 'branch; discern, distinguish; be separated, disagree,' MSw. *gren* 'gren, skiljande, mening,' 'branch, separation, meaning, sense,' *grena sik* 'dela sig, sondra sig,' 'separate, divide,' MDan. *gren* 'mening, bestem- melse,' 'meaning, determination.'

20. OHG. *sceidan*, MHG. *scheiden* 'scheiden, trennen; ent- scheiden, unterscheiden, deuten, auslegen, absondern,' OHG.

sceidōn, MHG. *scheiden* 'scheiden, trennen; unterscheiden; discernere, discriminare,' OS. *scēdan* 'scheiden, sondern,' *giscēth* 'Bescheid, discernment,' OE. *scādan* 'divide, separate; distinguish; scatter, sprinkle,' ME. *scheāden* 'shed, separate, divide,' *scheād* 'distinction, discrimination,' OFris. *sketha* 'scheiden, trennen: unterscheiden; sondern; entscheiden, bestimmen,' MDan. *biskede* 'bestemme; stævne; forklare,' 'decide; summon; explain,' *besked* 'forstand, grund,' 'understanding, reason,' MHG. *bescheiden* 'bestimmt, klar, belehrt, verständig, klug,' *geschīde* 'gescheit, klug,' OE. *gescād* 'separation, distinction; discrimination; understanding.'

In the following compounds the prefix also denotes separation: OE. *tō-scād* 'difference, diversity; discrimination,' *tō-scādan* 'divide, separate, disperse; discriminate, discern, judge,' MLG. *entscheden* 'ausscheiden; trennen; entscheiden,' OHG. *untarscheidan,* MHG. *underscheiden* 'trennen, sondern, teilen; unterscheiden, bestimmen,' OHG. *untarsceitōn* 'distinguere, discriminare,' *untarscīdōn,* MHG. *underschīden* 'unterscheiden, discernere,' OHG. *zasceidan* 'scheiden; unterscheiden,' MDu. *ondersceiden* 'afdeelen; verdeelen; onderscheiden, beslissen,' 'separate, divide, distinguish; determine'; adj. *onderscheiden* 'verstandig,' 'intelligent,' MLG. *underscheden* 'unterscheiden, bestimmen, richtig entscheiden,' MDan. *underskede* 'adskille,' 'separate; distinguish,' *undersked* 'forskæl, adskillelse, mærke,' 'division, distinction, mark.'

Here we may also class compounds whose prefix alone gives the meanings 'discern, distinguish.' Such are: OE. *tō-cnāwan* (= 'know apart') 'discern, distinguish' (cf. No. 2), MDu. *onderkennen* 'discern, distinguish' (cf. No. 2), OHG. *untarwizzan* 'distinguere, intelligere,' OS. *undarwitan* 'erkennen,' ME. *underwīten* 'perceive' (cf. No. 32).

21. OE. *scīr* 'district, shire' (= 'division'), *scīran* 'make a distinction, distinguish, decide; get rid of,' ME. *schiren* 'make clear (= 'by distinguishing'), make bright,' Icel. *skir* 'klar, ren; vis, forstandig,' 'clear, pure; wise, intelligent,' Goth. *skeirs* 'klar, deutlich,' *gaskeirjan* 'erklären,' OHG. *skēri* 'sagax, acer ad investigandum.' Cf. Wood, *Color-Names,* 66.

22. OE. *sundor* 'apart, asunder; differently,' *tō-syndrian* 'separate: distinguish.'

23. OE. *twā, twēgen* 'two,' *twǣmıng* 'division, separation; distinction,' *twǣman* 'divide, separate, part,' *tō-twǣman* 'divide, separate; discern, distinguish.'

24. OFris. *twā, twēne* 'two,' *bitwiskn* 'dazwischen,' *twiskia* 'zweien, scheiden, sondern; unterscheiden,' *bitwiskia* 'unterscheiden.'

(b) *Separate: distinguish, understand*

25. OE. *scilien* 'separate, part, remove,' ME. *schilien* 'divide; distinguish; be skilful,' *schile* 'distinction, discrimination; reason,' ON. *skilja* 'part, separate, divide; distinguish, discern, understand,' MSw. *skilia* 'skilja, afskilja, befria; inse, förstå; döma, bestämma,' 'divide, separate; perceive, understand; judge, determine,' *skil* 'urskilning, förstånd, besked, klarhet,' 'discrimination, understanding, intelligence, clearness,' MDan. *skilje* 'skille, skønne, se; dømme,' 'separate, distinguish, perceive, see; judge,' *skœl* 'forskæl; vished, forstand,' 'distinction, wisdom, understanding,' MLG. *schelen* 'trennen; unterscheiden,' *vorschel* 'Unterschied, Differenz,' NE. *skill*, a loanword from the Norse.

(c) *Split, divide, separate: distinguish; clever, skilful*

26. MLG. *kluftig* 'der etwas zu spalten, zu unterscheiden versteht; klug, schlau, gewandt,' MDu. *cluchtich* (*cluftich*) 'verstandig, bekwaam, behendig; geestig, zinrijk,' 'intelligent; fit, quick; clever, wise,' OE. *clēofan* 'split, cleave,' NE. *clever*.

(d) *Divide, separate: decide, determine*

27. OE. *sciftan* 'divide, separate into shares; arrange,' ON. *skipta* 'divide, take part, shift, change, arrange,' OFris. *skiffa* 'entscheiden,' *skifta* 'schichten, bestimmen,' *skiffene* 'Entscheidung,' *biskiffa* 'bestimmen.'

(e) *Stamp out, mark out, separate: distinguish*

28. MDu. *muten* 'uitsteken, uitmunten, kennmerken; onderscheiden,' 'mark out, stamp out, mark; distinguish.' No etymological explanation has been given for this word. Verwijs and Verdam, *Mnd. Wb.*, IV, 2031, suggest a connection with MDu. *munten*, which with NHG. *münzen* is derived from Lat. *monēta* 'coined money.' The development in meaning, however, is clear, for the

meaning 'mark out, separate' doubtless gives the development 'distinguish.'

(f) Separate, mark out: perceive, see

29. Goth. *ga-tarhjan* 'auszeichnen, sich merken; tadeln.' This is related to OHG. *zoraht* 'distinct, bright, clear' and OE. *torht* 'bright, famous.'   Outside of Germ. is the related Gk. δέρκομαι 'look, see, perceive.'

IV

GO, FIND: PERCEIVE

A well-represented class of words in Germ. is that whose meanings develop from a primary meaning 'go, go to.' Of these words we may again make two general divisions. The meaning 'go, go to' may develop into (*A*) 'come upon, find, get: perceive,' etc., like the Lat. *invenio* 'come upon, find, discover; observe, perceive, understand'; or into (*B*) 'seek out, investigate: perceive,' etc., like the Lat. *vestīgo* 'track, trace, search after, investigate, find out,' the general idea being that of 'strive after.' I have added to these two general classes a third class (*C*) the examples of which show, for the most part, certain individual departures from the developments seen in the first two, and yet contain characteristics of one or the other. A discussion of these individual cases is found under the several subdivisions of (*C*).

A.   (a) *Go, go to, reach; find, get: perceive, consider, think out*

30. OE. *fundian* 'hasten, go to, desire,' *fandian* 'investigate, explore,' Goth. *finþan* 'finden, erkennen, erfahren,' OHG. *funden* 'eilen,' *fendo* 'Fussgänger,' *findan*, MHG. *vinden* 'finden, wahrnehmen, erfahren; erfinden, dichten,' ON. *finna* 'find; find out, invent, discover; perceive, notice, feel,' MSw. *finna* 'finna; erfara, märka; döma, bestämma; uttänka,' 'find; perceive, notice; judge, determine; think out,' MDan. *finde* 'finde, træffe; faa, søge; mærke; døme,' 'find, meet; take, seek; mark; judge,' *paafindelse* 'paafund, tanke,' 'invention, thought,' MLG. *vinden* 'finden, antreffen; erfinden, aussinnen, erkennen, entscheiden,' *bevinden* 'finden, wahrnehmen,' OS. *antfindan*, *-fīthan* 'finden, wahrnehmen,' *bifīthan* 'antreffen; bemerken,' MDu. *bevinden* 'vinden; uitvinden, uitdenken; ver-

nemen; smaken, gevoelen; onderzoeken,' 'find; find out, think out; perceive; taste, feel; undertake,' OE. *onfindan* 'find out, discover; perceive; experience, suffer,' OHG. *irfindan*, MHG. *ervinden* 'ausfindig machen, bemerken, gewahren,' MDu. *dorevinden* 'begrijpen,' 'understand,' *ondervinden* 'onderzoeken, peilen; bemerken, vernemen, bevinden, erkennen, ervaren,' 'undertake, fathom; notice, perceive, recognize, experience,' NE. *find out*, NHG. *erfinden*.

Outside of Germ. we may connect Lat. *pons* 'bridge, path,' Gk. πάτος 'path,' πατέω 'tread,' Skt. *pánthās* 'path, way,' derived from an IE. base *pento-* 'come, go.' (Cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wb.*, 479). Lat. *invenio* 'come upon, find, discover; observe, perceive, understand' gives a good parallel in development of meaning.

31. OHG. *sind*, MHG. *sint* 'Weg, Richtung,' OS. *sīth* 'Reise, Fahrt, Weg,' MSw. *sin* 'gång; sinne, förstånd, förnuft, tanke; mening,' 'path; mind, intelligence, sense, thought, meaning,' MDan. *sind* 'sans, tanke, sind,' 'sense, thought, mind,' OHG. *sindōn*, MHG. *sinden* 'gehen, reisen; trachten, verlangen,' OHG. *sinnan*, MHG. *sinnen* 'eine Richtung nehmen; gehen, reisen, fortgehen, kommen; seine Gedanken worauf richten, sinnen, trachten, verlangen; merken, verstehen,' ON. *sinna* 'journey, travel; care for, give heed to,' *sinna* 'mind, senses,' MSw. *sinna* 'uttänka,' ,'think out,' MDan. *sinde* 'sanse, mærke, tænke (paa),' 'perceive think,' MDu. *sinnen* 'zijne zinnen op iets zetten, bedenken, overleggen,' 'turn one's mind to, think over,' OFris. *sinna* 'sinnen, beabsichtigen,' *sin* 'Bewusstsein, Verstand,' MLG. *sinnen* 'denken, glauben, vermuten; aussinnen,' MDu. *besinnen* 'uitdenken; begrijpen, bevatten, gedenken,' MHG. *versinnen* 'mit den Sinnen wahrnehmen, sich besinnen, nachdenken, begreifen; bedenken, einsehen, merken, verstehen,' MLG. *vorsinnen* 'merken, wahrnehmen, erkennen,' MDu. *versinnen* 'begrijpen, verstaan, weten, acht slaan op iets, bedenken.' The related Lat. *sentio* 'experience, undergo; perceive, feel, observe, hear, see; think, judge' also shows in part the above development.

32. OE. *gewītan* 'go hence, depart, die,' OS. *giwītan* 'gehen,' Skt. *vindáti* 'findet, trifft, erreicht; erfasst, erwirbt,' *vétti* 'empfindet, begreift, nimmt wahr, erfährt, erkennt, weiss,' Lat. *video* 'perceive, see, understand, comprehend,' Goth. *witan* 'auf etwas sehen, beobachten; auf etwas acht geben, Wache halten,' *wait*

'weiss,' OHG. *wizzan,* MHG. *wizzen* 'wissen,' OHG. *wizzēn,* MHG. *witzen* (in *un-*) 'klug sein, verständig sein,' ON. *vita* 'wit, have sense, be conscious, know; see, try; look toward,' *vitr* 'wise, intelligent,' MDan. *vide* 'kende, mærke; tænke paa,' 'know, mark; think,' *vid* 'forstand, samling,' 'intelligence,' OE. *wāt* 'know; observe; feel,' *wit* 'understanding, sense; right mind, senses,' ME. *witen* 'know, take care of, guard,' OFris. *wita, weta* 'wissen, kundig sein,' OS. *witan* 'wissen, Kenntnis haben, kennen; können,' *witig* 'kundig, klug, weise,' MLG. *witte, wist* 'Wissen, Kenntnis, Einsicht, Verstand, Besinnung,' *weten* 'wissen, kennen, bekannt werden,' MDu. *weten* 'kennis, hebben van, kennen,' 'know, recognize,' Goth. *atwitains* 'Wahrnehmung,' MDu. *beweten* 'bewustheid hebben,' 'be conscious,' *onderweten* 'grondig kennen,' 'know thoroughly.'

The following with the more especial development of 'perceive, see' also belong here: OHG. *wīzan,* MHG. *wīzen* 'beachten, bemerken,' OS. *wītan* 'seine Blicke auf etwas richten, beachten,' ME. *wīten* 'see, keep,' *underwīten* 'perceive,' Goth. *-weis* 'erfahren,' OHG., OS., MHG. *wīs* 'erfahren, kundig, verständig, klug, gelehrt, weise,' OE. *wīs* 'wise, learned, experienced,' ON. *vīss* 'certain, sure,' *vissa* 'certain knowledge,' MDan. *vis* 'vidende, blive var; vis, klog,' 'knowing, become aware of; wise, sagacious.' Cf. Wood, *Pub. MLA.,* XIV, 324; *AJP.,* XXVII, 60 f.; and also Lewy, *PBB.,* 32, 143[2].

33. Goth. *faran* 'gehen, ziehen, wandern,' OHG. *faran* 'gehen, wandern, sich begeben,' *arfaran* 'erreichen, erlangen; erfahren; erforschen, wahrnehmen,' MHG. *ervarn* 'einholen, erreichen; treffen, finden, kennen lernen, erfahren,' MDu. *ervaren* 'bemerken, aantreffen, gewaar worden,' 'notice, meet, perceive,' MLG. *vorvaren* 'streben, verfahren, verwirken; erhalten, bekommen; vernehmen, merken, erkennen; erforschen, untersuchen,' MDan. *forfare* 'udføre, prøve, undersøge; erfare, lære at kende; pp. erfaren, kyndig,' 'carry out, try, undertake; observe, learn to know; pp. experienced, learned.' For OHG. *untarfaran,* MHG. *undervarn* cf. No. 15. For a similar development in meaning cf. Lat. *reperio* 'find, meet with; discover, perceive, learn, ascertain; obtain, procure, get.' The NHG. adj. *erfahren* 'wise,' etc. gets its meaning just as Lat. *expertus* from *experior* 'to have found, tried: know by experience.'

(b) Go, go through; be experienced: understand, perceive, think

34. Goth. *fraþjan* 'verstehen, denken, erkennen, verständig sein,' *frōdei* 'Klugheit, Verstand, Einsicht,' *frōþs* 'klug, verständig,' OHG. *frōt, fruot*, MHG. *vruot*, OS., OFris., OE. *frōd* 'klug, weise, erfahren,' ON. *frōðr* 'knowing, learned, well-instructed,' *frœði* 'knowledge, learning, lore,' OHG. *fruoti*, MHG. *vruote* 'Verständigkeit, Schönheit,' OHG. *frad* 'efficax,' *fradlih* 'procax, geistig rührig,' OS. *frōdon* 'alt werden,' OE. *frōdian* 'be wise,' *gefrēdan* 'be sensible of, feel, perceive,' ME. *frēden* 'be wise, perceive,' *ifrēden* 'perceive, experience,' OHG. *fruoten* 'verständig machen, belehren,' MDu. *vroet worden* 'vernemen,' *vroeden* 'wijze worden, become wise,' MLG. *vroden* 'klug sein, zu Verstande kommen; merken, einsehen, verstehen,' MDu. *bevroeden* 'vroed maken, leeren, onderrichten; begrijpen, inzien; weten,' 'make wise, teach; understand, perceive, know,' *gevroeden* 'begrijpen, bevroeden, beseffen, inzien; verstand hebben.'

The Germ. base of these words *fraþ-, frōd-* probably goes back to the IE. base *pero-, pere-* which we find in Lat. *interpres*. This base is probably identical with that in Lat. *peritus* 'experienced,' from *pereo* ('go through'). The OS. *frōdon* 'become old' seems to indicate the probability of this explanation. The development of the Germ. words would then be like that of Lat. *experior* or NHG. *erfahren*. Cf. Hirt. *Idg. Abl.*, 82.

B.   (a) *Track, trace, investigate, find out: notice*

35. OHG. *spurran*, MHG. *spürn* 'der Fährte nachgehen, erforschen, wahrnehmen; erfahren,' OFris. *spera* 'spüren, wahrnehmen,' MLG. *sporen* 'spüren, suchen; aufspüren, merken, erfahren,' MDu. *sporen* 'sporen; trachten, zoeken, bespeuren, opmerken,' 'track; seek, trace out, notice,' ON. *spyria* 'forschen, erfragen, hören,' MSw. *spyria* 'utforska, undersöka; spörja, erfara, få veta, förnimma,' 'seek out, investigate; trace out, perceive, know,' MDan. *spørje* 'spørje; erfare, huskes; søge, spørge efter; agte paa,' 'trace; perceive, think; seek, investigate; notice.' For development in meaning cf. Lat. *vestīgium* 'footprint, trace, track,' *vestīgo* 'track, trace, find; investigate, discover.'

36. Goth. *laists* 'Spur,' OHG. *leist* 'Spur, Leisten,' MHG. *leise* 'Spur, Geleise,' Goth. *laistjan* 'nachfolgen, nachgehen,' *lais* 'weiss,'

OHG. *lirnen, lernōn,* MHG. *lernen* 'lernen, kennen lernen,' Goth. *laisjan* 'lehren,' MDu. *leren, leeren* 'leeren; kennis opdoen; vernemen,' 'teach; cause to know; perceive.' Here also belongs the following noun found in practically all the Germ. dialects: Goth. *lists* 'List, listige Nachstellung,' OHG., MHG., OS., OE., ON. *list* 'Klugheit, Kunstfertigkeit, Geschicklichkeit,' OFris. *list, lest* 'List, Kenntnis,' MSw. *list* 'skicklighet, klokhet, list, svek,' 'skill, wisdom, slyness, deceit.'

(b) Seek, ask; investigate: perceive, know

37. Goth. *fraihnan* 'fragen,' *gafraihnan* 'erfragen, erfahren,' OSw. *frœgna* 'zu wissen bekommen,' MSw. *frǟghna* 'spörja, erfara, förnimma, få veta,' 'seek out, perceive, know,' OE. *gefrœgnian* 'become known through hearsay, be discernible,' *gefrignan* 'learn by asking, hear.'

38. OFris. *askia* 'heischen, fordern; verklagen,' MDu. *eiscen* 'vragen; vernemen; verlangen, vorderen,' 'ask; perceive; desire, demand,' *vreesen, vreeschen* 'vernemen, gewaar worden, merken', *beeschen* 'vernemen, vragen naar,' OHG. *gieiscōn, geiscōn* 'erforschen, kennen lernen, erfahren,' MDu. *geeiscen* 'vragen, vernemen,' MHG. *ervreischen* 'erfragen, erfahren, vernehmen,' MDu. *gevreescen* 'vragen, vernemen, verstaan, te weten komen; opsporen, zoeken,' MHG. *gevreischen* 'durch Fragen erfahren, vernehmen, kennen lernen,' MLG. *vorvrēschen* 'ausforschen, erfahren, vernehmen,' *vorēschen* 'gebieten, verlangen, vorladen; ausforschen, erkunden; vernehmen,' *vreschen* 'ausforschen, erkunden, vernehmen, hören, erfahren,' MDu. *verheesen* 'eischen, vorderen, gewaar worden, vernemen, verstaan,' *vereesen, vereyschen* 'achten, merken, vernemen,' MHG. *vereischen, vreischen* 'erfragen, vernehmen, erfahren, kennen lernen.' Skt. *icchati* 'wish, desire,' Lith. *jĕskóti* 'seek,' containing the base *eị-* 'go' are related words.

(c) Pry into, investigate: perceive

39. Goth. *biniuhsjan* 'ausforschen, ausspähen,' OHG. *piniusan* 'experiri, invenire, nancisci, obtinere, potiri,' *unganiusit* 'inexpertus,' ON. *nýsa* 'pry, inquire into,' OS. *niusian* 'versuchen, in Versuchung bringen,' OE. *neosan, neosian* 'investigate, inspect,' NHG. (Bavarian) *(g)neissen* 'wittern, wahrnehmen,' perhaps from

the root in Lat. *nuo* 'nod,' Skt. *nudáti* 'stösst fort, rückt,' Gk.
νευστάζω 'nod, sleep' (Walde, *Lat. etym. Wb.*, 423). According
to the explanation of Prellwitz (*Etym. Wb.*, 315), we should have
to add to the above: Goth. *snutrs* 'weise, klug,' OHG. *snottar* 'weise,'
MHG. *schnodderig* 'altklug,' ON. *snotr* 'klug,' OE. *snotor* 'prudent,
wise.' He connects them with Gk. νοέω 'nehme wahr, erkenne,
erdenke,' νόος 'Sinn, Verstand,' Lat. *nūmen* 'nod' etc. A different
explanation of these is found under No. 69.

C

The following words approach in development of meaning those
under I *B* (*a*), yet the idea of 'go after: reach,' etc. cannot be left
out of account. I have therefore classed them here.

(*a*) *Reach, strive, grasp: comprehend*

40. OHG. *reihhen* 'darreichen, sich erstrecken,' OE. *rǣcan*
'stretch forth, offer, bring, give,' *gerǣcan* 'reach, overtake, seize,
obtain,' MHG. *erreichen* 'erreichen, treffen; begreifen,' *volreichen*
'vollständig erreichen, ermessen, ausdenken.'

(*b*) *Try, examine into: perceive, understand; weigh, consider*

41. ON. *prōva* 'try, examine,' OSw. *prøva* 'untersuchen; beweisen,
erfahren; kennen lernen, versuchen,' MSw. *pröva* 'erkänna; bevisa,
pröfva, undersöka, förehafva, täfla; betänka; inse, förstå, märka;
anse, tro,' 'recognize; show, prove, undertake, intend, strive for;
think; perceive, understand, mark; consider, believe,' MHG.
pruoven, prüeven 'prüfen; dartun, beweisen; wahrnehmen; erwägen,
schätzen; aussuchen; berechnen, zahlen,' MLG. *proven* 'kennen
lernen, merken, wahrnehmen, ermessen, taxieren,' MDu. *proeven*
'bewijzen; door overweging of nadenken inzien, verstaan, begrijpen;
beproeven, onderzoeken,' 'show, deliberate, perceive, understand;
prove, try.' While derived from the Lat. *probāre* 'try, test, examine,
judge of, etc.,' OFr. *prover* 'éprouver, convaincre' the meanings 'per-
ceive, understand' probably developed in the Germ. after the bor-
rowing.

(*c*) *Go around, go over, traverse: consider, think over*

42. Goth. *hlaupan*, OHG. *hlaufan, loufan* 'laufen, anrennen
gegen, angreifen,' OHG. *umbeloufen*, MHG. *umb(e)loufen* 'umlaufen,
circumcurrere, überlaufen, überschlagen, überdenken.'

V

Pay Attention to: Perceive

In the following class of words the meaning 'perceive' develops through the idea of 'turn one's attention to.' A similar development is shown when we compare the Lat. *animadverto* 'direct the attention to, attend to, consider, regard, observe; mark, perceive, understand,' Gk. ἐπίστασις 'attention, care, diligence,' ἐπίσταμαι 'know, understand.' The meaning 'pay attention to' may come from a variety of meanings. They fall more naturally into three general classes, the first (*A*) in which the meanings are like those of the Lat. and Gk. words above; the second (*B*) where the more primary meaning is 'stretch or strive after, attend to' like the Lat. *intendo* 'stretch out, extend; turn; turn one's attention to, mind, notice'; the third (*C*) where the development is 'protect, guard, attend to, perceive, etc.'

A. (*a*) *Turn, turn toward: turn attention to, perceive, consider, think*

43. OE. *capian* 'turn, face,' OS. *upkapan* 'aufgaffen, aufblicken,' MLG. *kapen* 'gaffen,' MDu. *capen* 'kijken, staren, met aandacht naar iets kijken,' 'look, stare, look thoughtfully at,' OE. *cēpan* 'observe, notice, attend to, keep, betake oneself, devise, meditate.' Cf. Wood, *MLN.*, XV (1900), 97.

(*b*) *Pay attention to, perceive, consider*

44. Goth. *aha* 'Sinn, Verstand,' *ahs* 'Verstand habend,' *ahei* 'Verständigkeit,' *ahjan* 'meinen, wähnen.' To the same base with an additional suffix belong OHG. *ahtōn* 'beachten, erwägen; nachrechnen, schätzen,' OE. *eahtian* 'watch over, hold council, deliberate, consider; discuss, mention, estimate, esteem, criticize, praise,' ME. *ahtien* 'consider, estimate,' MLG. *achten* 'rechnen, zählen, schätzen; aufmerksam auf etwas sein, achten, besorgen,' MDu. *achten* 'nadenken, overleggen, zich beraden; acht geven, achten, denken, meenen,' 'think of, think over; pay attention to, think, mean,' OFris. *achtia, echta*, 'achten, abschätzen,' ON. *ætla* (< **ahtilōn*) 'think, mean, suppose, intend, purpose; guess, design, plan,' MSw. *akt* 'håg, sinne, tanke, uppmärksamhet, omsorg, öfverläggning,' 'mind, thought, attention, deliberation,' *akta* 'betänka, öfverväga, hafva för afsigt, anse, förstå,' 'think of, think

over, intend, perceive, understand,' MDan. *agt* 'opmærksomhed, omhu,' 'attention,' *agte* 'lægge mærke till, tænke,' 'attend to, think.'

According to Noreen, *Urg. Lautlehre*, 25, the following are contracted forms of the above: ON. *gā*(< *ga-ahan*) 'heed, mark, observe' (see, however, No. 45), *gōt*, *gāt*(< *ga-aht*) 'attention,' *gǣta* 'heed, give attention to,' MSw. *gäta* 'vårda, gifva akt på, iakttaga,' 'attend to, notice, perceive.' Cf. also Folk og Torp, *Etym. Ordbog*, I, 12. For a similar contraction compare MHG. *gahten* = *ge-achten* 'wahrnehmen, erwägen.' The fact that these words are evidently denominatives from a base as found in Goth. *aha* where the meaning is already figurative has led some to refer them to the base *ăk̑-* whose primary meaning is 'sharp.' (Cf. Tamm, *Etym. svensk. Ordbok*, 3, and also Wood, *IE.* $a^x:a^xi:a^xu$, 79.) We might then connect them with Skt. *açánis* 'Pfeilspitze, Geschoss,' *açra* 'Ecke,' Gk. *ἄκρος* 'end, point,' Lat. *ācer*, etc., and refer them to XXI. Cf. the meanings of Lat. *ācer*, *acūtus*, and *acūmen* in this section. The explanations of Uhlenbeck, *PBB.*, XXVII, 115, connecting Gk. *ὄκνος* and that of Kluge, *Etym. Wb.*, 4, referring them to a base *oqu-* 'see,' are hardly tenable.

(c) Attend to, regard, perceive

45. OHG. *gouma*, MHG. *goume* 'prüfendes Aufmerken,' ON. *gaumr* 'attention,' *Goth. gaumjan* 'auf etwas achten, sehen, merken, wahrnehmen,' OHG. *goumjan*, *goumōn*, MHG. *goumen* 'auf etwas acht geben, beobachten, wonach trachten; behüten,' ON. *geyma* 'keep, watch, heed, mind,' OSw. *gøma* 'achten, hüten, besorgen,' MSw. *göm* 'uppmärksamhet, akt,' 'attention,' *göma* 'gifva akt på iakttage; vaka, öfver, vårda,' 'attend to, perceive; watch over, guard,' MDan. *gemme* 'agt; iakttagelse,' 'attention, perception,' *gemme, gømme* 'vogte, give agt paa,' 'watch, pay attention to,' OE. *gīeman* 'take notice of, observe, regard; take care of,' ME. *gēmen* 'observe, regard; take care of,' OS. *gōmean* 'acht haben worauf, hüten,' *gigōmean* 'wahrnehmend verhüten,' MDu. *gomen* 'zijne opmerkzame aandacht op iets vestigen, bezien; meenen,' 'fix one's attention on something, look at; mean,' *begomen* 'bezien, opmerken, onderscheiden,' 'look at, notice, distinguish.' These

words have been explained as coming from a base *gu̯hŭ-*, *gu̯hou-* in Lat. *faveo*, *faustus*, 'protect, favor,' OChSl. *gověti* 'revere, worship, venerate, respect.' Cf. Wood, *Pub. MLA.*, XIV, 326.

Schade, *Wb.²*, 345, regards ON. *gā* of the preceding section as being a contraction of Germ. **gawa-*. The ON. verb would then represent a Goth. *gaujan just as ON. *strā* is in Goth. *straujan*. We would then connect the above words as well as OHG. *giwēn*, *gīēn* 'das Maul aufsperren, gähnen,' etc.

(d) *Watch, attend to, perceive, see*

46. OHG. *spehōn* 'spähen,' *spāhi*, MHG. *spæhe*, OS. *spāhi* 'klug, weise, schlau; kunstvoll,' MHG. *spehen* 'schauen, betrachten,' MLG. *spēn* 'spähen, erforschen, erkunden,' MDu. *spien* 'onderzoek doen, vernemen; bespieden,' 'investigate, perceive, spy out,' *spieghen* 'overdenken, overwegen,' 'think over,' MSw. *spå* 'förutsäga, gissa,' 'foresee, guess,' MDan. *spaa* 'forudsige, utforske, gætte,' 'foresee, find out, guess,' MDu. *bespien* 'bespieden, opmerken, achtgeven,' 'spy, observe, perceive,' MLG. *anspechtlich werden* 'gewahr werden.'

These go back to an IE. base *spek-* in Lat. *specio*, *adspicio*, etc. A probably related IE. base *speg-* in OSl. *paziti* 'pay attention to,' etc., gives us the following: ON. *spakr* 'quiet, gentle; wise,' MSw. *spaker* 'förståndig, vis; blid,' 'intelligent, wise; gentle.'

47. ON. *vakta* 'watch,' *vakna* 'awake, awake as to a thing, recognize, recollect,' OSw. *vakta* 'hüten, zusehen, worüber Aufsicht haben,' *atvakta* 'darauf acht geben,' MSw. *atvakta* 'fästa uppmärksamhet vid, gifva akt på; tänka på,' MDan. *vagte* 'vogte (sig), give agt (paa),' MDu. *gewachten* 'bewaken, behoeden; bewaaren voor; het bespieden, opmerken,' 'watch, protect; look at, perceive.'

48. ON. *sǣta* 'sit in ambush, lie in wait for,' MSw. *säta* 'akta på, bry sig om,' 'pay attention to, care for,' MDan. *sæde* 'agte, regne for,' 'perceive, consider.' Related are Goth. *siian*, OHG. *sizzen* etc.

49. OHG. *luog*, MHG. *luoch* 'Lagerhöhle des Wildes, Höhle, Schlupfwinkel, Versteck, Loch,' OHG. *luogēn* 'aus einem Verstecke hervorsehen, lugen,' MHG. *luogen* 'aufmerksam sehen, schauen,' OE. *lōcian*, ME. *lōkien* 'look at, take heed, observe,' MHG. *beluogen*

'beschauen, wahrnehmen.' Cf. Schade, *Wb.*², I, 578. For connection with Skt. *lakṣate* 'bemerkt, nimmt wahr' cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*, 256 f.

50. Gk. ἰλλίζω 'look awry, look askance, leer,' OE. *wlātian* 'look, gaze,' ON. *līta* 'look, behold, see; consider,' MDan. *lide* 'se, vænte, håbe på,' 'see, expect, hope for.' Cf. Wood, *Pub. MLA.*, XIV, 332.

(e) Notice: perceive, see, understand

51. OHG. *scawōn*, MHG. *schouwen, schouen* 'schauen, sehen, besehen, betrachten; considerare, contemplari,' OE. *scēawian* 'see, scrutinize, regard, select, provide,' MDu. *schouwen* 'zien, aanschouwen, opmerken, bespeieren,' 'see, observe, notice, perceive,' ON. *skoða* 'look after, view,' MSw. *skopa* 'skoda, betrakta, se på, hafva akt på, anse; tänka, besinna; undersöka; urskilja,' 'behold, observe, pay attention to, perceive; think; examine; distinguish,' MDan. *skode* 'se, betragte, bese,' 'see, observe, examine,' OFris. *biskawia* 'beschauen, besichtigen,' MHG. *beschouwen* 'beschauen, betrachten, schauen, sehen, wahrnehmen,' MDu. *bescouwen* 'zien, opmerken, bezien,' 'see, notice, examine,' MHG. *durchschouwen* 'durchschauen, geistig durchdringen, erkennen,' MDu. *gescouwen* 'aanchouwen, aanzien; opmerken, waarnemen.' From this same base we have also: ON. *skyn* 'sense, perception, understanding,' *skynja* 'perceive, make out, understand; search out, inquire into; look out,' MSw. *skyn* 'skönjande, insigt, förstånd,' 'perception, insight, understanding,' *skynia* 'besigtiga, undersöka; se, inse, betänka, förstå sig på,' 'examine; see, perceive, think of, understand about,' MDan. *skøn* 'forstand, indse,' *skønje* 'skønne, indse, adskille,' 'perceive, discern, distinguish.' These we relate to Gk. κοέω 'mark, perceive, hear,' Lat. *caveo* 'mark, observe; beware,' etc. Cf. Walde, *Etym. Wb.*, 106 f., and references given.

B. (a) *Strive after: turn attention to, perceive, consider, think over*

52. OHG. *rāmēn*, MHG. *rāmen* 'trachten nach etwas, zielen, aufs Korn nehmen,' OS. *rōmon* 'streben, trachten, zielen,' MLG. *ramen* 'zielen auf, ins Auge fassen, zutreffen, erreichen; mutmassen; beschliessen, bestimmen,' MDu. *ramen* 'streven naar; mikken,

den geest richten op, op iets acht geven; beramen, beraadslagen, uitdenken,' 'strive after, aim at, fix attention, mind on; consider, deliberate, think out,' *geramen* 'bereiken; overleggen, uitdenken,' 'plan, think over, think out,' MHG. *gerämen* 'trachten, streben nach, als Ziel ins Auge fassen, zum Ziel gelangen.'

53. OHG. *ruohhan*, MHG. *ruochen* 'sorgen, bedacht sein, animadvertere,' ON. *rōkja* 'care for,' MLG. *roken, ruken* 'wollen; achten, worauf bedacht sein, sich kümmern,' MDu. *roeken, roken* 'zijne gedachten op iets richten, acht slaan op, zijne aandacht wijden aan; begeren,' 'turn one's thoughts to, think of; desire,' MHG. *verruochen* 'sich nicht kümmern um; vergessen' [cf. IA (b)].

54. MDan. *elske* 'lægge vind paa, eftertragte, drage umsorg for, opelske; tænke paa,' 'apply oneself to, strive after, care for, nurse; think about.' This word represents a Germ. **aliska* with a base found in ON. *ala(ōl)* 'avle, føde,' 'beget, feed,' Goth *alan* 'aufwachsen, umsichgreifen,' Lat. *alere* 'nourish, etc.' Cf. Falk og Torp, *Etym. Ordbog*, I, 15.

(b) Work, attend to, perceive; work over, plan, consider

55. ON. *iðna* 'work,' MSw. *iþna* 'förrätta, utföra; bruka; iakttaga; nyttja; öfverväga, studera; sträfva, pröfva,' 'perform, execute; use; perceive; utilize; think over, study; strive, try.'

56. OE. *efnan* 'perform, execute,' ON. *efna* 'perform, execute,' OHG. *uoban*, MHG. *üeben* 'ausüben, tätig sein,' MDu. *oefenen* 'oefenen, bearbeiden; voorzien, verzorgen, oppassen; zijne aandacht wijden aan de dingen van den geest,' 'perform, work at; foresee, care for, pay attention to; turn one's thoughts to.'

C

The meaning 'pay attention to' may be secondary to a meaning 'guard, protect' as in Lat. *tueor* 'guard, protect, look at,' *tutus* 'watchful, careful,' or Gk. οὖρος 'guard, watcher,' ὁράω 'take heed, see, observe, perceive.' In fact the two meanings 'protect' or 'guard' and 'pay attention to' are so closely related as to be almost synonymous. Compare NE. *guard* and *regard*, OFr. *guarder* from Germ. *warda-* 'protect' OHG. *wart* 'Wächter,' etc. The NE. *watch* is used in both senses. NE. 'protection, care, attention' are practically synonymous.

The words belonging here may be classed under the following head:

Protect, guard, watch, care for, pay attention to, perceive

57. OS. *waron* 'schützen, behüten; beachten, beobachten, wahrnehmen; innehalten,' OHG., OS., *wara*, MHG. *ware* 'schützende Obhut, Acht, Aufmerksamkeit,' OE. *wœr*, ME. *war* 'ware, wary,' ON. *varr*, MDan. *var* 'opmærksom, iagttagende,' 'attentive, perceiving,' OHG. *warōn*, MHG. *waren*, *warn* 'aufmerken auf, achten, beachten,' OFris. *wara* 'wahren, wahrnehmen,' MLG. *waren* 'acten, besorgen, wahrnehmen, pflegen; hüten, bewachen,' MDan. *vare* 'give agt, iagttage; vœnte, vogte,' 'pay attention, perceive; guard, watch,' MDu. *achterwaren* 'bewaren, behoeden; verzorgen, waarnemen,' *bewaren* 'passen op, verzorgen, overleggen,' MSw. *bevara* 'give akt på, akta; bevaka, iakttaga,' OFris. *biwaria* 'bewahren, wahrnehmen,' MSw. *forwara* 'förut gifva akt på, förut betänka, akta sig för; bestämma, skydda; vakta,' 'foresee, anticipate, take care of; determine, protect; watch.' The following have an additional suffix: OE. *weardian* 'guard, keep, defend,' OHG. *warto* 'Wärter, Wächter, Hüter,' Goth. *wardja* 'Wächter,' OHG. *wartēn* 'acht haben, spähen, zuschauen, wahrnehmen; warten auf, sorgen für,' OFris. *wardia* 'warten, wahrnehmen,' MDan. *varde* 'passe paa,' 'take care of,' MLG. *warden* 'aufpassen, acht haben; warten, währen, dauern, rechnen auf; besorgen, wahrnehmen,' MDu. *waerden* 'hoeden, oppassen, achten.' The Germ. base *war-* is also used in compound with such verbs as MHG. *haben, nemen, tuon*, and *werden* in a large number of words in all the different dialects. For example, OHG. *wara-neman*, MDu. *waer-nemen*, MHG. *warhaben,- nemen, -tuon*, MLG. *war-werden*, etc., all have the meaning 'perceive.'

58. ON. *hegna* 'hedge, fence, protect,' MSw. *hāghna* 'hägna; skydda; bevara, iakttaga,' 'fence; protect; care for, perceive.' The related NHG. *hegen*, which acquires the meaning 'bewahren im Gedächtnis' (Grimm, *Wb.*, IV², 780), develops this meaning more like No. 120.

59. OHG. *munt* 'Schutz, Bevogtung,' *muntōn* 'Schützer od. Schutz sein, beschützen,' *muntboro*, OE. *mundbora*, OS. *mundboro* 'protector,' OS. *mundon* 'Schutz gewähren, schützen,' OE. *mun-*

dian 'protect, shelter, guard,' Goth. *mundōn* 'sich hüten vor, das Augenmerk auf etwas richten, berücksichtigen,' *gamunds* 'Gedächtnis, Andenken,' *mundrei* 'Ziel,' ON. *munda* 'aim, point (with a weapon).' Connection is made for these with Gk. μάντις 'Seher.' Cf. Osthoff (*Heidelberger Tagebl.*, January 28, 1901), *IF.*, Anz. IV, 104 f.

60. OFris. *huda, hoda* 'hüten, wahrnehmen; besorgen, wahren,' MHG. *hüeten* 'acht haben, acht geben, schauen, wachen, bewachen,' ME. *hēden* 'heed, take care, guard,' *hēde* 'attention,' MDu. *hoeden* 'hoeden, beschermen; bewaken, in acht nemen; refl. bedacht zijn op iets, iets vermoeden,' 'guard, protect; watch over, care for; refl. think of, suppose,' *gehoeden* 'bewaren; zich in acht nemen; ergens op verdacht zijn; het vermoeden, er een denkbeeld van hebben,' 'keep; take care of, have a care for; suppose, imagine.'

61. OHG. *githiuti* 'aufmerkend, verstehend, sich bedeuten lassend,' *ungidiuti* 'sich nicht verständlich machen könnend, barbarus,' MG. *ungedūte* 'unachtsam, rücksichtslos,' MSw. *þyþa* 'tyda, tolka, bemärka, utmärka, åsyfta,' 'explain, interpret; mark out, distinguish; aim at.' We may connect here Lat. *tueor* 'look at, watch, guard, protect,' *tutus* 'watchful, careful, cautious, safe, secure,' Gk. σάος, σόος 'safe, sound, sure' from a base *teue-*. Cf. Wood, *Mod. Phil.*, V, 280.

62. ON. *skeyta* 'care for, pay heed to,' MSw. *sköta* 'gifva akt på, vara uppmärksam på, beakta, tänka, på; sköta, vårda,' 'pay attention to, notice, think of; care for,' MDan. *skøde* 'agt, omhu,' 'care, attention,' *skøde* 'lægge mærke til, bryde sig om, regne for,' 'notice, care for, reckon as, consider,' MSw. *atsköta* 'gifva akt på,' *atskotin* 'uppmärksam, aktgifvande.' Cf. Falk og Torp, *Etym. Ordbog*, II, 192.

63. MSw. *grangiva* 'akta, fästa uppmärksamhet vid.' This is a compound of *gran* and *giva* 'give.' The form *gran* we find in ON. *grand* 'skade, bekymring, sorg, smerte, last,' 'harm, sorrow, care, pain, burden,' probably from the Germ. base in OE. *grindan* 'grind, etc.,' ON. *grannr* 'thin, slender,' *grandgæfligr* 'minute.' The development from 'grind' would then be 'sorrow, care.' MHG. *sorge* means 'attention' as well as 'trouble'; so likewise NE. *care*.

The meanings of ON. *grand* above are thus explained. MSw. *grangiva* is then like Lat. *curam dāre* 'give attention to, etc.' Cf. Falk og Torp, *Etym. Ordbog*, I, 244 f.

VI

Perceive (by the Senses)

From words denoting sense perception may come the meaning 'perceive, understand.' It is interesting to note how their meanings are often confused with one another. Thus a word 'smell' may also mean 'taste' or vice versa. Compare, for example, the confusion shown in NE. *taste* and NHG. *tasten*. I have classed them in the following order of the sense perceptions: (*a*) taste, (*b*) feel, (*c*) smell, (*d*) see, (*e*) hear. The class (*d*) 'see, perceive' of course furnishes the largest number of words. From 'touch, feel' may develop the meaning 'grasp,' in which case they are classified under I.

(*a*) *Taste, perceive (by tasting): notice, understand*

64. OHG. *intsebjan, inseffen,* MHG. *entseben* 'mit dem Geschmacke, den Sinnen überhaupt wahrnehmen, bemerken, inne werden,' OS. *afsebbian, ansebbian, biseffian* 'bemerken, erkennen, wahrnehmen,' MDu. *beseven* 'smaken, voelen; inzien, begrijpen, vernemen,' 'taste, feel; perceive, understand,' *beseffen* 'met den smaak waarnemen; begrijpen, inzien, kennen, vernemen, waarnemen met den geest,' MLG. *beseven, -seffen* 'bemerken, wahrnehmen, fühlen, begreifen; begreiflich machen, kund tun,' OE. *sefa* 'understanding, mind, heart,' ON. *sefi* 'mind, affection,' OFris. *bisef* 'Begriff, Einsicht, Verstand.' The related Lat. *sapio* shows the same change in meaning.

65. MHG. *smacken* 'schmecken, wahrnehmen, riechen,' *smecken* 'den Geschmack wovon empfinden, schmecken, kosten, versuchen, geniessen; durch die Sinne wahrnehmen; empfinden lassen,' MDu. *smaken* 'bemerken, beproeven, ontdekken,' 'notice, try, discover,' MSw. *smaka* 'smaka, känna smak; erfara, förnimma, känna på,' 'taste, perceive by tasting; perceive, know,' OHG. *gismeken,* MHG. *gesmecken* 'riechen, empfinden, wahrnehmen,' MDu. *gesmaken* 'smaken, proeven; verstandig zijn, verstand hebben; bemerken, begrijpen, inzien,' 'taste, try; understand; notice, perceive.' The idea 'taste' may itself be secondary to 'touch' in the above words. Cf. OE. *smacian* 'pat,' MLG. *smacken* 'schmatzen, mit den Lippen ein lautes Geräusch machen, als ob man etwas sorgfältig schmeckt.' Cf. Wood, *Pub. MLA.*, XIV, 311.

(b) Touch, feel: perceive

66. OHG. *fuoljan*, MHG. *vüelen* 'fühlen, wahrnehmen,' OS. *-fōlian* 'sentire, animadvertere, inne werden wahrnehmen, bemerken,' MLG. *volen* 'tasten, berühren, fühlen, empfinden; mit dem Geiste fühlen, merken, wahrnehmen; meinen,' MSw. *föla* 'känna, få känning af,' 'feel, perceive,' MDu. *bevoelen, gevoelen* 'gevoelen; gewaar worden, begrijpen, inzien,' 'feel; perceive, understand,' *ondervoelen* 'bemerken,' These are connected with the base we find in ON. *falma* 'fumble, grope about, fumble with the hands.' OE. *folm* 'palm of the hand,' Lat. *palma*, etc.   Cf. Fick, II[4], 240.

67. OFris. *tasta* 'tasten,' MLG. *tasten* 'unsicher herumfühlen, tastend wonach greifen; fühlen, merken.' These are from OFr. *taster* 'feel.'

(c) Scent, smell: perceive

68. MLG. *lucht* 'Luft, Geruch, Duft,' MDu. *luchten* 'geuren; ruiken, een reuk of geur van iets in zich opnemen; bemerken, zien, aanzien,' 'scent, smell; take in an odor; perceive, see.'   These are connected with Goth. *luftus* 'luft,' ON. *lopt* 'air, sky, etc.'   In this connection we might compare for development of meaning, NHG. *wittern* 'scent, perceive,' *Wetter* 'weather,' or NE. *wind* in *to wind*, or *get wind of*, etc.

Scent out, find out, be experienced, wise

69. Goth. *snutrs* 'weise, klug,' OHG. *snottar* 'prudens, sapiens, elegans,' ON. *snotr* 'klug,' OE. *snotor* 'prudent, wise.'   These we may connect with ON. *snugga* 'hanker after,' *snudra* 'sniff, scent,' *snȳta* 'blow the nose,' OHG. *snūden* 'mit Beschwerde atmen, schnaufen.'   Cf. Falk og Torp, *Etym. Ordbog, s.v.* "*snu*" and "*snuse.*" For another development of meaning see No. 39.

(d) See, perceive: consider

70. Goth. *gasaihwan* 'erblicken, bemerken,' OHG. *sehan*, MHG. *sehen*, OS. *sehan, sean* 'sehen, erblicken, besehen, besuchen,' MLG. *sēn* 'sehen, besehen; aussehen; zusehen, in Betracht ziehen, darauf denken, achten,' ON. *sjā* 'see, take care of,' MSw. *sea* 'se, blicka; tänka; inse, märka, förstå,' 'see, look; think; perceive, notice, understand,' MDan. *se, sje* 'se,' MDu. *aensien* 'letten op; inzien,

bedenken, overwegen,' 'look at; perceive, think of, over,' OFris. *asia* 'erblicken, sehen,' *bisia* 'besehen, ersehen, erspähen,' OHG. *bisehan,* MHG. *besehen* 'besehen, betrachten; worauf sehen, bedenken, besorgen,' MDu. *besien* 'zien, aanschouwen, bemerken; overwegen, overdenken,' 'see, look at, notice; think over,' MHG. *ersehen* 'sehend wahrnehmen, betrachten, erblicken, erschauen,' OS. *farsehan* 'wahrnehmen,' MHG. *versehen* 'vorsorgend bedenken,' MDu. *versien* 'voorzien, bemerken, beschouwen, bezinnen,' *voresien* 'overzien, overdenken,' MLG. *vorsēn, -sein* 'besehen, ausspähen; bemerken, wahrnehmen; besorgen,' MSw. *foresea* 'förutse, besluta, betänka,' *forsea* 'se till, bespeja, förnimma,' 'look at, spy out, perceive,' *forsea* 'klokhet, tillsyn,' 'wisdom, foresight,' MDu. *gesien* 'zien, bemerken, waarnemen; begrijpen; overleggen,' OE. ME. *þurhsēon* 'see through, perceive.' Here also with grammatical change belong: ON. *sȳna* 'show, seem, think fit,' MSw. *syna* 'syna, besigtiga,' 'examine, look at,' *syn* 'seende, besigtning,' 'seeing, inspection,' MDan. *forsjune* 'sørge for, forsyne; bestemme,' 'care for, foresee; determine,' *forsjunlig* 'forstandig,' MSw. *forsyn* 'förutseende, förtänksamhet,' 'foresight, forethought,' OFris. *onsiune* 'ansehen, Beschauen, Besichtigen,' OE. *gesȳne* 'visible, seen, evident, plain' MLG. *sune* 'sichtbar, ersichtlich; klar, deutlich.' Probably connected with Lat. *sīgnum* 'Zeichen,' OChSl. *sočiti* 'anzeigen, etc.' Cf. Wiedemann, *IF.,* I, 258.

71. MLG. *visēren* 'ins Auge fassen, ausdenken, ersinnen; bedenken, überlegen,' MDu. *viseren* 'zien, onderzoeken, bedenken, beramen.' These are from Lat. *vīso* 'look at, view, behold,' OFr. *viser* 'voir, regarder, observer; reflechir,'

72. MHG. *zwieren* 'das Auge blinzelnd zusammenkneifen, verstolen blicken,' *erzwieren* 'durch genaue Betrachtung erkennen, mit zusammengekniffenen Augen genau anschauen, durchschauen, ergründen.'

Turn, bend backward, look backward, see, perceive

73. ON. *kikna* 'turn, bend,' *keikja* 'bend backwards,' MLG. *kiken* 'gucken, sehen,' MDu. *verkijcken* 'zien, bemerken, ontdekken.' Cf. Wood, *Color-Names,* 54; Falk og Torp, *Etym. Ordbog,* I, 360.

Aim, direct the eye toward, observe, consider, think over

74. MLG. *micke* 'Furketgabel, Richtkeil der Kannone,' *micken* 'zielen, das Auge auf etwas richten, beachten,' MDu. *micken* 'scherp kijken naar; het oog van den geest op iets richten, over iets peinzen of, nadenken; naar iets trachten; letten op, passen; denken aan; opmerken,' 'look sharply at; perceive attentively, think about; strive after, aim at, adjust; think of, observe,' *gemicken* 'beramen, overleggen; berekenen,' OFris. *mitza* 'sehen, darauf achten.'

(e) *Hear, listen, perceive*

75. Goth. *hausjan* 'hören, vernehmen, anhören, zuhören,' OHG. *hōran*, MHG. *hœren* 'hören, Gehör haben, vernehmen, anhören; hören auf, gehorchen,' OFris. *hera, hora* 'hören, vernehmen,' MSw. *höra* 'höra, förnimma, erfara,' 'hear, perceive, understand,' MDan. *høre* 'høre, lyde; refl. ses, forstaas,' 'hear, listen; be seen, understood,' MDu. *behoren* 'hooren, vernemen,' Goth. *gahausjan* 'vernehmen,' MDu. *gehoren* 'hooren, verstaan, vernemen,' MHG. *verhœren* 'hören, anhören, vernehmen,' MLG. *vorhoren* 'hören, vernehmen; erforschen; gehören, gebühren,' MDu. *verhoeren* 'vernemen,' *wederhoren* 'vernemen.'

VII

Mark, Distinguish, Perceive

The following have developed like the Lat. *notāre* 'mark, observe':

(a) *Make a mark; distinguish: perceive, understand, think over*

76. OE. *mearcian* 'make a mark, mark, mark or plan out, design,' ME. *mearkien* 'mark, (reach, penetrate),' OHG., OS. *marcōn* 'abgrenzen, bezeichnen, bestimmen, abschätzen,' OHG. *merchen*, MHG. *merken* 'acht geben, wohl beachten, beobachten, wahrnehmen; unterscheidend, beurteilend, auslegend verstehen, erkennen, merken, mit einem Zeichen versehen,' OFris. *merka, merkia* 'merken,' ON. *marka* 'draw outline of, sketch, mark; observe, signify,' *merkja* 'mærke, ridse; lægge mærke til, skjønne, forstaa,' 'mark, scratch; pay attention to, perceive, understand,' OSw. *mærkia* 'merken, bemerken; einsehen, verstehen,' MSw. *märkia* 'märka, utmärka, ofmäta; gifva akt på, iakttaga, inse, förstå,' MDan. *mærke* 'sætte

mærke paa; sigte, give agt paa, forstaa, fornemme, mærke,' MLG. *merken, marken* 'merken, beachten, erkennen, verstehen,' MDu. *merken, marken* 'merken, opnemen; verspieden; zijne aandacht widjen aan, waarnemen, zien, begrijpen, verstaan, inzien,' OHG. *gimerken*, MHG. *gemerken* 'bemerken, beachten, wahrnehmen, verstehen,' MDu. *gemerken* 'opmerken, waarnemen,' MLG. *ermerken* 'bemerken, einsehen, abnehmen,' ON. *formerkja* 'perceive,' MLG. *vormerken* 'ersehen, bemerken, gewahr werden,' *overmerken* 'überdenken, überlegen,' MDu. *overmerken* 'nagaan, overdenken, overwegen, inzien.'

(b) *Mark, mark out: refl. mark for oneself, imagine, consider*

77. MHG. *zīhen* 'beschuldigen; refl. sich denken, einbilden.' Related words are Goth. *gateihan* 'anzeigen, verkündigen,' OE. *tēon* 'aussagen, zeigen,' Gk. δείκνῡμι 'zeige.' Such meanings as 'mark, point out, think, know,' with meanings 'accuse, censure, punish' are not uncommon. Cf. Lat. *nota* 'mark, sign; condemnation, reproach,' *notāre* 'mark, observe; censure,' Goth. *witan* 'pay attention to,' *wait* 'know,' *-weitan* 'pay attention to; punish.'

VIII

Arrange, Plan: Consider

A considerable number of words arrive at the meaning 'consider, think' through 'arrange, plan.' The largest class of these has the development 'arrange, calculate; consider.' In a second class we may put such words as develop the meanings 'arrange, compose, plan, consider.' Then starting from the idea 'plan' we have a third class with the development 'investigate, plan,' and a fourth with the development 'establish, plan.'

A. (a) *Arrange, calculate: consider, think, perceive*

78. OHG. *rehhanōn*, MHG. *rechenen* 'ordnen, bereit machen; rechnen,' OHG. *rachan*, OS. *recean* 'berechnen, meinen; erklären,' OE. *racu* 'explanation, reckoning, account,' MDu. *rekenen* 'ordnen; opmaken; uitrekenen; beschouwen, achten, acht geven,' 'arrange; calculate; look at, pay attention,' MSw. *räkna* 'räkna, tälja; uppräkna, taga i betraktande, eftertänka, anse,' 'reckon, estimate,

take into consideration, reflect, perceive,' MDan. *regne* 'beregne,' 'calculate,' OFris. *reknia* 'rechnen,' *bireknia* 'nachrechnen, beweisen, berechnen.'

(b) Arrange, plan: calculate, think over

79. OS. *rādan* 'anstiften; sorgen; raten, beratschlagen, sinnen auf,' Goth. *garēdan* 'auf etwas bedacht sein,' *ur-rēdan* 'bestimmen, urteilen,' OHG. *rātan*, MHG. *rāten* 'raten, beratschlagen, auf etwas sinnen, mutmassen,' OE. *rœdan* 'plot; advise, deliberate, decide; guess, solve, interpret; read,' *rœd*, 'advice, council; sense, understanding,' ON. *rāða* 'advise, counsel, decide, determine, resolve, plan, plot'; 'overveje, betænke sig, raadføre,' OFris. *reda* 'raten; sprechen, entscheiden,' MSw. *raþa* 'sörja för, bereda; bestämma, anstifta; öfverlägga, öfvervväga, betänka, uttänka, gissa,' 'care for, discuss; determine, establish; deliberate, think of, guess,' *raþ* 'hjälp; råd; klokhet, förstånd,' MDan. *raade* 'raade, give raad; forstaa; raadslaa,' *red(e)lig* 'klar, forstandig, tapper, kraftig,' MDu. *raden* 'raad nemen, overleggen, peinzen; beramen, raden,' 'take counsel, deliberate, think; plan, advise,' *beraden* 'raden, bezorgen; overleggen, zich bedenken,' ME. *birœden* 'advise, deliberate,' MSw. *beradha* 'öfverlägga, tänka på,' *forradh* 'betänkande, öfverläggning,' MDu. *geradich* 'verstandig.'

(c) Separate, count, arrange: calculate, consider, think

80. OHG. *zeljan, zellan*, MHG. *zeln, zellen* 'zählen, rechnen, berechnen, vergleichen, bestimmen; sagen,' OE. *tellan* 'count, reckon, calculate; consider, account, think, impute,' *talian* 'enumerate, consider, think, impute,' ME. *tellen* 'tell, number,' *he ne tolde þer of nogt* 'thought nothing of it,' ON. *telja* 'tell, count, number,' MSw. *tälia* 'tälja, räkna; upptaga; anse, omtala,' 'cut, reckon; take up; think, mention,' MDan. *tœlje* 'tælle; betale, regne,' 'count, pay, reckon,' OFris. *betellia* 'bestimmen, verurteilen, bezahlen,' MDu. *overtellen* 'overtellen, nacijferen, met den geest nagaan, overdenken,' 'count, reckon over, follow in the mind, think over.' These are probably related to Skt. *dálati* 'berstet, springt auf,' *dālayati* 'macht bersten, spaltet,' *dalam* 'Stück, Teil, Hälfte, Blatt,' OChSl. *dola* 'Teil,' Lith. *dalýti* 'teilen,' OIr. *fo-dālim* 'discerno, sejungo.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*, 122. For development of meaning Lat.

puto 'cut; count, reckon, calculate; suppose, think,' and *computo* 'sum up, reckon, compute,' give a good parallel.

(d) *Measure, measure off: calculate, consider, think of, perceive, understand*

81. Goth. *mitan* 'messen,' *mitōn* 'ermessen, denken, bedenken, überlegen, beherzigen,' *mitōns* 'Ermessen, Gedanke, Ratschlag,' OHG. *mezan, mezzan,* MHG. *mezzen* 'messen, abmessen, zumessen; zuteilen; messend gestalten, bilden, dichten; vergleichend betrachten, erwägen, überlegen, bedenken, prüfen,' MLG. *meten* 'messen, abmessen, erwägen, rechnen,' ON. *meta* 'tax, value, mete a thing out to one,' *met,* 'sententia, consilium, mening,' MSw. *mäta* 'mäta, uppmäta; uppskatta, undersöka, pröfva,' 'measure, measure up; calculate, undertake, try,' MDan. *mœde* 'maale, overveje,' 'measure, deliberate,' MDu. *meten* 'meten, toemeten; bepalen, verordnen; beoordeelen; onderzoeken, naar iets streven,' 'measure, measure out; limit, arrange; judge; try, strive,' *gemeten* 'meten, berekenen; inzien, begrijpen,' 'measure, calculate; perceive, understand.' Connection is made here with Lat. *meditor* 'über etwas nachdenken,' Gk. μήδομαι 'ersinne, fasse einen Beschluss,' μέτρον 'Mass, etc.' Cf. Walde, *Etym. Wb.*, 374, and references.

(e) *Lay, lay out; count, calculate: consider, think over*

82. Goth. *lagjan* 'legen, hinlegen, niederlegen, geben,' MDu. *leggen* 'leggen, bepalen, rekenen; oppassen,' 'lay, limit, calculate, estimate,' MSw. *läggia* 'lägga, sätta; fästa uppmärksamhet, bry sig(om); bestämma, ordna, döma,' 'lay, set; fix attention on, care for; determine, arrange, judge,' MDan. *lœgge* 'lægge, bestemme; taxere, regne,' MDu. *geleggen* 'leggen, stellen; overleggen, bedenken,' MDan. *ilœgge* 'laggi i; regne, anse,' 'lay in; calculate, consider,' MHG. *überlegen* 'überziehen, bedecken; überrechnen, zusammenrechnen,' MDu. *overleggen* 'overleggen, bedenken, overdenken, beramen,' MSw. *ivirläggia* 'på lägga; öfverväga, öfverräkna; bestämma, afse,' 'lay on, deliberate, think over; determine, contemplate,' MDan. *overlœgge* 'sammenstille; tælle, overregne,' 'put together, count, estimate,' MHG. *ūflegen* 'auflegen, auslegen; ausdenken, ersinnen; anordnen, festsetzen, bestimmen, stiften,' MLG.

upleggen 'auflegen, hinzufügen, stiften, gründen; bezahlen; sich vornehmen; ausdenken.'

(f) *Strike, count, calculate, estimate: consider, think over*

83. MSw. *forsla* 'sönderslå; öfverslå, räkna, beräkna, uppskatta; anse, bestämma,' 'strike to pieces; estimate, calculate, count up; consider, determine,' OHG. *uberslahen,* MHG. *überslahen* 'schlagend überziehen, beschlagen mit; treibend überziehen, schlagend überwältigen; in Kürze erzählen; ungefähr berechnen, überdenken, überlegen, schätzen,' MDu. *overslaen* 'overdekken; afmeten, berekenen, met den geest omvatten, doorgronden; overpeinzen, overdenken.'

(g) *Value, estimate: consider, think*

84. OHG. *scaz* 'Geld, Gewinn, lucrum,' *scazzōn,* MHG. *schatzen* 'Geld ansammeln, gewinnen; nach Geldwert anschlagen, schätzen, mit in Berechnung ziehen, beachten,' MDu. *schatten* 'denken, zich voorstellen; schatten, taxeeren.'

85. Goth. *wairþōn* 'abschätzen, würdigen,' OE. *weorðian* 'value, esteem, honor,' OS. *giwerðon* 'achten, in Ehre halten, beachten; erfüllen,' ON. *virða* 'tax, value; consider, give heed, regard; deem, think,' MDan. *virde* 'agte, regne, vurdere; drage omsorg for, ordne,' 'regard, calculate, value; care for, arrange.'

B.   (a) *Arrange, compose, devise: think out*

86. OE. *dihtan* 'arrange, compose, write,' ME. *dihten* 'prepare, set in order,' OHG. *tihtōn,* MHG. *tihten* 'schreiben, dichten; erfinden, schaffen; hervorbringen, ersinnen; ins Werk setzen, anstiften, tun,' OFris. *dichta* 'abfassen, dichten,' MLG. *dichten* 'schriftlich abfassen; erdichten, ersinnen; anstiften,' ON, *dikta* 'compose, describe, think out,' MSw. *dikta* 'föreskrifva; författa, uttänka,' 'dictate; compose, think out,' MDu. *dichten* 'een werk samenstellen, schrijven, maken; uitdenken, overpeinzen, overleggen,' MLG. *bedichten* 'erdichten, erfinden, erdenken; abfassen,' MHG. *ertihten* 'erdenken, erdichten.'

These words have been commonly accepted as coming from Lat. *dictāre.* Wood, *Mod. Phil.,* IV, 490, connects them with a Germ. base in MHG. *tīchen* 'schaffen, treiben, ins Werk setzen, fördern,'

MLG. *dīken* 'büssen,' the form *tichten* being later confused with Lat. *dictāre*, from which developed the meaning 'compose, write, etc.'

(b) *Arrange, plan, intend: consider, think*

87. OHG. *zeche* 'Reihenfolge,' *zehōn* 'zusammenfügen, in Ordnung bringen, herstellen,' *gizehōn* 'anordnen, bestimmen, fügen,' MHG. *zechen* 'anordnen, verfügen, veranstalten,' OE. *teohhian* 'account; determine; intend, consider think.' Cf. Schade, *Wb.*², 1238.

88. MHG. *schicken* 'ordnen, anordnen, zurecht legen, bereiten, ausrichten, gestalten fügen; schaffen, tun,' *schic* 'Ordnung, Einrichtung,' MDu. *schicken* 'denken, meenen; voegen, passen,' 'think, mean; fit, join.' These are factitives to OHG. *scehan* 'umherfahren, etc.,' NHG. *geschehen* 'happen, etc.'

89. OFr. *ordoner* 'régler, préparer, rédiger, etc.,' MDu. *ordineren* 'ordenen, in orde brengen, maken; bepalen; overleggen, uitdenken, bedenken, beramen.'

C.   (a) *Investigate, plan: consider, think; perceive, see*

90. OHG. *trahtōn*, MHG. *trahten* 'trachten, streben, woran denken, worauf achten, erwägen, nachsinnen, aussinnen,' MLG. *trachten* 'betrachten, bedenken, planen, aussinnen, beabsichtigen,' MDu. *trachten* 'denken, overdenken, bepeinzen,' OHG. *bitrahtōn*, MHG. *betrahten* 'überlegen, auf etwas denken, betrachten,' OFris. *bitrachtia* 'betrachten,' MSw. *betrakta* 'betrakta, begrunda; betänka, öfverväga, öfverlägga, tillse,' MDan. *betragte* 'stræbe efter, have i sinde, tænke paa.' All these are derivatives from Lat. *tracto* 'touch, take in hand, handle; investigate, discuss, ponder, reflect upon.'

91. MSw. *tracktera* 'behandla, öfverväga,' MDan. *traktere* 'behandle, overveje, tænke paa.' These are later borrowings probably from the MDu. *tracteren* 'handelen,' which however is originally from Lat. *tracto*, etc.

92. NHG. *hantieren* 'handeln, handhaben, verrichten, etc.,' MSw. *hantera* 'vidröra; behandla; förehafva, öfverlägga om, öfverväga,' 'touch, treat; intend, deliberate, think over.' These are from OFr. *hanter* 'poursuivre,' and developed the meaning 'handeln, etc.,' by confusion with Germ. *hand-*.

(b) Seek, investigate; arrange, make clear: understand

93. Goth. *sōkjan* 'suchen,' *sōkns* 'Untersuchung, Forschung,' ON. *søkja* 'seek, fetch; proceed, advance, catch; overtake, attack, pursue, prosecute; refl. seek one another, attack one another, fight.' With these we may connect OHG. *sahhan* 'schelten, tadeln,' Goth. *sakan* 'streiten,' ON. *saka* 'blame, harm, accuse,' MHG. *sachen* 'streiten, prozessieren; schaffen, erzeugen, bewirken, machen; anordnen, zurecht legen, einrichten; darstellen, zeigen, auslegen; verstehen.' Cf. Schalde, *Wb.*², 737.

D. (a) Set, establish, determine, estimate: deem, consider

94. Goth. *dōms* 'Urteil, Erkenntnis,' OE. *dōm* 'judgment, decision,' Goth. *dōmjan* 'urteilen, beurteilen, unterscheiden,' OHG. *tuomjan, tuomen*, MHG. *tüemen* 'richten, urteilen,' ON. *døma* 'give judgment, judge, deem, give an opinion,' OE. *dēman* 'estimate, compute; deem, consider, think; examine, prove, pass judgment on; determine, decide, doom, condemn,' ME. *dēmen* 'judge, condemn; think, suppose.' These are from a base *dhē-* 'set, put,' in Skt. *dádhāti* 'setzt,' *dhátor-* 'Anstifter,' Gk. τίθημι 'setze, etc.' Cf. Walde, *Etym. Wb.*, 203, and references.

(b) Build, found, plan: consider, think out

95. OHG. *stiftan*, MHG. *stiften* 'feststellen, einrichten; gründen, bauen, veranlassen, anstiften, ersinnen, erdichten,' MDu. *bestichten* 'ten ende brengen, volbrengen,' MSw. *bestikta* 'förordna, bestämma,' 'direct, determine, decide.'

IX

Cook, Brew: Plan, Consider.

A few words have developed a meaning 'plan, consider' from a primary meaning 'cook, brew.' A particular example of such a development outside of Germ. is the Lat. *coquo* 'cook, boil; ripen; digest, assimilate; consider, think of, meditate upon, contrive, plan.' The examples of this development are confined mainly to the English and Dutch.

(a) Cook, concoct: plan, consider

96. MDu. *coken* 'koken, braden, bakken; beramen, uitdenken,' 'cook, bake; plan, think out.' This is borrowed from the Lat.

coquo mentioned above, and while the Lat. shows the meanings 'consider, etc.,' it is quite possible that these may have developed in the Germ. after the borrowing. NE. *concoct* 'plan, think out' is likewise from the Lat.

(b) Brew: plot, plan, consider

97. OHG. *briuwan* 'brauen, sieden,' MDu. *brouwen* 'brouwen; beramen, uitdenken, overleggen,' 'brew; plan, think out, deliberate.' The NE. shows the above development in such expressions as 'brew mischief,' 'trouble is brewing, etc.' Cf. the etymological dictionaries for related words.

98. MDu. *manselen* 'rokkenen, brouwen,' *mansen* 'beramen, overleggen.' We may relate here probably: NHG. *manchen*, *matschen* 'mischen, mengen.' Cf. Grimm. *Wb.*, VI, 1606.

X

Chew, Ruminate: Think over

The following have developed like the Lat. *rūminor* 'chew over again, chew the cud, ruminate,' *rūminātio* 'a chewing over again, rumination; thinking over, revolving in the mind':

99. MDu. *couwen* 'kauwen, knabbeln; overpeinzen, overwegen, overdenken,' 'chew, gnaw; think over, deliberate,' *cauwen*, 'kauwen; overpeinzen, overleggen,' *edercauwen* 'herkauwen; overdenken, overpeinzen,' *overcauwen* 'over iets peinzen of nadenken.' Similar ideas are expressed in NE. by *ruminate*, from the Lat. or by the phrase *revolve in one's mind*.

100. OE. *cnūwian* 'pound (as in a mortar),' MDu. *cnauwen* 'knauwen, knabbelen, knagen; vermalen; overwegen, overpeinzen,' 'chew, gnaw; pulverize; deliberate, think over.'

XI

Tarry over: Think

The development 'tarry over, think' which has been generally given for NE. *understand*, MHG. *verstehen*, etc. (cf., however, No. 14), is found in the following few words, in which the idea 'tarry' itself develops from a primary meaning 'hinder, delay.'

Hinder, delay; tarry over: consider, think over; pay attention to, perceive

101. Goth. *latjan* 'lässig machen, aufhalten,' MLG. *letten* 'hinhalten, aufhalten, hindern; sich aufhalten, zögern, säumen, sich betrachtend wobei aufhalten, aufmerken,' MDu. *letten* 'vertragen, belemmern; dralen, wachten, stil staan, zijne aandacht schenken aan iets, zijne opmerkzaamheid aan iets wijden, beschouwen, nagaan,' 'delay, hinder; linger, remain standing, give one's thought to, turn attention to, perceive, consider,' WFlem. *beletten* 'bemerken, bespeuren, gewaar worden, ontwaren, apercevoir, remarquer,' 'notice, perceive.' Cf. OE. *lǣtan*, No. 139.

A word whose origin so far has not been explained, but whose development in meaning seems to be that of the word *letten*, is MLG. *lenten* 'worauf achten; bedenken.' Lübben (*Mnd. Wb.*) quotes the following passage containing the word: *Islick mynsche heft en part van allen elementen, wen de mynschen dar wolden up trachten unde lenten* (Josef, V, d. 7, Tods. z. 18), the idea being, 'bei etwas betrachtend verweilen: bedenken.'

102. OHG. *merren* 'aufhalten, behindern; stören,' MLG. *merren, marren* 'aufhalten, hindern; zögern, säumen,' MDu. *merren* 'iemand ophouden, vertragen, hindern; talmen, wachten, stil staan bij; zijne aandacht of merkzaamheid wijden aan iets,' 'hold up, delay, hinder; linger, wait, tarry over, fix one's attention, thoughts, on something.'

103. OHG. *twellan*, ON. *dvelja* 'aufhalten, verzögern, sich aufhalten, weilen,' OE. *dwellan* 'lead astray, hinder, delay; be delayed, tarry,' NE. *dwell* 'pause, remain, etc.,' *dwell upon, dwell on* 'spend time upon or linger over (a thing) in action or thought; remain with attention fixed on.'

XII

BROOD OVER: THINK

The following group represents words whose meanings 'think, consider,' came from figurative ideas and expressions as applied to the mind. Such expressions are: 'brood over, reflect, etc.,' the development being closely analogous to that of the preceding group.

(a) *Lie over, brood over: think*

104. MDu. *opliggen* 'op het hart of het gemoed liggen; op iets rusten met den geest; zijne aandacht op iets vestigen,' 'lie upon one's heart, spirit; brood over something, fix one's thoughts on.'

105. ON. *būa* 'live, abide, dwell,' NIcel. *būa yfir* 'brood over, meditate upon.'

106. OE. *brōd* 'growing together; brood,' NE. *brood* 'incubate, sit, hover over; cherish in the mind,' *brood on, brood over* 'meditate moodily, dwell closely upon in the mind.'

107. Play, play over, consider, think over. MHG. *spiln* 'Scherz treiben, sich vergnügen, etc.,' *überspiln* 'im Spiele besiegen, überlisten; überdenken.' Lexer, MHG. *Hdwb.*, III, 1662, does not indicate definitely whether this is the OHG. *spilōn* or *spellōn*. Both forms might be written *spiln* in MHG. I take it as the former. If it is the latter, however, it should more properly be classed with No. 125.

XIII

(a) *Reflect: think over*

108. MLG. *spēgelen* refl. 'sich beschauen,' MDu. *spieghelen* 'op iets gezet nadenken,' 'think of continuously,' *spieghelen hoogh* 'zich aan hooge bespiegelingen overgeven, de zaken diep inzien,' 'give oneself over to elevated reflections, understand thoroly.' This is a loanword from Lat. *speculum* 'mirror,' *specto* 'look at, behold, observe.' For development of meaning NE. *reflect* furnishes a parallel.

(b) *Form, fashion, picture: imagine; think, mean*

109. OHG. *bildōn*, MHG. *bilden* 'das Abbild od. Vorbild eines Dinges darstellen, nachbilden,' MDu. *inbeelden* 'eene voorstelling van iets maken, zich laten dunken, meenen,' 'picture, imagine, represent to oneself, mean,' NHG. *einbilden* 'gedenken, sich vorstellen.'

110. MDu. *veynsen, vensen* 'verzinnen, uitdenken,' *gevenst* 'uitgedacht, verzonnen.' These are from Lat. *fingo* 'form, fashion, represent to oneself; imagine, think, suppose; invent, feign,' from which the meanings are, no doubt, also taken.

XIV

PONDER, CONSIDER

A word meaning primarily 'weigh, balance' may be applied to the mind in the sense of 'consider.' The Lat. shows such a development in the following: *pondus* 'weight, heaviness; balance, equilibrium; consequence, importance, consideration,' *pondero* 'weigh; weigh (in the mind), ponder, consider, reflect upon.'

Move, swing, weigh: ponder, consider, think; notice, observe

111. Goth. *gawigan* 'schütteln, bewegen,' OHG. *wegan* 'sich bewegen, wiegen; wägen,' Goth. *wagjan*, OHG. *weg(g)en*, MHG. *wegen* 'bewegen, schwingen, wiegen, schütteln; erwägen, erdenken,' MDu. *wegen* 'schatten, achten,' 'estimate, regard,' MDan. *vege* 'veje, regne; agte,' 'weigh, reckon, ponder; notice,' OHG. *arwegan*, MHG. *erwegen* 'aufwärts bewegen, erheben, in Bewegung setzen, rühren; abwägen, erwägen, bedenken,' MLG. *bewegen, -wagen* 'bewegen, erwägen, überdenken; refl. bei sich bedenken, bei sich überlegen,' *entwegen* 'an etwas denken,' *overwegen* 'überwiegen; übertreffen; erwägen, betrachten,' MSw. *ivirvägha* 'öfverväga, betrakta; öfverlägga,' MDan. *overveje* 'opveje; overtænke, betragte.' The base *uegh-* 'move, go' of these words we have also in Skt. *váhati* 'führt, fährt, zieht,' Lat. *veho* 'go, bear, carry, etc.' Cf. Walde, *Etym. Wb.*, 653, and references.

XV

MENTAL EMOTION

Under the above heading we may class such words as have developed their meaning from primary ideas expressing a state of mind or a mood. A word, then, denoting primarily 'joy, hope, wish, will, desire, etc.,' may develop a meaning 'think, mean, perceive, etc.' A word denoting a certain mental state generally stands for other mental states as well. Notice, for example, the meanings of OHG. *muot* 'Kraft des Denkens, Empfindens, Wollens, Sinn, Seele, Geist, Gemüt, Stimmung, Gesinnung; froher Mut; wagende Stimmung, Zorn, Begehren, Lust, Entschluss, Absicht, Erwartung, Hoffnung.' I have therefore classed the words as nearly as possible with reference to the predominant mental state or emotion shown by the particular word or group of words.

(a) *Be elated, joyful: hope; think, pay attention to*

112. OE. *hyht* 'joy, pleasure, hope,' *hyge* 'mind, heart, mood; courage, pride,' OHG. *hugu*, OS. *hugi*, MHG. *huge* 'Sinn, Geist, Andenken; affectus, Freude,' OFris. *hei* 'Sinn,' ON. *hugr* 'mind, heart, thought, wish,' Goth. *hugjan*, OS. *huggian*, OHG. *hukkan*, *huggen*, MHG. *hugen* 'sich freuen, verlangen, bedacht sein auf; denken, meinen, gedenken,' OFris, *hugia* 'gedenken, sich erinnern,' OE. *hycgan* 'hope; think, meditate,' *hogian* 'intend, wish, consider, think about,' ME. *hogien* 'take thought, meditate,' *hügien* 'think, meditate,' OSw. *huxa* 'ausdenken, bedenken, nachdenken,' *hyggia* 'denken, bedenken,' ON. *hugna* 'please, be comfortable,' *hyggja* 'think, mean, believe, observe, muse; intend, imagine, apprehend,' MSw. *hyggia* 'tänka, gifva akt; betänka, besinna; mena, hafva för afsigt, bestämma; uppmuntra,' 'think, think out; mean, intend, determine; encourage,' *hughsa* 'tänka, föreställa; betänka, besinna, overväga; uttänka, förmoda; trösta,' 'think, imagine; deliberate; suppose; encourage,' MDan. *huge* 'tænke, mene; behage, huske,' 'think, mean; please, remember,' *hygge* 'tiltænke,' 'intend for,' *hugse* 'tænke, agte, huske,' MLG. *hugen* 'denken,' MDu. *hogen* 'aan iets denken; verlangen naar; zich herinnern, gedenken; blijde maken (make joyful),' ON. *athuga* 'heed, care, bethink oneself, pay attention to, consider,' *hugð* 'attention, care, anxiety.'

(b) *Desire, will, hope for: think of, consider, suppose*

113. OHG., MHG. *muot* 'Begehren, Verlangen, froher Mut, Hoffnung, etc.,' Goth *mōþs* 'Mut, Zorn,' MLG. *mōt* 'Denken, Sinnen; Germütszustand, Stimmung,' MSw. *moþ* 'ifver, vrede; sinne, håg,' 'desire, anger; mind,' OHG. *muotōn*, MHG. *muoten* 'begehren, verlangen, anhalten um etwas,' MDu. *moeden* 'verlangen, begeren; verdacht zijn op, verwachten; denken, meenen, vermoeden,' 'desire; hope for, expect; think, mean, suppose,' *bemoeden* 'vermoeden, gedachte hebben op, denken; vernemen, verstand hebben van,' *gemoeden* 'bedenken, denken aan; vermoeden, verwachten,' MHG. *vermuoten* 'vermuten,' OFris. *formoda* 'vermuten,' MDu. *vermoeden* 'weten,' 'know,' MSw. *formodha* 'vänta, förmoda' 'hope for, suppose.' The base of these words is *mē-*, *mō-* 'streben, willenskräftig sein,' in Gk. μαίομαι 'strebe, trachte.' Cf. Fick, II³, 184.

114. OHG. *meinan*, MHG. *meinen* 'beabsichtigen, bezwecken; glauben, wähnen; seine Gedanken auf etwas richten, etwas bedenken, im Sinne haben; bedeuten,' ON. *meina* 'mean,' OS. *mēnian* 'im Sinne haben, bezeichnen, erwähnen, bezwecken, wollen, worauf zielen; bedeuten, bezeichnen,' MLG. *mēnen, meinen* 'meinen, glauben; seine Gedanken auf etwas richten, beabsichtigen; gesinnt sein gegen jemanden,' OE. *mœnan* 'intend; allude, mean, signify,' ME. *mœnen, mēnen* 'mean, communicate, indicate, signify,' MDu. *menen, meinen* 'zijne gedachten richten op iemand of iets, beoogen, bedœlen; beteeknen; meenen, denken,' 'turn one's thought toward, look at, aim at; signify; think,' MDan. *mene* 'mene, tilltænke,' 'mean, intend for,' MSw. *mena* 'vilja, hafva för afsigt; mena, tänka, tro, anse; förstå,' 'wish, desire, intend; mean, think, believe; understand,' OFris. *mēna* 'meinen, bedeuten,' MHG. *vermeinen* 'wollen, hoffen; meinen, denken, zudenken,' MLG. *vormēnen* 'glauben, meinen, denken, erwarten.' Outside of Germ. we have Lat. *meinom* 'Wunsch, Vorhaben, Absicht,' Gk. μενοινάω (=*μεμοινάω) 'beabsichtige,' OBulg. *mĕniti* 'meinen.' Cf. Walde, *Etym. Wb.*, 375, and references.

(c) *Hope, expect, believe, think*

115. OHG. *dingen*, MHG. *dingen* 'denken, hoffen, Zuversicht haben,' OHG. *gidingo*, MHG. *gedinge* 'Gedanke, Denken, Hoffnung, Zuversicht.' Here, no doubt, belongs the NHG. *Dinge* in the expression *guter Dinge sein*. Cf. Wood, *MLN.*, XV, 100 f.

116. Goth. *wēns* 'Hoffnung, Erwartung,' OHG., MHG., OS. *wān* 'Erwartung, Hoffnung, Absicht, Wahn, Meinung,' MDan. *vån* 'udsigt, formodning,' 'hope, conjecture,' Goth. *gawēnjan* 'erwarten, meinen,' OHG. *wānen*, MHG. *wœnen* 'meinen, glauben, vermuten, ahnen, hoffen, erwarten; opinari, putare,' OS. *wānian* 'erwarten, meinen,' *wānon* 'meinen, vermuten,' OE. *wēnan* 'hope, expect, think, have an opinion,' ME. *wēnen* 'ween, hope, suppose,' ON. *vēna* 'hope for, think,' MDan. *vœnte* 'formode, haabe; mene,' 'guess, hope; mean,' MLG. *wānen* 'wähnen, glauben, vermuten,' MDu. *wenen* 'denken, wanen, meenen,' *wanen, wœnen* 'willen; denken, meenen, weten,' OFris. *wēna* 'wähnen, meinen,' MHG. *verwœnen, -wānen* 'hoffen, erwarten; überdenken, beachten; vermuten, glauben, überheben.'

(d) Be firm, have confidence in, trust, believe, suppose, think

117. ON. *traustr* 'firm, strong, safe, trusty, sure,' *treysta* 'make strong, safe; trust, rely upon,' Goth. *triggws*, OHG. *triu* 'treu, zuverlässig,' OHG. *triuwen* 'trauen, glauben, hoffen,' MSw. *troa* 'tro, sätta tro till, hålla för sant; tänka, anse,' 'trust, have confidence in, hope for; think, consider,' MDan. *tro* 'tro, haabe; betro, mene,' 'trust, hope; believe, mean,' For development of meaning cf. Gk. ἰσχυρίζομαι 'zeige mich fest, verlasse mich auf etwas, vertraue.'

(e) Move, move quickly; be strong, courageous: will, intend, think, think over, remember

118. OS. *manon* 'treiben, mahnen,' OHG. *manōn* 'erinnern; ermahnen; auffordern, antreiben,' MHG. *vermanen* 'nicht woran denken, verachten; zu verstehen geben, kund tun, erinnern, ermahnen, auffordern,' OFris. *monia* 'mahnen, ermahnen, erinnern,' ME. *manien* 'remember, mention,' MSw. *formana* 'på-minna, erinra om, förmana,' 'remind, warn.' A different form from the same base we have in OHG. *munter*, MHG. *munter* 'eifrig, behende, frisch, lebhaft, wach,' and also Goth. *muns* 'Bestreben, Absicht, Ratschluss, Gedanke,' *munan* 'meinen, glauben, dafür halten,' *munan* (wk.) 'gedenken, wollen,' ON. *munr* 'Sinn,' *muna* 'mind, call to mind, remember,' MSw. *mona* 'kunna, vilja, ämna; tänka, förmoda,' 'be able, will, intend; think, suppose,' MDan. *mune* 'mindes, huske,' 'recollect, think,' OS. *munan* 'gedenken, urteilen,' OE. *ge-munan* 'remember, bear in mind, consider,' ME. *munen, man* 'intend, have in mind, think, remember,' OS. *farmunan* 'nicht woran denken, verleugnen, verachten.' We have further: OE. *mynian* 'direct one's course, intend,' *gemynan* 'remember,' ME. *münnen* 'have in mind, bear in mind,' OE. *mynegian, myndgian* 'remember, bear in mind; intend, remind,' ME. *münegen* 'bear in mind,' OHG. *bimunigōn* 'feierlich erinnern, ermahnen,' OE. *gemynd* 'mind, memory,' ME. *münden* 'bear in mind, remember,' OE. *myntan* 'intend, think, mean,' ME. *münten* 'think, intend, point.' Still another group from the same base are: OHG. *minnja, minni*, MHG. *minne*, ON. *minne* 'Andenken, Erinnerung; Liebe,' ON. *minna* 'remind, remember; mention, talk of, recollect,' ME. *minnen* 'have in mind, remember,' MSw.

minna 'minna, minnas; vilja; tänka på,' 'remind, remember; wish, will; think of,' MDan. *minde* 'minde, paaminde huske,' 'remind; remember,' MDu. *minne* 'aandenken, gedachtenis; liefde,' 'thought, memory; love.'

The base *men-* 'think,' to which these words belong, has been generally considered identical with the base *men-* 'remain' in Lat. *maneo*, Gk. μένω, etc. (cf. Walde, *Etym. Wb.*, 365). Wood, however, in *Class. Phil.*, III, 76 f., shows that the two bases, though related, must be referred to a common base denoting primarily a quick motion of the body as indicating the inward emotions. The development would then be as given above, the base *men-* 'remain' developing from the primary base as follows: 'move, waver, hesitate, delay, remain.'

XVI

Hold in Mind: Think

In the preceding group the words developed from ideas expressing a positive condition of the mind such as 'desire, will, etc.' In the following group we have, in a sense, an opposite, a negative condition of the mind implied. That is, the mind may be considered the receptacle of thought.

(a) *Hold, entertain in the mind, be of opinion*

119. OHG. *haltan*, MHG. *halten* 'halten, im Stand halten, zusammenhalten, bewahren, erhalten; festhalten; wofür halten, meinen,' ON. *halda* 'hold to, keep, retain; stand, remain; possess, observe; hold, deem, be of opinion, think; protect,' OSw. *halda* 'halten, erhalten, verhalten, dafür halten; haben, erfassen, schätzen,' MSw. *halda* 'hålla, vakta; gripa; behålla; iakttaga,' 'hold, watch; seize; keep; perceive,' MDan. *holde* 'holde, beholde; mene, anse for; beskytte,' 'hold, keep; mean, regard as; protect,' OFris. *halda* 'halten, festhalten; beobachten; behaupten, erlangen; enthalten, bestimmen, unterhalten,' OS. *haldan* 'halten, einen Stand haben,' OE. *healdan* 'hold, grasp; keep, guard; take care, regard, observe,' ME. *healden* 'hold, keep, observe, consider,' MDu. *houden, houwen* 'beschouwen, bezien, hoeden, verzorgen, opmerken; meenen, vermoeden,' OE. *behealdan* 'hold, keep, guard; possess, have; behave, look at, observe; consider, reflect on; pay regard to,' OFris. *behalda*

'halten, bei sich behalten; behaupten; behalten im Gedächtnis, sich erinnern,' OS. *bihaldan* 'halten; bewahren, im Gedächtnis bewahren,' *gihaldan* 'halten behüten, beobachten,' MDu. *onthouden* 'onthouden, bij zich houden; bewaren, vasthouden met den geest, vernemen,' 'hold back, keep with one; care for; remember, perceive.'

(b) Hold, have, comprehend, perceive, know

120. OE. *behabban* 'surround, comprehend, detain,' *behabban hreðre* 'comprehend in the mind,' MSw. *hava* 'bära, hysa, innesluta; innehafva; känna, erfara, anse,' 'hold, have, enclose, contain; know, perceive, consider.' The meanings here approach very closely those under IB(*b*).

(c) Take in, take into the mind, remember

121. MHG. *innegen* 'ins Innerste aufnehmen; andachtig machen; erinnern, belehren,' *innecheit* 'Innigkeit; Andächtigkeit; gespannte Aufmerksamkeit,' MSw. *innoghet* 'innerlighet, andakt,' 'intimateness, meditation,' MLG. *vorinren* 'ins Gedächtnis rufen, erinnern an, erwähnen, bezeugen.'

(d) Bring, bring into the mind, imagine, think

122. MDu. *bringen*, *brengen* 'brengen, voor den geest brengen, aan het verstand brengen,' *inbringen*, (*inne-*) 'binnen brengen, bij brengen, in den geest brengen, zich voorstellen, uitdenken,' *opbrengen* 'opbouwen, stichten; te voorschijn brengen; uitdenken,' 'build up, establish; bring to light; think out.'

(e) Carry, carry with one, think over

123. MHG. *tragen* 'tragen, halten, bringen, führen; hegen,' *übertragen* 'zum Tragen auf sich nehmen, perferre; überziehen; mit sich herumtragen, beraten, überlegen.' The NE. uses the words 'bear' and 'carry' with somewhat the above significance in the expressions, *bear in mind, carry with oneself*, etc.

XVII

TALK OVER: THINK OVER

In a few words the meaning 'think, think over' develops from 'speak, talk over.' We may give the words divided as follows:

(a) *Treat with, talk over: deliberate, think over*

124. OHG. *dingōn*, MHG. *dingen* 'Gericht halten, unterhandeln, verabreden; ausbedingen, mieten, versprechen,' MSw. *þinga* 'hålla ting, öfverlägga, förhandla, underhandla,' 'hold session, deliberate, discuss, treat of,' *bethinga* 'betinga, bestämma,' 'demand, determine,' OFris. *bithingia* 'gerichtlich belangen, verklagen; entscheiden, verurteilen.'

(b) *Make known, explain; talk over, determine, decide, think*

125. Goth. *spillōn* 'verkündigen, erzählen,' MDu. *spellen* 'verklaren, verkondigen, uitleggen, beduiden, besluiten,' 'explain, make known, mean, determine,' *gespellen* 'uitleggen; beschrijven, aan het verstand brengen,' *overspellen* 'verklaren, duidelijk maken; overdenken, overpeinzen.' Just as in MLG. and MDu. *overmerken* so here *overspellen* gives us the meaning 'think over.' Cf. also the force of the prefix in the MHG. *überslahen*, MDu. *overslaen* No. 83, MDu. *overleggen*, etc. No. 82, MHG. *uberspiln* No. 107, MLG. *overwegen* No. 111, etc.

(c) *Speak of, talk over: refl. deliberate, think over*

126. OHG. *sprehhan* 'sprechen, aussprechen, seine Meinung äussern,' MDu. *bespreken* 'spreken, spreken over; verklaren, uitleggen; overeenkomen, vaststellen, beslissen; refl. overleggen, zich bedenken.'

(d) *Speak of, mention, recall, remember, think of*

127. OHG. *giwahannen*, *gewānen*, MHG. *gewehenen*, *gewehen* 'memorare, gedenken, erwähnen,' OHG. *giwahan*, MHG. *gewahen* 'berichten, bemerken, erwähnen, gedenken,' OS. *giwahan* 'bemerken, erwähnen, gedenken,' MLG. *gewagen* 'sprechen von, erwähnen, gedenken.' Relation outside of Germ. is found in Skt. *vakti* 'sagt, redet, spricht,' Lat. *vocāre* 'speak, call, announce,' etc. Cf. Curtius, 459 f.

XVIII

Go to the Bottom of, Fathom: Understand

128. OHG. *grunden*, MHG. *gründen* 'auf den Grund kommen, auf den Grund finden; auf den Grund einer Sache gehn, ergründen, gründlich erörtern,' MDu. *gegronden* 'peilen, de diepte van een water

meten; doorgronden, begrijpen,' 'sound, measure the depth of water; fathom, understand,' MSw. *grunda* 'grunda, grundlägga, befästa; ofverlägga; found, establish; deliberate,' *begrunda* 'begrunda, tänka; begripa, förstå.

129. OE. *fæðm* 'embracing arms; lap; a measure (both arms extended); expanse, abyss, deep,' *fæðmian* 'embrace, contain, clasp, devour,' NE. *fathom* 'encircle with extended arms; measure the depth (of water), sound; get to the bottom, dive into, penetrate; see through, thoroughly understand.'

XIX

Creep, Creep into, Penetrate: Investigate, Consider, Think

130. ON. *smjūga* 'creep through, pierce,' OE. *smūgan* 'creep, penetrate gradually,' *āsmūgan* 'investigate, consider,' *smēagan* 'penetrate, scrutinize, investigate; meditate, reflect; seek; suppose, assume,' ME. *smēagan* 'ask, think, consider,' OE. *smēag* 'sagacious, penetrating,' *āsmēagan* 'scrutinize, investigate, conceive, realize; consider, reflect on; treat of, settle.'

XX

Deep: Wise

131. ON. *djupr* 'deep, profound,' MSw. *diuper* 'djup, djupsinnig, skarpsinnig,' 'deep, wise, keen-witted,' NE. *deep* 'penetrating, profound.'

XXI

Sharp, Keen: Keen-witted; Fierce, Bold

132. OE. *cēnlīce* 'keenly; boldly,' ME. *kene* 'sharp, bitter; bold,' NE. *keen* 'having a sharp point or edge, having a cutting or incisive character or effect, penetrating, manifesting great mental acuteness, penetration of thought, sharply perceptive; vehement, eager, ardent, fierce, etc.' (*Century Dict.*, s.v.), OHG. *kuoni*, MHG. *küene* 'acer, asper; fortis, audax, kühn,' ODan. *køn*, *kjøn* 'kühn; erfahren,' ON. *kønn* 'erfahren, verständig,' OSw. *kön*, 'kühn,' MDan. *køn* 'skicklig, klok; tapper, skilful, wise; brave.' Wood, *MLN.*, XXII, 235 f., refers these words to a base *gen-*, *gŏn-* 'angular, sharp' and compares Skt. *jānu*, Lat. *genu* 'knee,' Gk. γωνία 'corner, angle,' γένυς 'chin,' Goth. *kniu* 'knee,' *kinnus* 'jawbone,' etc.

133. OHG. *scarf*, MHG. *scharf* 'sharf, schneidend, durchdring-end; heftig,' OE. *scearp* 'sharp, keen, searching, effectual; keen, acute (of understanding),' *scearplīce* 'sharply, keenly; keenly (of the mind),' NE. *sharp* 'sharp; keen-witted.' An exact parallel for the above group of words is furnished by the Lat. *ācer* 'sharp, violent, vehement, strong; acute, penetrating, sagacious, shrewd,' *acūtus* 'acute, intelligent, sagacious,' *acūmen* 'acuteness, shrewd-ness, acumen, penetration.'

XXII

QUICK, DEXTEROUS: QUICK-WITTED, WISE, INTELLIGENT

134. OHG. *hantag* 'acer, asper, saevus,' MHG. *handec* 'schnei-dend, stechend, sharf, bitter,' *handen* 'stechen, hauen,' Goth. *han-dugs* 'geschickt, klug, weise,' *-hinþan* 'fangen, erjagen,' ON. *hǫn-dugr* 'behend, geschickt,' MSw. *behändogher* 'konsterfaren, skicklig; fin, listig; konstig,' 'skilled, dexterous; crafty, artful,' MDan. *behœnde* 'snild, listig,' 'quick, crafty,' MHG. *behende* 'geschickt, schnell, rash, von leiblicher Gefügigkeit und geistigen Eigenschaf-ten,' MHG. *behende* 'fein, geschickt; listig, schlau, gewandt,' *behendicheit* 'Klugheit,' MDu. *behende* 'gevat, slim; ervaren, kundig,' 'quick, crafty, experienced.' These we may connect with Gk. κεντέω 'spur, spur on.' The primary base of these words probably meant some quick motion from which then developed the various meanings we find. Cf. Wood, *Class. Phil.*, V, 303.

135. OHG. *snel* 'schnell, behende, tapfer,' OE. *snel* 'quick, swift; active, strong, bold, brave,' ON. *snjallr* 'swift, eloquent; good; valiant,' *snilld* 'masterly skill, prowess,' *snillingr* 'quick, intelligent; brave,' MSw. *sniälder* 'duglig, tapper; skicklig, kunnig; vis, klok,' 'capable, brave, artful; wise, intelligent,' *snille* 'skicklighet, konst; vishet, förstånd,' 'dexterity, art; wisdom, understanding,' *snild* 'förstånd,' MDan. *snild* 'klog, se snel; veltalende,' 'wise, quick-witted; eloquent.'

136. Goth. *swinþs* 'stark, gesund,' MHG. *swinde* 'kräftig, stark, geschwind,' OE. *swīð* 'strong, dexterous,' ON. *svinnr* 'klug, ver-ständig,' MDan. *svind* 'stærk, voldsom, hurtig,' 'strong, violent, quick,' *svindig* 'hurtig; klog, listig,' 'quick; wise, artful.'

XXIII
BENDING, AGILE: WILY, WISE

137. MHG. *kluoc* 'weichlich, üppig; fein, schmuck, zierlich, nett; gewandt, klug, listig, schlau,' MLG. *klōk* 'behende, listig, klug, gewandt,' MDu. *kloek* 'klug, verständig, tapfer,' ON. *klōkr* 'arch, clever,' MSw. *kloker* 'kunnig, skicklig, klok, förståndig, vis; slug, listig; konstfärdig; djupsinnig; vacker, ståtlig,' MDan. *klog* 'klog, snedig,' 'wise, wily.' Perhaps related to MHG. *klanc* 'Schlinge; List, Ränke,' OHG. *klenken* 'knüpfen, schlingen.'

XXIV
BE POWERFUL, BE ABLE: KNOW, DECIDE, UNDERSTAND

138. OFris. *walda* 'walten, Gewalt haben; sorgen, bestimmen,' MHG. *verwalten* 'in Gewalt haben, sorgen für, können, verstehen; sich frei bewegen,' *verwalteren* 'in Gewalt haben, können, verstehen.'

XXV
LET, CAUSE, MAKE, MAKE OUT; MAKE APPEAR AS IF; SUPPOSE, CONSIDER, THINK

139. Goth. *lētan* 'lassen, zulassen, von sich lassen, überlassen, zurücklassen,' OE. *lǣtan* 'allow, permit, suffer; let go, give up; cause, make, get, have cause to be; place; make a thing appear (so and so), make as if, make out, pretend, estimate, consider, suppose, think,' ME. *lǣten* 'let, permit; dismiss, leave; cause; think, esteem.' For a different development of a related word cf. No. 101.

XXVI
EXPRESSIONS FOR 'CONSIDER, THINK'

MSw. *läggia i hiärta* 'betänka, besinna,' MDu. *overtien in herte* 'overpeinzen, overdenken,' *voor ogen trecken* 'bedenken,' MDan. *føre i sinde* 'tænke paa,' OS. *an hugi fallan* 'einfallen, denken,' ON. *innfall* 'incursio, irruptio; conceptus, tanke,' *leida hugum* 'consider, meditate,' *vesa of sik* 'an sich selbst denken, für sich selbst besorgt sein,' MSw. *hämta sik saman* 'samla sig, besinna sig,' ON. *heimta* 'draw, pull; refl. gather together,' NE. *gather oneself together, collect one's wits*, MHG. *sich sammeln*, MDu. *scheeren den raed* 'beraadslagen, overleggen.'

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III. NOTES

The time is ripe for a systematic study of the language of the compilation contained in MS XIII of the San Marco library. The inedited portions should be published and an extensive glossary of the whole prepared. It is this task that I had assumed, but I have recently learned that the work has already been undertaken and I withdraw. I hope my colleague may find some assistance in these notes.

2. *in ate;* this expression I understand to be an extension of the use of the word *eté, até* AETATEM in such phrases as *viver in eté* 285, *viver en aïe* 971; cf. *Mac.*, 3492: *La festa dure .XV. jor en avan.* I have not been able to find a case strictly parallel to the one in question. In our MS *m* and *in* can rarely be distinguished with absolute certainty; hence we may read here *maté.* So far as I can discover this makes no sense: the Milanese *temp matt* =*stravagante* (Arrighi, *Diz. Mil.-Ital.*, Milan, 1896) and the corresponding French expression are not to the point.

Rubric after 14. *Marmore* is Verona; see Crescini, *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, Bologna, 1889, I, 163, II, 10, 239 f. and the references there given. Rajna's promise of a study on the geography of the French *Ogier* (*Arch. stor. ital.*, S. IV, Vol. XIX, 1887, p. 45, n. 5), in which doubtless the Italian versions will be considered, is reiterated by him in *Studi medievali*, III, 1910, p. 385.

conmença; con- like *in-* retained intact, as in many documents of the vulgar tongues, through influence of mediaeval Latin orthography; cf. Parducci in *Studj romanzi*, I, p. 97, and his reference to Rajna's *De vulg. Eloq.*; Parodi, *Tristano riccardiano*, Bologna, 1896, p. cxxxii; also above, p. 2.

32. *nen* (MS *non*); a combination of French (and Venetian, see Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, III, p. 265) *en* and Italian *ne*, according to Mussafia, *Berta*, 591, n. The word is rare, perhaps because a mere omission of the stroke over the *e* (abbreviation for *n*) results in the commoner *ne*. I have noted the following examples of *nen: Berta*, 591, 1129, 1615; *Mac.*, 2110, 2845; cf. here, 673, 1188; *Karleto* of our MS, vs. 8 of extract by Guessard, *Bibl. Ecole Chartes*, 1857, p. 398 (MS has *ven*, i.e., *v'en*, according to Mussafia, *Handschriftl. Studien*, Vienna, 1863, p. 310). Examples that I have noted outside of our MS may be errors: *Rainardo e Lesengrino*, 437, ed. Teza, Pisa, 1869, reprinted in Martin, *Renart*, Strasbourg, 1882, II, pp. 358 ff. (perhaps *nen* here=*ne* [i.e., *ci*] + *ne* as, e.g., in Wiese, *Altlomb. Marg. Leg.*, Halle, 1890, v. 174); Franco-

Italian *Hector,* extract by Meyer in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* X, p. 402, § 22 (one MS); Bertoni, *Attila,* Friburg, 1907, extract I, 292, 395 (fairly sure examples). Similarly in the Franco-Italian *Aspremont* (*Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* X, p. 49) Meyer considers *io* a contamination of French *ie* and Northern Italian *eo,* rather than the Tuscan *io.* *Io,* however, occurs in northern Italian texts where there is no reason to suspect foreign influence; cf., e.g., Ascoli, *Arch. glott.,* III, p. 263 (*Cronica venez.*). Remembering Ascoli's warning (*Arch. glott.,* I, especially pp. 451 ff.) not to exaggerate the French influence even in Franco-Italian texts, it is perhaps better to consider *en* which enters into the composition of *nen* Venetian and not French, and *io* indigenous Venetian.

47. *apendu;* see note to 1913.

Rubric after 57. The strange forms assumed by the word *Danois* in the rubrics are noteworthy: *Donis* (here), *Ọonois* (after 98, 318; *Enf. Og.* after 550), *Donoisis* (after 796), *da Rois* (after 856), *Dainos* (after 2050). These are to be corrected wherever they are not supported by similar forms in the text. The first syllable may be *Dai-* as in 58, 842, etc., and in Old Italian generally. *Donoisis* is to be corrected to *Danoisis* and perhaps to *Danois* (but cf. *Enf. Og.,* 287 *Daynesin,* 505, 535 *Daineseto*). The *e* for *oi* of the last-named forms is due to the Italian *Dainese* (cf. *Dainès, Enf. Og.,* 486). *Dainos* I correct to *Dainois* despite *Dainos, Enf. Og.,* 531, which seems to be a scribal error. Perhaps the MS actually reads *Daines:* for difficulty in distinguishing *e* and *o,* see note to 545. Little importance is to be attached to forms which appear in the rubrics exclusively, for these are very carelessly written. Occasional omissions of the rubrics and the practice of scribes of postponing the writing of those passages for which black ink was not used prove that the rubrics were inserted after the completion of the MS. The great ignorance of the subject-matter of the poems shown by the writer, and such errors as those under discussion, indicate that the rubrics are due to a second, inferior scribe. It is probable that they did not exist in the original MS. Cf. Keller, *Romvart,* Mannheim-Paris, 1844, pp. 42, 45, 47; Guessard, *Bibl. Ecole Chartes,* 1857, p. 395.

94. MS has *doe mon amor,* which might be read *dòe* (cf. *òe* here, 451, and *Mac.,* 3148) with the familiar Italian epithetic *e;* or *do e'=do eo.*

102. *el ne porta la mançe;* cf. *Enf. Og.,* 225. Note the rhyme; cf. Ital. *mancia.*

133. *darie=doré* *DAURATUM, form due to the rhyme; no connection with *orie* of the Roland. I have not corrected to *dorie* but cannot defend the *a.* For Latin *-alt>-at* see note to 1762. For localities where under certain circumstances Latin *-au>-a* (type AGUSTUS naturally excluded), see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Lang. rom.,* I, § 287; Ascoli in *Arch. glott.,* I, pp. 50, § 93; 271, § 68; de Gregorio, *ibid.,* VIII, p. 309; Morosi, *ibid.,* p. 414; Pieri, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* XXVIII, p. 163. The treatment in San Fratello is probably due to Sicilian influence, for in Sicily a similar development takes place (see Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.,* I, § 354) and is not the reflection of a northern

dialectal peculiarity. Isolated examples in texts of our region: Bertoni, *Attila,* p. liii (*ator*); Lindner, *Plainte de la Vièrge,* Upsala, 1898, p. lv (*ristaro,* MS *B*), are probably errors. *Ar coito* in *Ber. e Mil.,* 241, rightly corrected by Mussafia, is worth noting.

137. *Baiver;* always so spelled in this MS.

162. *Besgore* is Brescia; see Rajna, *Romania,* III, p. 50.

168. *La ville guarda.* This correction is not satisfactory since it is too far from the MS reading: *E l ui lega.* The first letter of a verse is always separated from the second; hence *El.* An incorrect division which left *vi* by itself I take to be the cause of the corruption. The scribe understanding *vi* = *vidit* changed *la* to *el.* For *guarda,* cf. 620; I do not read *garda* in my correction because the word seems always to be spelled *gua-* in our MS. Perhaps some noun unknown to me is hidden under the form *ga,* but *le* is masculine and *la* in the next verse requires a feminine in this. The suggestion for my correction I derived from *Prise de Pampelune,* 5707, ed. Mussafia, Vienna, 1864:

> *E esgarda la ville e davant e dariere.*

Cf. here v. 620. *Terre* meaning a fortified city (here = *ville*) needs no comment. Possibly: *El vi[l'] e guarda* or *El vi[l'] loga.*

169. *laoer.* The correction to *à loer* is slight but inadvisable considering the wide-spread development *au* > *ao; e.g., laodara,* Tobler, *Proverbia* (*Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* IX), 3*d; caosa, ibid.,* 17*b et passim; ao* AUT, *ibid.,* 157*c; caosa* Tobler, *Panfilo* (*Arch. glott.,* X), 5 *et passim; ao, ibid.,* 65 *et passim;* Tobler, *Cato,* Berlin, 1883, p. 12; Tobler, *Uguçon,* Berlin, 1884, p. 12, etc. Cf. Caix, *Origini,* Florence, 1880, p. 98.

173–74. A negative (which would perfect the measure of the verse) is expected before *poüst;* but cf. Franco-Italian *Aliscans:*

> *S'à chascun colp en feisés . C. morir,*
> *Encois verois un mois tot complir*
> *Q'il fusent mort.*

> —Keller, *Romvart,* p. 35, vss. 17–19.

Cf. Franco-Italian *Aspremont,* 180–81, in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* X, p. 28; *Ber. e Mil.,* 410, and Mussafia's note; Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge,* I², 1902, p. 133.

176. *Verçilio;* cf. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages,* English translation (1895), pp. 322–23; German translation (1875), p. 274.

187. *Un Çarle el maine;* so *un Macario, Mac.,* 1825; *un Cantacler, Rainardo e Lesengrino,* 33, 299, ed. Teza.

214. *apis* < APE(N)SUM; cf. *apeso* 245. A common type, due to *umlaut* in the perfect; cf. Bertoni, *Attila; intis* (INTENDERE), extr. III, 25, VI, 104, etc.; Lorck, *Altbergamaskische Sprachdenkmäler,* Halle, 1893, p. 60; Mussafia, *Prise de Pampelune,* p. xiii; similar forms occur everywhere in our region.

274. *la ploça e la rosé.* The constant association of *ploça* and *rosé* in many texts suggests the correction to *rosé* of the word *nosé* which disturbs Mussafia in *Orl.*, 453.

279. I read *tu i* (=IBI) *ten* which is perfectly intelligible. Perhaps it is better to suppress *i* or read *tui* (=*tu*). *Tui* in Venetian territory seems to be a possible analogical form of the pronoun (cf. *vui, lu lui,* etc.), but I have not been able to find evidence of such a form in our region. Perhaps *tue* (=*tu*+epithetic *e*)>*tui* as Meyer-Lübke suggests for the Sardinian *tui* (*Ital. Gram.*, p. 209). *Tue* occurs in northern texts, e.g., *Rainardo e Lesengrino*, 650, 673, etc., ed. Teza.

294. *que[l]*; I add *l* here despite the fact that in certain Northern dialects final *l* falls; see references in Wiese, *Altital. Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1904, p. 100. There are many examples of this fall in our MS; cf. *Mac.*, 600, note. For *que=quel*, see Salvioni in *Arch. glott.*, XIV, p. 229, § 36.

299. *faroie;* in our MS and other texts the conditional forms are frequently used, in the singular, for the future. The confusion is not syntactical (cf. Ebeling in *Abhandlungen . . . . Tobler . . . . dargebracht*, Halle, 1895, p. 346) but probably has its source in the forms *oit, ait*=HABET; cf. Mussafia, *Mac.*, p. xiii.

300. *to[i]*; there is no evidence to support *to, toi* parallel with *lu, lui.* Subák rightly corrects *so* to *soi*, *Enf. Og.*, 1118.

308. *desdeisi;* cf. 769; *Mac.*, p. x (impf. subj. 2d pl.); *Enf. Og.*, 525 (*deisi*, preterite): the singular for the plural as ordinarily in Northern Italy. The form is due to the influence of the perfect; cf. Parodi in *Arch. glott.*, XV, pp. 24, 26; Lindner, *Plainte de la Vièrge*, p. cxxvi.

311. *oltra to maltalent;* cf. *Ber. e Mil.*, 244, n.; *Prise de Pampelune*, 1664, 5435. Cf. here 862, where a correction seems indispensable.

335. I am not sure of the reading of the letters crossed out by the scribe in this verse and in 356, 1239 because I cannot see why they were written in the first place. Is there any significance in the fact that the consonant following in all three cases is *s ?* In *Enf. Og.*, 389, Subák reads *n* crossed out before *sofrir*, and in 1068 *li* crossed out before *Sandonio*. *Ti, n* and *li* are very similar in our MS and I have no doubt that the same sign confronted Subák. *Ti* seems to me to be the correct reading. Note also that in the two cases cited from *Enf. Og.* the consonant following is *s*. Mussafia does not give corrections of the scribe in the parts of the MS edited by him. In 1779 I read *pi* crossed out and in 1453 *buti* with *ti* crossed out: neither of these cases has, I think, anything to do with the point in question.

341. *mendo=amende;* cf. 378 (*mendason*); *Mac.*, gloss. (*mendança*); Tobler, *Pateg*, Berlin, 1884, p. 20, Salvioni, *Giorn. stor.*, VIII, p. 421, etc. In view of *amendason*, *Mac.*, 3431, it is perhaps safer to read *se mendança* in *Mac.*, 2806. In his glossary Mussafia refers to *emendança* 1892 but in the text he reads *vole mendança.*

353. *Demanes* I left unaccented, thinking that it was Ital. *domani* and

not Old French *demanois*. I have changed my mind. Here and 820 read *demanés*.

Rubrics after 366, 466. *ost;* elsewhere *osto* or *oster;* peculiarity of the writer of the rubrics.

383. *encion* I understand to be a condensation of *entencion;* cf. *entance* 1266 = *entendance* (*intance* in Bertoni, *Attila*, extr. VII, 101, *et passim*), *umo* 1929 (not in rhyme) = *umano* (see note on this verse), *convent Berta*, 137, 500, etc. = *convenent*, *enverés Berta*, 956 = *enverinés* (*velenose*). Similar forms are fairly common in Italian: *leme* (*legume*), Keller, *Barsegapè*, Frauenfeld, 1901, p. 84; *tavia* (*tuttavia*), Parodi, *Trist. ricc.*, p. 433; *desorar, relion, vontera*, Seifert, *Glossar zu . . . . Bonvesin da Riva*, Berlin, 1886.

389. Perhaps better: *à bon oster e' vo' (voglio) ma foi palentie*, since *vo* = VOBIS, atonic, is a form doubtful in our dialect. Cf. for other dialects Caix, *Origini*, p. 212; d'Ovidio, *Arch. glott.*, IX, p. 77. Correct to *ve?* For similarity of *o* and *e*, see note to 545. For *a!* in place of the more common *ai!* see *Berta*, 910, 958. If *vo'* = *voglio*, *palentie* is infinitive.

437. *pré;* the metathesis *pedra* > *preda, prea* is very common: see Seifert's *Glossar zu . . . . Bonvesin* and his references. The loss of the *a* is due to the rhyme. *Pré* is possible as a plural form. Ulrich, *Raccolta d'Esempi in antico veneziano, Romania*, XIII, l. 38 prints *pre[de]* but *pré* should certainly stand, cf. Salvioni, *Giorn. stor.*, XV, p. 257, n. *Pré* seems to be a possible form for the singular in Romagnolo, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. d. Lang. Rom.*, I, § 175 and *Ital. Gram.*, § 37, with the reference to Mussafia's work which I have not been able to consult. Cf. *kamer, fnester, mnester* mentioned by Malagoli, *Arch. glott.*, XVII, p. 99, and his reference to Toppino. I do not understand the fall of *a* in *prea* in Romagnolo. Malagoli's explanation of *fnester* is not convincing; it could serve with more probability for *pré*. In our text the rhyme accounts for the form.

451. I understand: *En ai* (cf. 94, n.) *repentir* (cf. 1621 n.): *en m'as-tu menacé*. Other interpretations of *an* are not impossible (*anzi* or *anche* or *ancora*) but improbable here. This is the only case of *an* = French *en* INDE in the parts of the MS published. When we find *an* in a Franco-Italian poem we may suppose that that was the form used in the French original as in *Anseïs, Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, p. 639: *Mais je lan-n-ay; Hector, ibid.*, X, p. 395. Or, on account of the frequent use of both forms in French texts, the Italian writer may have considered them interchangeable. This is true, for instance, in the *Farsalia* (ed. Wahle, Marburg, 1888, p. xxv) of Niccolò da Verona and in the *Entrée d'Espagne*, works which are more or less original, not mere transcriptions of French texts. In attempting to ascertain the dialect in which the French original of a Franco-Italian text was written one should remember that the Italian author, unless he is a mere transcriber, is very likely to use forms from various dialects considering them all equally good French (cf. Rajna, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, p. 158, n. 1). So in the *Roland* of Venice IV, the fact that *lei* and *loi, Karll'* and

Carle are used interchangeably is no evidence as to the date and the dialect of the French original. Keller's assumption (*Die Sprache des venez. Roland V⁴*, Calw, 1884, pp. 22 ff.) that the author of the Venice IV version used two MSS, one Anglo-Norman and the other Continental, is entirely gratuitous. This version is a composite of two versions (O and the Roncevaux version) but the dialects of the MSS used by the author of Venice IV can with difficulty be designated. *An* for *ne* appears also in works purely Italian; see the explanation, not entirely satisfactory, of Bertoni, *Laudario dei Battuti di Modena*, Halle, 1909, p. 84. Parodi (*Romania*, XVIII, p. 594) has explained *sança* (= *senza*) for Florence. This same form appears also in Northern Italy, cf. Salvioni, *Arch. glott.*, IX, p. 200; Vidossich, *Tristano veneto, Studj romanzi*, IV, p. 80; etc. The same explanation ought to hold for *sança, anperço*, etc., in Northern dialects. So *en*, at first only before words beginning with a consonant, might become *an*.

481. *avit* = HABUIT; this form occurs several times in the MS: here, 2055, *Enf. Og.*, 383, *Ber. e Mil.*, 319, where Mussafia changes to *avoit*.

537. *rois de coron* = *rois coroné* 14. This expression occurs everywhere in Italian works of chivalry, and is used popularly even today, cf. Petrocchi, *s.v. corona*. It is used not only of kings but also of princes who will probably wear crowns; that is of royal blood. I do not understand Polidori's note on this expression, *Tavola ritonda*, Bologna, 1864, II, p. 50.

545. *so ben non;* regularly elsewhere in the MS *se ben non, se non*. It is not always easy to distinguish *e* and *o; se* 560 may be really *so*. *O* final for *e* (*so* for *se*) is characteristic of Verona (see Mussafia, *Zur Katharinenlegende*, Vienna, 1874, p. 5; Wiese, *Altital. Elementarbuch* §65) but occurs not only there, cf. Bertoni, *Battuti di Modena*, p. 92; Wiese, *Atlomb. Marg. Leg.*, pp. cii, cviii and note to v. 515; Wiese, *Zur Margarethenlegende* in *Abhandlungen . . . . Tobler . . . . dargebracht*, Halle, 1895, 129 (*so no*), 128 (*cho no*); Casini, *Legg. di S. Maria Egiz.*, 1179, *Giorn. di Fil. rom.*, III (Franco-Ven.); Novati, *Brendan*, Bergamo, 1892, p. xxx. Parodi corrects *ko voi* and *cho lo* in the *Trist. ricc.* to *che voi, che lo;* cf. p. clxii, n.; on the first passage, see *Agg. e Corr.*

551. *çé;* perf. 3 of *çire, gire* = IRE; cf. Keller, *Barsegapè*, p. 23.

553. *Lion;* Italians were likely to confuse *Laon* and *Lyon* as Guessard remarks, *Macaire*, p. 402; cf. *Roland*, 2910, ed. Stengel: Venice IV has *Lion*, O and the other MSS *Loün*.

559. *sberna;* cf. *squarçar, Buovo*, 527 in Rajna, *Ricerche . . . . Reali di Francia, Bologna*, 1872. *Sbernare* = *sbranare*. The *e* is perhaps due to *bernia* or may be explained phonetically: *sbernare* occurs in Versiglia, cf. Pieri in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXVIII, p. 163, § 18. Salvioni (*Arch. glott.*, XVI, p. 466) cites *sbrainare* from Lucca and remarks: "preziosa forma che parmi spieghi l'*e* del vers.," with a reference to the passage in Pieri's work. Cf. also *sbráina* = *frana*, Pieri, *loc. cit.*, gloss. For *ai* > *e* see note to 1666.

577. *sagure* = *sciagura; s* = *š* as frequently.

578. *grande siant;* see p. 2.

586. *e[n]fant;* the sign for the nasal is easily omitted from a MS. In the case of this word the nasal is regularly supplied by editors, perhaps unwisely, since the form without it certainly existed. I follow the prevailing custom. The very frequent omission of the nasal has doubtless in some cases a phonetic as well as a paleographic reason. Certain words, e.g., *do(n)jon, co(n)roi,* indubitably had two forms. The fact that a consonant is doubled when a nasal is lost (e.g., *maggiare,* Parodi, *Trist. ricc.,* p. cxxxi) shows that the omission is not merely paleographic; cf. Mussafia, *Prise de Pampelune,* p. x; Wahle, *Farsalia,* p. xxvi; Hirsch in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* IX, p. 557; Parodi in *Arch. glott.,* XV, pp. 8, 16 (change of prefix). The questions of assimilation (Latin and Italian) and partial nasalization are to be considered. I have not found an exhaustive study of this subject, which would involve far wider investigations than I have the means to undertake.

670. *smenaventure;* cf. Rajna in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* XII, p. 482. Derivation: prosthetic *s+meno+aventura,* formed under the influence of the corresponding verb. *Menosvenire* is found in Petrocchi; cf. Parodi, *Trist. ricc.,* p. clxiv. Compare *por smenaventure* with the common *perlaventura, Panfilo* 19, *Arch. glott.,* X, p. 178; etc. In considering the *smenaven* of Bonvesin, Salvioni (*Giorn. stor.,* VIII, p. 416) cites Milanese *smená* which comes from **ex-minuare.* But **ex-minuare* could not explain *smenaven* which probably comes from *s+meno-(mis-)+venire,* influenced in so far as the *a* is concerned by *aventura, smenaventura.* Other data in Seifert, *Glossar zu . . . . Bonvesin, s.v. smenaven.*

674. *dota; doter=dotriner,* cf. *Mac.,* gloss.

709. For *aüst* as first person cf. *Mac.,* 186 (MS), 1253 (Mussafia questions the form in his note), 3148; *Enf. Og.,* 1098; *Hector* in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* X, p. 404; *Gui de Nanteuil,* ed. P. Meyer, Paris, 1861, p. 100 (v. 3 of Franco-Ital. text); Bertoni, *Attila,* extr. I, 39.

731. *çoie;* the derivation suggested by Canello in *Arch. glott.,* III, p. 346 (<JOCA), has been generally accepted; see the objections of Tobler in *Pateg,* §19, *Panfilo, Arch. glott.,* X., p. 239. The word is masculine in *Pateg (çoi);* see *loc. cit.* and p. 46.

Rubric after 796. *Donoisis;* see note to rubric after 57.

811. *fì;* from *fieri.*

820. See note to 353.

899. *à la mala mort;* la ought doubtless to be suppressed, as Rajna suggests in his quotation of this passage in *Romania,* III, p. 53; cf. here, 1047.

920. *vide=vita* for *vitanda*.

922. *di=due* (cf. *Berta,* 637) or *d'i=degli.*

936. *pos e';* cf. Tobler, *Proverbia* (*Zeit. f. rom. Phil.,* IX), 185c: 'maistr' eu; Tobler, *Panfilo,* 161: *posseu,* 217: *concedeu.* The loss of the ending occurs not infrequently in Northern Italian texts; see Tobler, *Pateg,* p. 35; Bertoni,

Dialetto di Modena, Turin, 1905, §154.   For *pose=posso*, see Salvioni, *Arch. glott.*, XVI, p. 267, but undoubtedly *pos e'* is intended here.

945. *prive* for *privé;* form due to the rhyme.

971. *aïe*=AETATEM; Old French *aé;* form due to the rhyme as *darie* 133; cf. 285.   No thought of Old French *aïe=aide*, nor of Italian *aidar=ajutare* is possible; cf. Rajna, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, p. 167, note to *aiter* in vs. 100 of the *Buovo* of Udine and his reference to Ascoli in *Arch. glott.*, II, p. 406.   I wonder if the influence of *ajutare* has not been overworked?   Cf. *un enfant de petito aiter*, in the passage which Rajna is annotating, with *Roland* of Venice IV, 5699 (ed. Kölbing, Heilbronn, 1877): *Jovene è (d)e de petit aie.*   Is *aiter* anything more than *ater (cf. the frequent *até*) with the same *i* which appears in *maitin*, etc.?   The *r* offers difficulty, however.   It may be accounted for by the influence of the rhyme.

964. *estoit=stat* as frequently.

966. *pré;* Mussafia, *Mac.*, 704, rejects this form and prints *pri*, but *pré* is certainly defensible and occurs besides here and *Mac.*, 704, in *Enf. Og.*, 177.

977. *mois* with *s* crossed out; cf. *mois Aspremont*, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, X, p. 47, §11=*moi*,=*mon* p. 50,=*mien Anseïs* 437, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, p. 617; *tois Mac.*, 180; *sois Anseïs*, 208.   Compare also *lois* LOCUM here 1833, *Mac.*, 666, *Enf. Og.*, 1276, *Berta*, 603; *lois* LEGEM *Enf. Og.*, 425; *fois* FOCUM *Mac.*, 184, 492.   Other words in *Aspremont, loc. cit.*, p. 47; *Anseïs, loc. cit.*, p. 630.   Cf. here, 1386, n.

986. *s'è;* cf. Salvioni in *Giorn. stor.*, XV, p. 264, §47.   On the Venetian *xe* see Gartner in *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXI, p. 611 ff.   *S'è* may be more properly *sè=***set: sum*, *ses, **set, sumus*, **setis, sunt.*   If *s* of *sum* goes over to *ses (Ital. *sei*) why not to the other persons with the help of *sumus, sunt*, and the pres. subj.?   Cf. *siamo* = pres. subj.   *Sè*, wrongly understood to be *s' è*, gave rise to *si è, io mi sono*, etc.

997. *loi=lui;* other examples in *Entrée d'Espagne, Bibl. Ecole Chartes*, 1858, p. 221; *Gui de Nanteuil*, p. xxv (last verse of Franco-Ital. text). *Loi=lui* is surprising in the face of the *umlaut* characteristic of Northern Italian dialects (cf. Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, I, p. 310, *et passim;* Salvioni, *ibid.*, IX, p. 235; D'Ovidio, *ibid.*, IX, p. 41, n. 3; and his warning, p. 33, n. 3) which brings into existence such pairs as *noi nui, voi vui*.   These pairs (current not only in the North) along with *lo=lu* explain *lui loi*.   *Loi* is an indisputable form in Bolognese texts of this period; cf. Salvioni in *Giorn. stor.*, XVI, p. 379, n.   *Loi* is starred (*loi) by D'Ovidio, *op. cit.*, p. 44, n. 4.

1014. *sajeler;* cf. *sagelier, Prise de Pampelune*, 2912, *saçilar, Buovo*, 2299 (in Rajna, *Ricerche*), but see *Prise de Pampelune*, p. X.   Mussafia himself, however, writes the word with *j* in *Berta*, 1190, 1201.

1039. Correct *creçà-nde* (*-nde*=INDE as frequently)?   But the use of the gerund is very broad in Northern Italy; cf. Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, III, p. 273; Novati, *Brendan*, p. liii; etc.

1094. *buçe;* cf. *buzi, buzo* Flechia, *Arch. glott.*, VIII, p. 335 (Genoa).

See Pieri in *Studj romanzi*, I, p. 36. *Buçe* occurs in the *Roland* of Venice IV (vs. 2917 of Kölbing's ed., Stengel, vs. 2729) where the other MSS have some other word. *Buçe* was, therefore, probably not a foreign word to Italian ears.

1153. *Beniant* occurs several times in the MS. Mussafia, *Mac.*, 3316, changed to *Belliant* (see his note). The form does not appear in Langlois's *Table des noms propres* . . . . *Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1904.

1170. *nevo;* in the face of the exceedingly common *nievo* (still alive; cf. Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, I, p. 468, n.) it is unsafe to accent *nevó*.

1178. *del tré Carfaraon;* correct *d'oltre Carfaraon?* But cf. 1191. Mussafia prints *li car Faraon* in *Berta*, 202. A similar division is not impossible in the two cases of our text. Cf. Mussafia's note.

1188. *qe;* there seems to be no reason to change to *qi* as Mussafia does in *Mac.*, 2991, 3419, but not 2270.

nen; MS *non;* see note to 32.

1212. Note the change of rhyme at this verse; cf. *Mac.*, the *laisse* beginning 532 (*-er: -é*); the *laisse* beginning 2355 (*-os: -ors: -ons); Berta,* the *laisse* beginning 574 (*-és: é* [one verse: 586]: *-er); Enf. Og.*, the *laisse* beginning 365 (*-os: -ors*). Cf. Meyer, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, IX; pp. 620, 624 (*Anseïs*). There can hardly be any doubt that the ultimate originals of the poems contained in this MS were in assonance. The Italian compiler bent every effort to reduce the assonances to rhymes, and subsequent scribes (lacunae show that our MS is not the archetype of the Franco-Italian version) certainly seconded such efforts. The monstrous forms found among the rhymes are the result. Probably the original compiler was less guilty than the subsequent scribes who knew little about French, or about assonanced verse, and had the Italian's fondness for rhyme. Single verses violating the rhyme system of the *laisse* are not frequent: *Mac.*, 171 (*avant: -an*), 1845 (*çuçemant: -an*), 2564 (*inperer: -é*); *Berta*, 964 (*falsité: -és*), 1144 (*desmesuré: -ée*), 1377 (*file: -ie*), 1540 (*tere: -ele, -elle); Ber. e Mil.*, 416 (*boscher: -é); Enf. Og.*, 462 (*Valbrun: -u*). The *m* of the rhyme words in *Berta*, 1338, 1341, *Orl.*, 131, (*entramb: -ant*) is probably the resolution of the abbreviation by the editor. Especial difficulty was encountered in the *-ant laisses: Mac.: Franç* (5 times), *present* 3334; *Berta: Franc* (3 times), *banc* (3 times), *flanc* (twice), *anc* 513, *valan* 995; *Orl.: anc* 130; *Enf. Og.: Franc* (3 times), *Iovan* 70, *destranç* 537, *Viçanç* 540, *Proanç* 695, *fianç* 934. *Tanp* occurs in *-ant* laisses 8 times (*Mac.*, 3 times, *Berta*, 3, *Ber. e Mil.*, 1, here 1), *canp* 18 times (*Mac.*, 1, *Berta*, 1, *Enf. Og.*, 12, here 4). Even with these words the determined rhymer sometimes found a way. The form *Frant* occurs *Mac.*, 721, *blant*, 1387, *cant*, 2549. In the portion of the MS here published we have the following imperfect rhymes: *file: -ie* 131, *prive: -ie* 945, *tenp: -ent* 888, *tanp: -ant* 1010, *canp: -ant* 1136, 1747, 1977, 2018, *Franc: -ant* 1003, 1148, *blanc: -ant* 1766, 1781. Corrections were necessary in the rhyme words of 388 (cf. *Berta*, 148), 986, 995, 2087.

Many of these rhymes are doubtless intended merely for the eye, but the poet permitted himself the interchange of *-elle, -ele* in *Berta,* 1536 ff., and the rhyme *pensiç: -iz* in *Ber. e Mil.,* 292. When the verses were recited before the populace, the effect produced was surely that of assonance, not of rhyme. Strange rhymes appear not only in Franco-Ital. poems; cf. Rajna, *Romania,* VII, p. 26.

1218. *Adeo;* I correct to *Idio* (*Iddio*). The form with single *d* is registered by Petrocchi. Venetian and Northern Italian dialects generally, prefer single to double consonants, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.,* §§ 266, 268; Donati, *Fonetica . . . . della Raccolta d'Esempi in antico Venez.,* Halle, 1889, p. 24; Lindner, *Plainte de la Vièrge,* p. lxxxiv.

1312, 1323. *proier* (*proer* 1508)=*prouver;* cf. *roier Mac.,* 910.

Rubric after 1320. The first *i* of *alioit* is not well formed and may be an *l. Alioit* could not stand in our text, but cf. *Prise de Pampelune,* p. ix.

1344. The MS here has *fasa mener* and 1658 *fasa menar,* 1242 *fase menar.* I have written in the first two cases *fa s'amener* and *fa s'amenar;* in the last case *fa se menar.* In 1242 I have by mistake printed *mener* in the text.

1376. The difference between *alsient* and *assient* is of course very slight paleographically (cf. *melaçer* for *mesaçer:* rubric after 1069; Mussafia, *Handschriftl. Studien,* p. 310, n.) and perhaps it would be better to correct. *Alsentir* is not an impossibility: influence of the words beginning with *al-* =Latin *au-* (*aldire,* etc.).

1386. *par soi enonbrament;* cf. forms cited in note to 977; in addition: *soi, Mac.,* 1237, Graf, *Ugo d'Alvernia, Giorn. di Fil. rom.,* I, p. 101, 6, 17, p. 109, 6; *moi, Mac.,* 1775. On analogy of feminine *moie* a masculine *moi* was formed, whence similar forms for the other possessive pronouns.

1484. *Por preso,* not *porpreso;* common in Ital., e.g., Rajna, *Riv. di Fil. rom.,* I, p. 178, *per presone.* The French probably read *porpris.* Cf. *Enf. Og.,* 346 *l'ont por preson, Mac.,* 2712 *por presoner.*

1497. *smesuré*=*mesuré* with the familiar prosthetic *s;* see Ascoli, *Arch. glott.,* I, index I, under *Prostesi.* Mussafia corrects, unwisely I think, to *mesuré* in *Mac.,* 964.

1569. *chulvason;* cf. Old French *culvertage.*

1621. *remie:* probably *aramie* with apocope of *a.* Perhaps=*remir* (*Prise de Pampelune,* 187, 1058) with which cf. Old French *remirer* (= *regarder*). *Remie* in *Ber. e Mil.,* 144='remedy,' Old French *remire.* The loss of *r* is not necessarily due to the rhyme (cf. 451 [*repenti*]; Salvioni, *Arch. glott.,* XIV, p. 230, § 38, and the references in Wiese, *Altital. Elementarbuch,* p. 100) but the addition of *e* would be so explained: *remire*>*remir*> *remi>*remie.* I have added *r* in *amo*[*r*], 678.

1666. *mé*=Ital. *mai;* cf. Salvioni, *Arch. glott.,* XII, p. 413; Mussafia, *Reg. Fra Paolino,* Vienna-Florence, 1868, p. 141; etc. *Mé*=French *mais* here, 383, 614, *Berta,* 1137. *Ai*>*e* over a wide area; cf. references in Wiese,

Altital. Elementarbuch, p. 18; Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, I, p. 432; Vidossich, *Studj romanzi*, IV, p. 78; etc.

voçese; cf. *volse*, 1761 (*vose*=VOLUIT *Mac.*, 8, 1446, etc.). The loss of *l* in the group -*ls* is common in a large part of Italy; cf. Lindner, *Plainte de la Vièrge*, p. xc; Friedmann, *Altital. Heiligenlegenden*, Dresden, 1908, p. xxx; Rajna in *Riv. di Fil. rom.*, I, p. 170; Bertoni, *Battuti di Modena*, p. xxiv, § 20; Rajna, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XI, p. 171, note to vs. 167 of the *Buovo* of Udine; Gorra, *ibid.*, XIV, p. 148 (Piacenza); etc. Even the advisability of Mussafia's correction *fa[l]sité* (*Berta*, 964) is questionable. *Faso* occurs in Bertoni, *loc. cit.* Cf. 1762, n.

1667. *despaser*=‘open’; cf. *Berta*, 1442.

1677. *docler;* see *Mac.*, gloss., *Berta*, 736, n. The word occurs in Crescini, *Ugo d'Alvernia, Propugnatore*, XIII, II, p. 48.

1697. *Elo ll'apelle;* cf. 1752, and *enn oiant*, *Mac.*, 703, 725.

1762. *a[l]tro;* the total loss of *l* in the group -*lt* is peculiarly Ligurian, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, §§ 99, 236; Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, I, index I, under -*alt; ibid.*, II, p. 115; Flechia, *ibid.*, X, p. 151; Parodi, *ibid.*, XV, p. 6; XVI, pp. 123, 338. On the extension to neighboring regions cf. Salvioni, *Arch. glott.*, IX, p. 197, n. (Piedmont); Foerster in *Rom. Stud.*, IV, p. 61 (Gallo-Italic); Bertoni, *Dialetto di Modena*, §113; Gorra, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XIV, p. 148 (Piacenza); and farther south: Crocioni in *Studj romanzi*, III, p. 127. Occasional forms in texts of our region such as *vote*=*volta*, Friedmann, *Altital. Heiligenlegenden*, p. xxx, Lindner, *Plainte de la Vièrge*, p. lv (MS Q), *atretal, Entrée d'Espagne*, 364, in Thomas, *Nouvelles Recherches sur l'Entr. d'Esp.*, Paris, 1882, p. 61, are to be viewed with suspicion. *Atra* in Monaci's *Crestomazia*, p. 103, vs. 86 (*Pateg*) is perhaps a misprint: cf. ed. Tobler, 192. Cf. note to 1666.

1790. *el;* this form of the article, of frequent occurrence in other texts, appears only here in the parts of MS XIII thus far published; but cf. *.K. el maine* 1376, etc. Unless a mere scribal error this form is important; cf. Mussafia, *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 471.

1819. The MS reading might be retained: *Q'el è.*

1885. *il s'oit davanti soi guardé;* cf. *Mac.*, 714, *si s'a guardé davant.*

1889. On *ensir*, cf. Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, III, p. 447; Seifert, *Glossar zu . . . . Boṇvesin*, p. 40; Salvioni, *Studj di Fil. rom.*, VII, p. 238.

1913. *Quant .R. s'en è apercëu* (MS *se ne*); *.R.* is the object of the verb.

Mussafia prints *Mac.*, 1020 as follows: *Quant li parenti Macario se ne aperçeu* (cf. *Berta*, 953, 980, 1419). *Parenti* is the subject and we could write *s'en è* (as I do here) or perhaps better *se n'è*, since the word division of the scribe is not lightly to be tampered with. But there are many cases of the omission of some form of the auxiliary *essere*, usually before the rhyme word; cf. the passages cited above and the far more striking cases, *Berta*, 766 (supply *se sont*), 1598 (*soia*); *Orl.*, 454 (*sont*). Once, at least, in the interior of the verse: *Ber. e Mil.*, 441 (*fust.*). Cf. *Buovo* of Udine, 228,

Zeit. f. rom. Phil., XI (supply *s'est*), and Rajna's note; *Roland* of Venice IV, 1390 (*est*), 4418 (*s'est*). Is any importance to be attached to these examples or are they mere accidents? Can a participle thus stand alone? Different word divisions would eliminate some of the difficulties (*s'en è* or *se n'è* instead of *se ne*). In Tobler, *Panfilo* (*Arch. glott.*, X), 90 (p. 183), *ke* may be *k'è* as in our passage *ne* = *n'è;* cf. *Panfilo*, 148, 711, 719. The construction referred to by Tobler, *Panfilo*, p. 251, and in the glossary under *si qe*, belongs, I think, here. The use of the singular verb for the plural increases the ambiguity. This ambiguity may actually have resulted in the facultative suppression of the auxiliary. Omissions of the verb *essere* in its independent use are usually errors: here, 728, 796; *Enf. Og.*, 519; Laurentian *Buovo* (in Rajna, *Ricerche*), 512; Meyer, *Anseïs, Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, 82, 141, 318; *Aspremont, ibid.*, X, 173, 423 (cf. p. 54: "zu kurze verse"); *Roland* of Venice IV, 1416. The measure of the verse proves that in many cases the scribe is at fault. The auxiliary *avere* seems to be omitted here, 47 (*apendre*, not *pendre*, is constantly used in our text: cf. 109, 298, 686); cf. 1436, etc.; *Berta*, 62; *Mac.*, 1267, 3225; *Roland* of Venice IV, 1387. So *Panfilo*, 302, *la promessa* [*a*] or *l'a promessa*. Compare Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I², pp. 102 ff., 248 ff. On the omission of the auxiliary *have* in English, under certain circumstances, see Smith in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, p. 346.

1914 ff. Change of person addressed, cf. *Mac.*, 1168 ff.

1929. *umo;* see note to 383. *Umo* may be a scribal error for *umā*.

1998. *treve;* I am not sure of the meaning of this word. It can hardly be *treue* = *trou;* perhaps = Old French *treuve* (see Godefroy, *s.v.*), possibly = *treive.*

2002. *vidi*, unless an error for *vide* = perfect (is -*i* a possible ending in the 3d sing. for the -*i* perfects as it certainly is for the -*si* perfects?), seems to be present with the not uncommon -*i* ending and *umlaut* from *vedi* to *vidi*, or the form may be due to influence of the perfect stem.

2009. *doti;* the -*i* form seems impossible for a verb of the first conjugation. A correction to *dota* or *dote* is perhaps necessary. But with -*i* of the fourth conjugation in the second person why should the first conjugation not be capable of borrowing -*i* in the third person also, especially when this -*i* appears in all the other conjugations (in the fourth regularly, in the -*ere* verbs sometimes, either phonetically—final -*e* > -*i* in some dialects—or by analogy)? Cf. *doti*, 291, *adori*, 1007.

2067. *staire;* cf. *faire*, 641, 2075, etc.; *ai* for *a*, in *staire* at least, is perhaps merely graphic. But we have a large number of words in which an *i*, so far as I know unexplained, appears before *r: coir*, 'heart,' *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, IX, p. 624 (*Anseïs*); *foire*, 'fodder,' *ibid.*, X, p. 391 (*Hector*); *fuira*, 'thieving,' *Proverbia* (*ibid.*, IX), 106*b*, 133*b* (cf. Seifert, *Glossar zu . . . . Bonvesin, s.v. fiuro*); *scuiro*, 'obscure,' Keller, *Barsegapé*, p. 18 (see Seifert, *op. cit., s.v. scurio*); etc. Some of the words of this type are usually discussed under the caption of *umlaut*, or influence of an *i* in hiatus.

They may properly be considered in connection with the *maitina, puitana* problem. *Luitano* also belongs here. I have seen no satisfactory explanation of these last two classes. It is noteworthy that in almost all these words (in all that I have collected except *speiro, Panfilo* [*Arch. glott.*, X], 6; cf. *spero, ibid.*, 5) we have a back vowel followed by a consonant which was pronounced far forward. Was the *-i* originally merely a glide, a link between the back vowel and the consonant? Of course the words in which *umlaut* is apparent are to be separated from the rest. *Speiro*, even, may be due to the second person; so with many verbs, also nouns and adjectives, e.g., *fainti* may explain *fainte*. But *puitana* cannot be so explained.

2071. *Trouan* is to be corrected to *Trojan* (*Troian*). The references to Girardo au Frate in 19, 1108, to Agolan and Helmont in 21 ff., 1055, and here, 2071 seem to indicate that a version of *Aspremont* immediately preceded *Ogier* in the original of our compilation; cf. the sequence in the *Reali*. For *Troian* in *Aspramonte* (seventh book of the *Reali*) see the *titoli* published by Michelant in *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, XI, p. 308. Note the mention of Helmont and of the acquisition of Durandarda in the *Orlandino*, 469 ff., which immediately precedes our poem in the compilation.

2083. *asalter = exaltare;* cf. Wiese, *Altital. Elementarbuch*, § 34, and Mussafia, *Reg. Fra. Paolino*, p. 141.

2091. Cf. *Mac.*, 396–97 where, I don't know why, the anacoluthon shocked Mussafia to such an extent that he supposed a corruption in the text.

2094. *d'es;* Mussafia, *Mac.*, 3566, n., suggests the correction *del;* cf. *Orl.*, 33, n. *Berta*, 216 reads *ces roman*, 1657 *ste roman*.

2107. On these four sons of Naime (here first counted among the twelve peers and said to have died at Roncevaux) see Thomas, *Nouvelles Recherches sur l'Entr. d'Esp.*, p. 48. In 1161, 1638, the names of the four heroes, in later Italian poems of chivalry constantly named together and in one verse (cf. Rajna, *La Materia del Morgante, Propugnatore*, II, I, p. 244), already appear in the same verse. In MS XIII, *Ive, Avolio, Belençer*, and *Oton* are nowhere expressly stated to be names of the four sons of Naime. Later tradition (see Thomas and Rajna, *loc. cit.*) has it so. Therefore we may infer that this tradition was current in Italy much earlier, and that our compiler, in speaking of the four sons of Naime, as in this verse, presumed that his audience would have in mind the four heroes mentioned together in 1161, 1638.

In preparing a study of the language of our compilation, the investigator will have a certain number of corrections to make in the parts already published and I have no doubt that he will correct in places the text which I here publish.

The work of Mussafia was done with all the care and competence which that master everywhere displayed. A few inconsistencies will

be easily corrected, e.g., *abes Mac.*, 530, 535, *abés* 533, 537 should be written without the accent; in *vo[i]r Mac.*, 2683, *no[i]se* 2336, 2635, alongside *vor* 1108, 3130, *nosa* 2628, 2713, the MS should be followed; cf. Mussafia's note to *Berta*, 56. So in *tro[i]s Mac.*, 796, 1966; cf. here 1624, 1635. Cf. also my note to 1188. I have suggested a few corrections to Mussafia's editions in my notes. Here are a few more (all for *Macaire*) which I offer for what they are worth:

23. Keep the MS reading: *s'aümes: se=ci* (cf. p. xiv).

94. *adester* (MS) might be kept; cf. 1319.

226. *di'car* is doubtless a misprint for *dicar* (*diçar*).

227. *à ler;* on p. v the editor insists upon this reading. Though the author is capable of such a barbarism as *ler* for *le* in the rhyme, *aler* would be satisfactory (cf. 242).

731. *darer* not *d'arer.*

901, note. *voit=volet,* questioned by Mussafia, occurs in *Orl.*, 265 and perhaps here 136 (may=*vadit*): an analogical form, cf. *oit, poit, soit* SAPIT, *doit* DAT, 517.

1047. *no[-l],* supplying the pronoun (?). There is a strong tendency to drop a final *l* in our MS; see Mussafia's note to 600 and my note to 294.

1529. note. With *posoit,* which Mussafia rejects, cf. *stasoit* STABAT in *Berta*, 1044, 1165.

3362. End quotation here.

Subák's edition of the *Enf. Og.* betrays some haste in composition. The editor would certainly have avoided some serious errors if he had read more carefully the portions of the MS previously published. I offer the following suggestions:

46. Difficult; perhaps: *Ne an que l' posa la tera defenser.*

152, 203, etc. *Çofre* not *Çofrè.*

208, 319. *à verdi heumi* not *aver di heumi.*

220. Read *trois* (*tresque*) *en Valançe.*

237. Keep the MS reading: *devè=devaient.*

262. *abrivè* not *abrinè.*

359. Period should be at end of 359 not 360.

363. Read *esploitè.*

439. *como* is probably a scribal error; cf. *Mac.*, 2821, where Mussafia rightly corrects.

495. *Tant ò in Dè* not *oi 'nde.*

525. *deisi* not *deisì.*

564. Read: *Anch è 'lo li Danois e li vestre scuè!*

676. *El è* not *E l'è;* cf. my note to 168.

713. Read *e* not *è,* and suppress the period at the end of the verse.

778, 860. *lo'* not *lo[i];* cf. *Berta*, 56, n.

780. *colsa como no* not *colsa c'omo no.*

828. *veçando* (=*vezando, vetando*) not *ueçando;* cf. Keller, *Barsegapè,* 1750–51.

930. It seems necessary to correct *o* to *e;* cf. my note on rubric after 57, remark on *Dainos, Enf. Og.,* 531.

1166. Read *la o* or *lao,* certainly without the comma.

1187. *d'aquinton* not *da quinton.*

1276. Read *enmelois* or *en melois;* cf. my note to 977.

Subák's footnotes seem to show that he has read the MS of the *Enf. Og.* with great care, and that he presents with accuracy all the variants. One thing, however, is surprising: in all other parts of the MS, the scribe carefully distinguishes French *qi,* etc., from Ital. *qui,* etc., writing almost invariably *q-* for the French words and *qu-* for the Ital. (cf. above, p. 2). No trace of this distinction is observable in the *Enf. Og.,* where we have always *qu-*. It seems impossible that the editor be not here at fault.

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STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSǪGUR NORÐRLANDA

I. THE HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GRIPSSONAR

1. *The MSS of the Hrómundar saga Greipssonar.*—This saga, though its matter is indubitably old, is preserved only in paper MSS, none of which date back beyond the seventeenth century. As these MSS prove to be closely related one to another, the text afforded by a critical comparison of them can have presumably but little value as a substitute for the real production of the Icelandic saga-period. That this is the case has long been recognized; in fact Árni Magnússon himself expressed very clearly his conviction of the fact upon the margin of the original MS of the saga.

The relationship of these MSS unfortunately has never been cleared up, which fact has left the date of an original, X, hitherto wholly problematical. Of the two printed editions Björner in his *Nordiska Kämpadater* (Stockholm, 1737) has simply reprinted the Stockholm MS, Holm. 67 fol. chart. (=*b*), which MS is a copy made by Jón Eggertsson in 1687 from some Copenhagen MS.[1] Rafn has similarly but less accurately reprinted[2] the Copenhagen MS, AM 587*b* 4to chart.[3] (=*a*), giving a few variants from Björner's edition (*b'*) and from another MS, AM 345 4to chart. (=*c*). This last MS bears at its close the date 1695 and in addition a note by Jón Jónsson under date of 1703 that it was written by his father Jón Þórðarson. The truth of this statement Kålund calls however into question (cf. *Katalog*, I, 580). The only attempt to make a critical collation of the MSS is that of Kölbing, the results of which are given in his *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1876), 160 f., 181 f. Kölbing calls attention to several other MSS, viz. (as *d*), AM 193*e* fol. chart. (formerly in Add. 3), which was mentioned already by Rafn. This is also in the hand of Ásgeir Jónsson and is dismissed from consid-

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[1] Cf. Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i Sverige*, I, 206 f.; *Katalog öfver kongl. Bibliotekets fornisl. och fornnorska handskrifter*, 199.

[2] In his *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*, II, 365–80 (Copenhagen, 1829).

[3] The first four leaves of this MS are in the hand of Ásgeir Jónsson, sc. Kålund, *Katalog over den arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling*, I, 748.

eration by Kölbing as being nearly identical with *c*. As a matter of
fact it is, as might be expected, almost exactly identical with *a*.
He mentions further the important MS, AM 601*b* 4to chart., from
the latter half of the seventeenth century (=*e*) and the Sloane MS
4860 in the British Museum, which he characterizes as worthless.
This leaves the MSS *a*, *b*, *c*, and *e* for comparison, and I have verified
the failure of other late paper MSS in Copenhagen to contribute
anything of value to the problem.   Stockholm and Uppsala possess
no other MSS of this saga.

Of the four MSS just mentioned, *e*, of whose early history nothing
is known, may be the oldest, and it is this MS upon whose margin
Árni Magnússon has registered his opinion that the saga is merely a
prose paraphrase of the corresponding rímur, the *Gríplur* (*"úr
rímunum,"* and again at close *"þetta er tekið úr rímunum"*). Köl-
bing (181 f.) regards the four MSS as independent of one another
and postulates a common original *Y*. His reasons for refusing to
consider *a*, *b*, or *c* as the original of this group of MSS are in the main
valid enough. What he says of the form *Lara* for *Kára* in *a* rests
evidently upon Rafn's error, not upon his own observations, for *a*
contains not *Lara*, but *Cara* in agreement with the other MSS. That
the form of capital used is the one familiar to us through the German
script may serve to explain Rafn's very careless mistake. It may
be added that *d* uses the same form in the headings of the chapters
(*Cap.*). The point brought out by Kölbing as disproving the depend-
ence of *a*, *b*, *c* upon *e*, viz., that *e* omits *hverju* (Fas. II, 366:10), is
on the other hand wholly incorrect. The *hverju* referred to must
be the one in 366:20, as there is none in any MS in 366:10, and the
fact of the matter is that *a* and *c* have here *hverju* while *b* and *e* have
einu. There is here no textual error in any case, and the meaning
in both is so nearly the same that the point is of very questionable
value as a basis upon which to found manuscript relationships, espe-
cially when unsupported by other facts. The reading *einu* is further-
more confirmed by a comparison with the rímur (Gríplur, I, 45).
Kölbing has then in no sense disproved that *a*, *b*, and *c* may have
originated from *e*.

In the following table are given the general results of a collation
of the four MSS, including from a complete list of variants all of

greater significance than the mere change of order of words or the
suppression or addition of an unimportant particle. It may be
said that the evidence of these minor variants is at no single point
in contradiction to that of the more important ones. The numbers
of pages and lines are from the printed text in Rafn's *Fornaldar-
sögur Norðrlanda* (Vol. II).

Page and Line	a	b	c	e
365:1.......	*Görðum í Danmörk*	*Görðum*	*Görðum*	*Görðum*
365:16–17....	*Ólafr konungr austr*	*Ólafr konungr vestr*	*Ólafr norðr*	*Ólafr konungr austr*
365:20.......	*herskip*	*herskip*	*skip*	*herskip*
366:4........	*réði*	*réði*	*stýrði*	*réði*
366:8........	*skal ek*	*vil ek*	*skal ek*	*skal ek*
366:15.......	*mann fyrir*	*mann fyrir*	*fyrir*	*mann fyrir*
366:20.......	*í hverju höggi*	*í einu höggi*	*í hverju höggi*	*í einu höggi*
367:9........	*í*		*í því*	*í því*
367:18.......	*við í stafni*	*við í stafni*	*við stafni*	*við í stafni*
368:2	....	*heldr enn ræna kotkarla*	*heldr enn ræna kotkarla*	*heldr enn ræna kotkarla*
368:10.......	*hann má*	*hann má*	*hit má*	*hann má*
368:11.......	*fregn þessa*	*fregn þessa*	*frásögunna*	*fregn þessa*
368:14–15....	*fyrir framstafni*	*fyrir framstafni*	*fyrir stafni fram*	*fyrir framstafni*
368:17.......	*VI*	*IV*	*IIII*	*IV*
370:1........	*í búki*	*af búkum*	*af búkum*	*af búkum*
370:11.......	*steinar*	*stokkar*	*stokkar*	*stokkar*
370:11.......	*datt*	*fell*	*datt*	*datt*
370:18.......	*lendar*	*herðar*	*lendar*	*lendar*
370:23–24....	*Gunnlöð*	*Gunnlöð*	*Svílöð*	*Gunnlöð*
370:28.......	*dimmt*	*myrkt*	*dimmt*	*dimmt*
371:3........	*trúa*	*treysta*	*trúa*	*trúa*
371:3........	*þó góðir þykki*	....	*þó góðir þykki*	*þó góðir þykki*
371:8........	*CXXIV*	*CXXXIV*	*CXXIV*	*CXXIV*
371:22.......	*norðr til síns ríkis*	*heim*	*norðr til síns ríkis*	*norðr til síns ríkis*
372:17.......	*vóra sæmd*	*yðar sæmd*	*vóra sæmd*	*vóra sæmd*
372:26.......	*Helgi*	*Helgi enn frœkni*	*Helgi*	*Helgi*
373:1........	*orð*	*boð*	*orð*	*orð*
373:16.......	*hófst*	*tókst*	*hófst*	*hófst*
373:17.......	*Halding*	*Halding*	*Hadding*	*Halding*
373:27	*af liði Haldingja*	*af liði Haldingja*	....	*af liði Haldingja*
374:6........	*þekti*	*kendi*	*þekti*	*þekti*
374:16.......	*Hröngviði*	*Hröngviði bróður sínum*	*Hröngviði*	*Hröngviði*
374:27–28....	*ofan í*	*niðr í (jörðina)*	*ofan í völlinn*	*ofan í völlinn (völlinn cancelled)*

Page and Line	a	b	c	e
374:29.......	tókst	barst	tókst	tókst
375:4–5	svá sverðit hljóp at hjöltum ofan	like a (sökk)	. . . .	like a.
375:12.......	hangði	hekk	hangði	hangði
375:13.......	hrifjar	só	hrifjar	hrifjar
375:28.......	svá	svá hart at	svá	svá
376:3........	XIV	XIV	XVI	XIV
376:27.......	Hagals	Hagals ok konu hans	Hagals	Hagals
377:15.......	leið	leið	veg	leið
378:16.......	Svíaveldi	Svíaveldi	Svíaríki	Svíaveldi
378:20.......	ský	ský	kú	ský
378:23.......	menn	menn	mjök	menn
379:11.......	munu	munu	munum	munu
380:4........	Svanhvít	Svanhvít systur sína	Svanhvít	Svanhvít

A consideration of the above details shows at once that *e* shares in all cases the majority (3 vs. 1) reading except in the unimportant case on p. 366:20, where it stands with *b* against *a* and *c*—but *f* by Ásgeir Jónsson (cf. *infra*) agrees with it here, as do also the rímur— and 365:16–17, where it agrees with *a*, but *b* and *c* differ not only from it but also from each other. In none of these cases nor elsewhere can *e* be proven to show a copyist's error in comparison with the other MSS preserved. From the internal evidence of the text the conclusion is practically inevitable that *e* is the original, of which *a*, *b*, and *c* represent, directly or indirectly, copies, independent, to be sure, of each other. And there are not lacking other considerations, which tend to corroborate the evidence of the variants. In judging the MS begun by Ásgeir Jónsson (*a*) it must be borne in mind that he is in general not noted for the faithfulness of his copies and that in this particular case his work may be tested by comparison with his several other copies. For *d* is, as already remarked, from his hand, as is also another MS (*f*), Thott 1768 4to chart., in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. These 3 MSS (*a*, *d*, *f*) when compared point again to *e* as a common original, showing no direct relationship to *b* and *c*. Not only is that true, but *a* and *d* have even copied a supplementary remark found in *e*, wherein the writer states that his original was hardly legible and adds a note upon the topography of the saga, citing Magnús í Laufási Ólafsson as his authority. That *c* is a copy of *e* is pretty plain from the nature of

certain of its errors. In the case of 370:23–24, for example, one need only glance at the *Gvnloþ* of *e* to see how easily it might be taken for *Svyloþ*. Another case is even more striking: 378:20 *c* has *kú* for *ský* of the other MSS; the *sk* of *e* is in this case a ligature, the staff of the *k* being slightly curved to the right above to indicate the *s*. That *c* shows *Hadding* for *Halding* of the other MSS is no proof that it antedates them, for it has the same plural, *Haldingjar*. The direct dependence of *c* upon *e* is not so evident, but we have seen that the evidence of the text pointed unmistakably in this direction. It may be added that *b* has following the Hrómundar saga the Bragða-Ǫlvis saga as in *e*. *E* contains only these two sagas in the order mentioned. In the other MSS considered the Bragða-Ǫlvis saga is not present, and whatever may be the value of this saga (it has occurred to no one, so far as I know, to suppose it to be anything else than a paraphrase of the corresponding *rímur*), the few copies of it in existence evidently all go back to this same MS (AM 601*b* 4to). That MS *b* bears the statement that it was copied from a very old parchment (Copenhagen, 1687) need cause no misapprehension, for the statement appears to apply at most to the first four numbers of this large and varied collection,[1] or more likely only to the first (Stjǫrnu-Odda draumr). Exactly the same statement is attached to AM 555*h* 4to chart. written by Árni Magnússon the year before (1686), which contains only the Stjǫrnu-Odda draumr. About the actual possibility of all these MSS having been copied directly from *e* there is no means of judging so long as so little of the history of *e* is known. It might be stated that *f* also bears a date 1687 and was written apparently in Copenhagen. Even if it be necessary to assume in some cases lost intermediate copies, the general relationship would not thereby be materially affected. This relationship may be expressed simply thus:
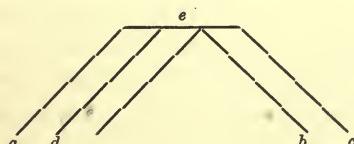
our text being then *e*.

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[1] *Sc.* Arwidsson, *Förteckning öfver kongl. bibliothekets i Stockholm isländska handskrifter*, 91; Gödel, *Katalog*, 196 f.

The establishment of *e* as the original of the MSS preserved is important because it disposes of the problem presented by the Danisms *soddan*, *strax*, etc., long since noted, in that they need not be carried farther back in the history of the text than the writing of *e*, i.e., than the last half of the seventeenth century. It is further important because it gives us a definite text to compare with the rímur for the purpose of ascertaining the mutual relationship of the two, and it puts us finally in a better position to judge of the worth of the supplementary statement appearing in this and two other copies (*a* and *d*) of the same saga. This statement in normalized modern Icelandic orthography reads as follows: "*Sú saga sem þetta var eftir skrifað, varð naumlega lesin, og ei sem skiljanlegust um landa eður staða heiti sum; þó er það víst að ráða hér af Kóng Ólafur muni verið hafa kóngur að nafnbót í Danmerkurveldi einhverstaðar þar, sem nær grensað hefur við Svíþjóð, því þá hefur Danmerkurríki haft marga smákónga, sem bevísast kann af fornum fræðum. Svo skrifar síra Magnús í Laufási Ólafsson, etc.*" This Árni Magnússon has branded with a "*mendacium est*" and he adds a reiteration of what he had already noted at the beginning: "*þetta er tekið úr rímunum,*" i.e., he regarded the text as a paraphrase of the rímur (Griplur). Now the opinion of Árni Magnússon is entitled to respect, and Finnur Jónsson[1] still holds to this view of the relation of the saga to the rímur, though referring to Kölbing's *Beiträge*. But Kölbing contended that rímur and saga were independent of each other, both going back to an older saga version which he designated as *X*, which the rímur reproduced much more faithfully. Now this is not inconsistent with the statement about the illegibility of *e*'s original, which is furthermore designated "saga." Whether or not this view is correct remains to be tested by a renewed comparison of the saga with the rímur.

As concerns the supplement it is further to be noted that it is (*fide* Dr. Kålund) in the same hand in which the saga is written, a hand from the latter half of the seventeenth century, not that of Magnús Ólafsson (1573–1636), and that marginalia show it had been used by some one prior to its coming into Árni Magnússon's

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[1] *Den isl. litt. hist. tilligemed den oldnorske* (1907), 334; cf. *Den oldnorske og oldisl. litt. hist.*, II (1901), 809.

possession. That it was written after an exceedingly poor original is apparent enough from the condition of its names alone, to say nothing of the rest of its contents. In this respect the statement of the supplement is credible enough and is in so far entitled to respect in spite of Árni Magnússon's annihilating comment. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that this MS (e) contains only one other saga, of which it appears also to be the original, and that this other saga is pretty certainly the paraphrase of the corresponding rímur. Can the "saga" in the supplement refer to the rímur (Griplur)? Or can we assume a paraphrase of earlier date, of which e is a poor copy? Against this supposition is only to be said that there is no other evidence of such and that mistakes of a mere copyist (apart from the names) cannot be demonstrated in e. Nor does the mention of Magnús Ólafsson help to clear the matter up; rather the contrary. He has, as Dr. Kålund assures me, not written the MS, was in fact dead long before it was written, and there is nothing to indicate that he had written an original, of which it may be the mere mechanical copy, as MS a is of it. The "Svo skrifar" can only mean, as Dr. Kålund states, that this supplement, or perhaps merely the statement about the numerous petty kings in Denmark, rests upon some writing of his. But his published writings show no trace of such a statement.[1] The supplement must then be discarded, unless it be confirmed by unmistakable internal evidence, as Árni Magnússon recognized.

2. *The Hrómundar saga and the Griplur.*—The rímur dealing with the story of Hrómundar Gripsson are commonly known as the Griplur, the title resting upon the authority of the rímur themselves (VI, 57, in Jónsson's edition). They have been ascribed, though upon very slight and questionable evidence, to a poet known to have lived at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, Sigurður blindi.[2] These rímur are preserved entire only in the MS AM 610c 4to chart. from the seventeenth century in the hand of Jón Gissursson (Kölbing's a).[3] In addition to this there exist two fragments: AM 146a 8vo chart.

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[1] For his works cf. Kålund's biographical sketch in Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XII, 389 f.

[2] Sc. J.Þorkelsson, *Om Digtningen på Island i det 15. og 16. Århundrede*, 296 f.

[3] Kölbing calls the MS (*Beitr.*, p. 159) incorrectly AM 110c.

from the first half of the seventeenth century written by Jón Finnsson (c of Kölbing),[1] containing part of the first (str. 1–36) and of the last (str. 37 to end) rímur, and finally a Wolfenbüttel parchment (Guelf. Aug. 42 4to perg.) dating apparently from the time about 1500[2] (Kollsbok), written probably by Jón kollr Oddsson (Kölbing's B, Jónsson's W), in which rímur I and II, 1–53, are lacking. The third fragment alluded to by Jón Þorkelsson,[3] AM 603 4to perg., from the sixteenth century, seems unfortunately to have been lost.[4]

These three MSS are according to Kölbing[5] independent of each other, the two former nearer related and pointing to a written original, the last evidently of oral descent from the same original (R), thus:

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              R
      ⌒‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾⌒
      |      |      |
      |      |      |
      W      a      c
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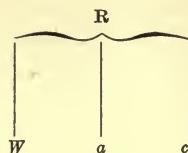
Finnur Jónsson[6] appears to have accepted Kölbing's judgment upon this point and follows in his edition[7] in the main a, correcting in places from the others and by conjecture where only corrupt readings are furnished by the MSS. Satisfactory evidence of the oral relationship existing between W and a is furnished among other things by the displacement of various strophes in the one as compared with the other.[8] The following table will serve to indicate the relations of the three MSS to each other with reference to transposed or failing stanzas. The detail is taken from Jónsson's edition, the numbers of the stanzas being those of this text. The last column shows similar transpositions of the saga, so far as they can be demonstrated with certainty.

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[1] He again misnames it (p. 160) AM 145a fol.

[2] *Sc. Antiq. Tidskr.* (1849–51), 8 ff.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 297.

[4] *Sc.* Kålund, *Katalog over den arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, II, 4.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 182.

[6] *Fernir forníslenskir rímnaflokkar Kaupmh.* (1896), III f.

[7] *Op. cit.*, 17–42.

[8] Cf. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, in apparat.

| Rímur a	Rímur c	Rímur W	Saga e
I, 12	after I, 24	. . . .	. . . .
I, 33	I, 33	. . . .	after I, 36
After I, 36	I, 34	. . . .	. . . .
I, 41	. . . .	. . . .	before I, 37
II, 55	. . . .	(lacking)	. . . .
after II, 56	. . . .	II, 59	. . . .
(lacking)	. . . .	(III, beginning stanza)	. . . .
III, 3, 4	. . . .	III, 3, 4	after III, 26
III, 8–10	. . . .	after III, 2	. . . .
III, 11	. . . .	(lacking)	. . . .
III, 12	. . . .	after III, 7	. . . .
III, 15	. . . .	before III, 14	. . . .
III, 17	. . . .	after III, 19	. . . .
III, 19	. . . .	after III, 22	. . . .
III, 21	. . . .	after III, 52	. . . .
III, 24	. . . .	after III, 28	. . . .
III, 26	. . . .	after III, 24	. . . .
III, 27	. . . .	after III, 29	. . . .
III, 28	. . . .	after III, 21	. . . .
III, 29	. . . .	after III, 26	. . . .
III, 30	. . . .	after III, 27	. . . .
after III, 33	. . . .	III, 31	. . . . . . , . . .
III, 32	. . . .	after III, 36	. . . .
III, 35	. . . .	after III, 25	. . . .
III, 36	. . . .	after III, 31	. . . .
III, 37	. . . .	after III, 34	. . . .
III, 43	. . . .	after III, 39	. . . .
III, 45	. . . .	(lacking)	. . . .
III, 46 Jónsson— after III, 47 in MS	. . . .	(lacking)	. . . .
III, 47	. . . .	III, 47	after III, 50
III, 49	. . . .	after III, 50	. . . .
III, 52	. . . .	after III, 35	. . . .
IV, 9	. . . .	after IV, 22	. . . .
IV, 11	. . . .	after IV, 13	. . . .
IV, 13	. . . .	after IV, 10	. . . .
IV, 14	. . . .	after IV, 12	. . . .
IV, 16	. . . .	after IV, 9	. . . .
IV, 22	. . . .	after IV, 15	. . . .
IV, 31	. . . .	(lacking)	. . . .
(lacking)	. . . .	V, 5	. . . .
V, 23, 24	. . . .	V, 23, 24	before V, 5
(lacking)	. . . .	(V, 27a)	. . . .
(lacking)	. . . .	(V, 35a)	. . . .
V, 36	. . . .	after V, 31	. . . .
V, 47	. . . .	after V, 49	. . . .
VI, 11–13	. . . .	VI, 11–13	after VI, 17
VI, 17	. . . .	after VI, 21	after VI, 20
VI, 18	. . . .	after VI, 19	. . . .
VI, 19	. . . .	after VI, 16	. . . .
VI, 21	. . . .	after VI, 18	after VI, 16
VI, 22, 23	. . . .	VI, 22, 23	after VI, 9
VI, 24	. . . .	VI, 24	after VI, 21
after VI, 14	. . . .	VI, 28	. . . .
(lacking)	(VI, 44a)	(VI, 44a)	. . . .
after VI, 56	VI, 55	VI, 55	. . . .

Now besides these differences in the order of the stanzas there are
very considerable variations in the readings, as may be seen by con-
sulting Jónsson's critical apparatus. Whatever may be said of these
variants, the matter of the order of the stanzas can hardly be laid
to the charge of careless copyists, but is, as Kölbing states, evidence
sufficient of at least two different records of the orally transmitted
rímur. This matter of oral transmission is one which must be espe-
cially taken into consideration for the rímur, as indeed it must gen-
erally for the older Icelandic literature, and the disposition of the
stanzas in these different records of the Griplur is instructive for
those who object for example to the "editing" of the Eddic poems.
That such poems can remain through oral transmission for a long
time intact and with surprisingly little change on the whole, is
sufficiently demonstrated by the popular ballads of the Faroe
Islands, whose case is in many ways analogous to that of the Ice-
landic rímur.[1] But Kölbing is again guilty of a misstatement in
asserting that c is more closely related to a. By consulting the
above table one will note that the fragment of ríma I in c shows two
deviations from a in the order of stanzas, while the other fragment
from the close shows likewise two deviations, exactly agreeing, how-
ever, with W. As this is the only portion which can be compared
with W the agreement is complete so far as comparison can be made.
If the variant readings in this portion be compared, it will be noted
further that c in the great majority of cases corresponds exactly
with or is at least nearer W. The inference that c is a copy of W
or at least a lineal descendant of it through now lost connecting links
would be natural enough, nor is there much in the variants to contra-
dict such an assumption. When in VI, 38.3 Jónsson puts *renn* from
this MS in the text in preference to the reading *enn* of the other two,
his choice is at least open to question. More serious is VI, 44.3
where W has *hondum* (i.e., *höndum*) for *honum* of the other two (but
this so slight mistake of W might have been corrected independently
by c or an intermediate copy), VI, 46.4 where Jónsson gives the
preference to c's *gramnum* over a's *granum* and W's *jarnum*, and in
the mansöngr VI, 57.2 where all three MSS show widely varying
readings and W lacks the end-rhyme and is in so far inferior to c.
If these few considerations be sufficient proof that c is not descended

[1] *Sc.*, e.g., my *Hálfssaga ok Hálfsrekka* (1909), 56 ff.

in a direct line from W, they in no wise affect our conclusion that these two MSS are very closely related indeed and are at most to be referred back to a common original which was widely different from a.   The relationship of these three MSS would then be expressed thus:

R

R¹   R²

W

a   c
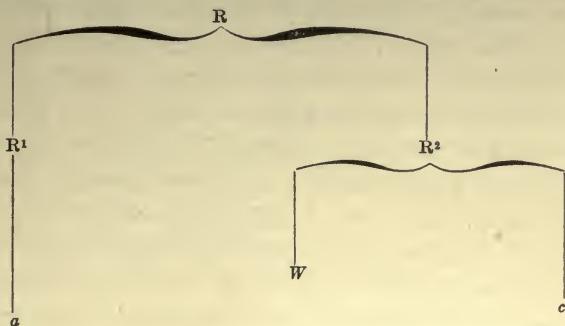
where R^1 and R^2 represent different records of the orally transmitted rímur, R^1 much the better and presumably then the earlier.

In the light of these facts the saga must be considered and I can here refer to the close comparisons of saga and rímur which Kölbing offers,[1] to which I shall have comparatively little to add.   It may be said at the outset that the presumption is entirely against the saga as showing the original, and in fact Kölbing shows at all points that the rímur have the better version.   Only the very obvious conclusion that the saga is a wretched paraphrase of the rímur, as Árni Magnússon had suspected, he seems to have been unwilling to draw. The very principle upon which Kölbing works[2] is in itself open to criticism, at least if taken too literally.   While it is true that the rímur have a general tendency to borrow their material from older sagas and to convert it into metrical form without substantial changes, the idea is to be guarded against that the relationship between metrical version and prose original is essentially other than in the mediaeval literature generally.   As a matter of fact the rímur show various stages of adaptation up to the entirely original Skíðaríma, which is in its treatment of older material wholly independent of any prose version.   The problem of the source of the rímur and their composition and style is in each particular case an individual one, as it is in literature generally.   The ríma is by no

[1] *Op. cit.*, 161 ff.   [2] *Op. cit.*, 139.

means, cannot from the nature of the case be, a purely mechanical
production, like the copy of a MS, and Kölbing's statement that
the ríma often follows its prose original word for word needs testing
before being used as a working principle. As a matter of fact, it is
particularly hard to see how a production of so complicated a struc-
ture as the Icelandic ríma with its essentially exact metrical con-
struction, its end-rhyme (in many cases it also shows assonance
[*hending*] within the line itself after the manner of the Scaldic poetry),
its alliteration, its kennings, and its poetic *heiti* could by any possi-
bility follow word for word a prose original. If there be any very close
word-for-word correspondence the a priori probability would favor
the contrary relationship, viz., that the prose version is a paraphrase
of the metrical. But each case, as has just been said, must be con-
sidered individually in the light of all the facts bearing upon it.
The points which Kölbing makes for the inferiority of the Hrómundar
saga are in addition to the corrupt condition of its names the
fact that it has no vísur, whose presence in their original the rímur
plainly bear witness to (162 ff.), that it omits much which is essen-
tial to the sense and which cannot be a new creation of the rímur
(164 ff.), and that it transposes often greater or less portions in a
manner not in accordance with the general sense of the whole, whereas
the rímur (*a*) in such places generally give the order to be expected
(167 ff.). This last weakness of the saga is especially noticeable
in the interpretations of the dreams in VI. Now the first three
considerations may in case of necessity be laid to the charge of the
nearly illegible MS which the saga mentions as its original. The
introduction of Danisms might be explained in the same way. But
the transposition of portions of the text cannot be explained in this
way, whereas we have already seen in the case of *W* how easily
stanzas of the orally transmitted rímur may fall into other than their
proper places, a fact familiar to the students of popular ballads and
other poetry taken down from popular oral sources. This is then
another factor strongly indicating the origin of the Hrómundar
saga as an abstract of a poor copy of the Griplur. It may be added
that Kölbing finds nothing in the saga which forms in any way an
addition to the rímur or points to its having at any point an older
reading. It remains to note, so far as may be, whether these trans-
positions correspond to those noted in the case of *W* (and so far as

preserved, of *c*) or whether they indicate still a third record of the orally transmitted rímur.   As the saga is so brief and omits so much, it is not at all points easy to determine exactly the order of stanzas upon which it rests, but in many cases the facts are so clear as to admit of no doubt.   Such certain cases are noted in the fourth column of the table given above, from which it may readily be observed that the saga does not correspond exactly either with the *a* or the *Wc* version, although showing plainly enough the transposition of stanzas in its original.   So far as can be observed, it appears to lie a bit nearer the latter version, and various readings tend to confirm this evidence of the order of the stanzas, e.g., I, 25 S and *c austr, a norðr;* I, 26 S and *c eyland, a annes;* V, 17 S and *W fjórtán, a fimtán.*   It is entirely conceivable that the saga may have originated directly or indirectly from the lost MS of the Griplur in AM 603 4to memb., and this is all the more likely as this is the only one of the MSS of the Griplur known to have contained both these rímur and the Bragða-Ölvis rímur (*Ölvis rímur ens sterka*), the source of the only other saga associated with the Hrómundar saga in its original MS.   It seems unnecessary to bring forward further proof of the fact that the Hrómundar saga is valueless, or at the most of very slight value toward establishing a critical text of the rímur; the space already used for this proof is perhaps all too great in view of Professor Jónsson's renewed insistence upon the fact.   But Kölbing's contentions had never been met, and so long as that was the case, a definite and satisfactory conclusion was impossible.   In the light of that fact a careful revision of the whole matter may be justified, especially as it forms the necessary introduction to any critical study of the legendary content of these productions.   The relationship of the texts preserved would then be expressed thus:
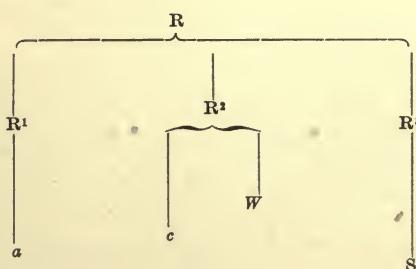
where S represents the original MS (*e*) of the saga. Now if *W* dates from about 1500, as supposed, and its original, R², shows already the order of the stanzas very poorly preserved, i.e., if it is an apparently later record than R¹, which itself shows some such transpositions, then the original composition of R must go pretty well back into the fifteenth century, which makes it improbable that it was the work of the poet Sigurður blindi (born 1450–60 according to Jón Þorkelsson).[1] The statement that it was rests upon so little authority[2] that it has no weight against this internal evidence and we may accordingly neglect it altogether, as does F. Jónsson.[3]

3. *The Hrómundar kvæði.*—MS AM 723*b* 4to chart.[4] includes (III) a collection of three poems, bearing the cover-label "*Gömul qvædi.*" The MS dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century and is in the hand of Árni Magnússon. The separate titles of the three kvæði are: (1) "*Qvædi af Sturlaugi Starfsama,*" (2) "*Qvædi af Rollant Riddara,*" (3) "*Qvædi af Hromundi Grips syne.*" The last in the orthography adopted by Jónsson for the rímur reads as follows:

Kvæði af Hrómundi Gripssyni

1. Hér skal renna ræðan Týrs úr róma sal
   um Gripsson þann, sem gjörði stríð með brandi,
   garpinn horska heiðra skal.

2. Hrómund nefna höldar þann, sem hreysti er léð,
   í syðri Svíþjóð seima Týr að bygði
   ríkur og mildur ranni réð.

3. Öllum var sá ættum stærður örva grér,
   margan sigur milding vann hinn snjalli,
   sá fékk ærið orma sker.

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[1] *Om Digtningen på Island i det 15. og 16. Århundrede,* 278.

[2] *Sc.* Hálfdan Einarsson, *Sciagraphia historiae literariae islandicae,* Havniae 1777 (2d ed. as *Hist. lit. isl.,* Havniae et Lipsiae 1786), 87; cf. J. Þorkelsson, *op. cit.,* 296.

[3] In a second edition of the Griplur (*Rímnasafu,* 351 ff., 1909–10) Finnur Jónsson calls attention to another MS containing these rímur, a new accession of the Arnamagnæan collection, Accessoria 22 (=*d*). In the order of its strophes it is independent of the other MSS and evidently goes back to still a fourth record of the orally transmitted rímur (R⁴).

[4] *Sc.* Kålund, *Katalog,* II, 152 f.

4. Ólaf nefna ýtar þann með Ægis dýr,
   Kóngurinn hélt á kólgustríðan viðir,
      Hrómund fylgdi hjörva Týr.

5. Kári og Örnólf karskir vóru kóngi með,
   Víking Hröngvið virðar fundu að kvöldi;
      við Íra láðir er það skeð.

6. Fullhugarnir fóru á móts við fylkir þann,
   frægir bræður fjörinu sínu t´ndu;
      sá má hrósa sigri, er vann.

7. Hrómund frækni hefur sig upp á Hröngviðs skeið,
   Kylfu stóra kappinn hafði í hendi,
      í höfuð á berserk hratt hún reið.

8. Sá hét Helgi, er hefna vildi hlýra sinn;
   Hrómund græddi hann harðla ófyrirsynju,
      hans munu bræður bíða af pín.

9. Í víking lagðist vella Týr með vaskan her,
   suður í Valland seggir komu að hausti;
      í Þráins haug að þegninn fer.

10. Mistiltein hið mæta sverð að milding fékk,
    af nöðru bóli nógan auðinn hafði,
       með drengskap sínum deyddi hann rekk.

11. Hann valdi gull en verndar burt, sem vel má tjá,
    einginn mátti hans auranægðir telja;
       gékk hans frægð um grund og sjá.

12. Kóngsins systir klén og ung skal koma við óð,
    seggir nefna Svanhvít hringa Hildi,
       sú var bæði björt og rjóð.

13. Til Hrómunds feldi hún elsku eim og ástar hug,
    beggja hjörtun blíðkast þann veg leingi,
       einhver mun því aka á bug.

14. Bildur og Vóli báðir þjóna buðlung þeir,
    Hrómund rægðu hratt við kónginn dýra,
       þess mun gjalda þorna Freyr.

15. Burt úr ríki buðlung varð fyrir bænastað,
    kóngi gjörðist stórlega stríð til handa,
       höldar reyndu hjalta nað.

16. Svanhvít biður þá Hrómund fylgja hjörva Týr,
    skjaldarbönd gaf slikju hrundin fróma,
        hann hart á móti Helga snýr.

17. Halding kóngur Helga fylgdi í hrævar tafn,
    hann var manna mestur á svenskri grundu,
        honum fannst ei nema Hrómund jafn.

18. Sá hét Blindur, er buðlung fylgdi brigðuteitt,
    vissi hann alt, hvað varð í þessu landi,
        aldri kom honum óvart neitt.

19. Þá réð hefjast Hildar hregg med hölda þjóð,
    átta bræður öðlings gjörðu að falla,
        Hrómund bar í hjarta móð.

20. Gripsson allvel gékk í stríð, sem greinir frá,
    skjaldarbönd hann skjótlega af sér lagði,
        við Helga gjörði hart að rjá.

21. Gabbi trúði Gripsson því sem gjörði fljóð;
    Helgi hinn frækni hopaði hvergi úr tafni,
        víst á Hrómund vakti blóð.

22. Helga öðling hitti skjótt með heiptarsnið,
    óvígur varð örva þundurinn frómi;
        Hadding flýr með hálft sitt lið.

23. Sverðið misti sæmdarmaður við sára fund;
    Vóli lét í Vænir brandinn sökkva,
        aptur fékk á örlögs stund.

24. Hagall græddi hægt með listum hreystimann;
    Blindur leitar bæði um land og eyjar,
        gaurinn hvergi Gripsson fann.

25. Blind og Hadding dreyma gjörðu drjúgt til hans,
    Hrómund bjóst þó hefndir þeim að vinna,
        þeir fréttu ei fyrr til frægðarmanns.

26. Hrómundur feldi Hadding þá með hreystigrein,
    óvinum sínum eyddi burt úr landi,
        mætan hafði hann Mistiltein.

27. Kóngsins systur kappinn fékk með kurt og dáð,
    seima lundurinn settist einn að ríki,
        seggurinn varði Svenska láð.

28. Örva gautur allvel unni auðar Ná,
    syni og dætur sín á millum gátu,
      Þar mun synt að segja frá.

29. Kveð eg ei leingur Þennan Þátt, Því Þrýtur óð;
    Berlings ferjan brotni Hárs við minni,
      byrgist aptur Boðnar slóð.

That this poem goes back to a source prior to the rímur is unlikely enough, nor need Árni Magnússon's label be interpreted as indicating such a conclusion on his part. That he considered it on the other hand as of greater literary worth than the Hrómundar saga Greipssonar is evident from the label and the glosses upon the respective MSS. And a comparison shows readily that the kvæði is not based upon the preserved saga. Take for example the names: the oft-recurring *Gripsson* stands out at once in contrast to the *Greipsson* of the saga. Notice further *Hadding* (stanzas 22, 25, 26) though 17, it must be confessed, shows the *Halding* of the saga. As a matter of fact the kvæði is not at all points in agreement with the rímur. Stanza 2 places Hrómund's home in southern Sweden, the rímur apparently regard him as living in the kingdom of Ólafur, viz., Hǫrðaland in Norway.[1] The conflict with the viking Hröngvið took place according to the kvæði (st. 5) on the coast of Ireland; but the rímur (I, 25) make this contest take place at the Elfarsker (the islands at the mouth of the Götaelf below the present city of Göta-borg), and the saga has corrupted the same name to Úlfasker (Fas. II, 365). The kvæði brings in Blindur entirely prematurely (st. 18), as he has nothing to do with the fight. In the rímur he does not appear until the time of Hrómund's reconvalescence at the house of Hagall (V, 35a, 36). Otherwise the correspondence is close enough, the kvæði giving merely a very condensed catalogue of events, adding nothing to the account in the rímur and of course omitting unimportant details. Even the important part played by Kára in the contest and her tragic death is lacking.

This poem is in all probability a work of the period of revival of Icelandic interest in the older literature, i.e., of the seventeenth

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[1] The saga has corrupted *Hörðum* to *Görðum*, which should mean Garðaríki (Russia). Rafn's Denmark is taken from MS *a* of the saga, which had taken it into the text from the supplementary conjecture of its original, *e*.

century, is based upon the account of the rímur, but seemingly from memory of this account, or, like the saga, from a bad copy of the same.   In the opinion of Árni Magnússon it was apparently older than the saga, but as the two are mutually independent of each other, there is no means of proving the fact.   As the only MS is in the hand of Árni Magnússon, it is possible enough that he wrote it down from memory, but it would seem that he did not know the author, nor is there much prospect of demonstrating who it may have been.   The Hrómundar kvæði contributes little of value to our investigation of the literary material of the Griplur, but as a specimen of the treatment accorded by Icelanders of the seventeenth century to old themes from the heroic legend, it is, I trust, not unworthy of publication.

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BENIVIENI'S "ODE OF LOVE" AND SPENSER'S "FOWRE HYMNES"

Jerome Benivieni's *Canzona della Amore celeste et divino* was published about 1488. Benivieni was a disciple of Marsilio Ficino, and his Ode was based on Ficino's neo-Platonic commentary on Plato's *Symposium*. To the Ode itself, Benivieni's friend Pico della Mirandola contributed an elaborate commentary, treating the poem as a *summa* of Platonism, as reconstructed by the Florentine cenacle. So advertised, the Ode with its critical apparatus went through a number of editions, and became internationally celebrated. Pico himself regarded it as a complement to Cavalcanti's famous ode beginning *Donna mi prega;* and failing to perceive any doctrinal difference, held Cavalcanti's ode to have dealt with profane, Benivieni's with sacred, love. In fact, however, each poet treated love of both kinds, but Cavalcanti in the light of Aristotle interpreted by Averroes, Benivieni in the light of Plato interpreted by Ficino after Plotinus.

The influence of Florentine neo-Platonism upon Spenser, and especially upon his "Fowre Hymnes," has been generally recognized, and recently summarized.[1] "The most probable channels of this influence," says Miss Winstanley, "were Marsilio Ficino and Giordano Bruno." In the light of the evidences presented in the following notes, however, it would appear that the direct "channel" was Benivieni, although no doubt Spenser knew Ficino and Bruno as well. The term "Hymne" is used by Spenser in the sense of the Greek—song or paean in honor of a god or hero, especially as colored philosophically in the so-called "Orphic Hymns," or τέλεται, hymns of initiation into the mysteries of the Hellenic religion. In this sense, the "Fowre Hymnes" exactly correspond to the philosophic canzoni of Cavalcanti and Benivieni. The term itself Spenser may have taken directly from the Greek, or have borrowed from Ronsard, by whom it had been shortly before revived.

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[1] *The Fowre Hymnes*, ed. by Lilian Winstanley, Cambridge (Eng.), 1907.

The two original "Hymnes in Honour of Love," and "of Beautie," taken together, suggest briefly the dialectic ascent from sensual to intellectual love as it is developed in Benivieni's Canzone, only Spenser's plan of two separate paeans causes some repetition and rearrangement. Broadly speaking, the first "Hymne" carries the dialectic course only as far as the fifth grade of love,[1] that is to Intellectual Beauty as realizable by the mind in its individual and temporal nature; the second "Hymne," however, rises in brief suggestion to the sixth and—short of the mystical "ecstasy"—last grade. Both Spenser and Benivieni barely hint at the seventh grade, in which the soul is merged with God. Spenser is less austerely systematic than Benivieni, introducing—at times from Pico's commentary—much didactic and illustrative matter; and he hints in the beginning and end of each "Hymne" at his own very present experience as a scorned lover. Spenser as usual is not content to ride one Pegasus at a time; and so often spurs

> Forse di là dal destinato corso

of his model; yet we can, if I mistake not, "without an hound" Benivieni's fine Italian footing trace.

The two later "Hymnes" purge away all suggestion of romantic love, and develop at length the four higher grades of the soul's reascent to God. Thus the "Fowre Hymnes" really constitute one complete doctrinal poem. Benivieni's neo-Platonism is harmonized with Calvinism. The third "Hymne" presents the *man*-Christ as the exemplar of the moral service of true love; the fourth "Hymne" promises the *God*-Christ as the mystic reward of the true lover. "Sapience," the promised "bride" of the soul, represents the God-Christ in the distinct, yet mystically identical, person of the Holy Ghost, conceived as feminine, as the gnostics had conceived the *Pneuma*, or Holy Spirit, and given the place and function of the *Venus-Urania* of the neo-Platonists. "Sapience" is given the external trappings of the glorified Virgin; but of course the Calvinist Spenser cannot identify the Virgin, mother only of the body of Christ, as

> the soveraine dearling of the Deity.[2]

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[1] See notes to Benivieni's Ode, stanzas vii–viii.

[2] Fuller proofs of this interpretation of the "Fowre Hymnes" I have developed elsewhere, but not at present in print.

In 1655 Thomas Stanley translated for his *History of Philosophy* Benivieni's Ode, and selections from Pico's commentary. Stanley's translation, in octosyllabic couplets, is fluent and easy, but hardly attempts to render the subtler meanings of the original.

ODE OF LOVE

COMPOSED BY JEROME BENIVIENI, FLORENTINE CITIZEN, ACCORDING TO THE MIND AND OPINION OF PLATONISTS

Stanza I[1]

Amor, dalle cui man sospes'el freno	Love, from whose hands suspended hang the reins
Del mio cor pende, et nel cui sacro regno	Unto my heart, who in his high empire
Nutrir non hebbe ad sdegno	Scorns not to feed the fire
La fiamma che per lui già in quel fu accessa,	By him enkindled in me long ago,
5 Muove la lingua mia, sforza l'ingegno	Would move my tongue, my faculties inspire
Ad dir di lui quel che l'ardente seno	To tell what my enamored breast retains
Chiude; ma il cor vien meno,	Of him; but courage wanes,
Et la lingua repugna à tanta impresa,	My tongue to utter such high things is slow,
Ne quel ch'en me può, dir ne far difesa;	Balks at the burden, nor excuse can show;
10 Et pur convien che'l mio concetto esprima:	And yet my message it must needs impart,
Forza contro ad maggior forza non vale.	Strength against greater strength availing nought.

Ll. 1–8. The poet is given the impulse and the inspiration to reveal the nature of Intellectual Love, by which all his desires are governed, of which his soul has reminiscence, and to which he evermore aspires.

[1] [*Footnote to Stanza I*]
Cf. Spenser, "Hymne in Honour of Love," ll. 1 ff.:

> Love, that long since hast to thy mighty powre
> Perforce subdude my poore captivëd hart,
> And, raging now therein with restlesse stowre,
> Doest tyrannize in everie weaker part;
> Faine would I seeke to ease my bitter smart
> By any service I might do to thee,
> Or ought that else might to thee pleasing bee.

> Onely I feare my wits, enfeebled late,
> Through the sharpe sorrowes which thou hast me bred,
> Should faint, and words should faile me to relate
> The wondrous triumphs of thy great godhed.
> But, if thou wouldst vouchsafe to overspred
> Me with the shadow of thy gentle wing,
> I should enabled be thy actes to sing.

Cf. also "Hymne of Heavenly Beautie," ll. 6–7:

> I faine to tell the things that I behold,
> But feele my wits to fail, and tongue to fold.

Ma perchè al pigro ingegno amor quell'ale
Promesso ha, con le qual nel cor mio in prima
Discese, benchè in cima,
15 Credo per mai partir, dalle sue piume
Fa nido, quanto el lume
Del suo vivo splendor fia al cor mio scorta
Spero aprir quel che di lui ascoso hor porta.

Since Love has promised to my sluggish thought
Those wings wherewith he entered first my breast,
Therein on high to nest,
And thence, methinks, now never to take flight,—
So in the guiding light
Of his live glory I may still disclose
What of him privily my spirit knows.

Stanza II[1]

Io dico com'amor dal divin fonte
20 Dell' increato ben qua giù s'infonde;
Quando in pria nato, et donde,
Muov' el ciel, l'alme idforma, e 'l mondo regge;
Come poi ch'entro alli human cor s'asconde,
Con qual et quanto al ferir dextr' et pronte
25 Armi, e levar la fronte
Da terra sforz' al ciel l'humana gregge;
Com'arda, infiammi, advampi; et con qual legge
Quest'al ciel volga, et quello ad terra hor pieghi,

I tell how Love from its celestial source
In Primal Good flows to the world of sense;
When it had birth, and whence,
That moves the heavens, refines the soul, gives laws
To all; in men's hearts taking residence,
With what arms keen and ready in resource,
It is the gracious force
Which mortal minds from earth to heaven draws;
How it may light, warm, burn; and what the cause
One love may earthward bend, one heavenward bear,

Ll. 12–18. Love condescending to the soul, by the same act draws the soul upward to itself. The object of Intellectual Love is Absolute Truth, to which, so far as he is able to follow Love's leading, the poet may attain.

L. 14. *On high:* To indicate the higher, or intellectual, faculties.

Ll. 19–26. The poet will follow in his exposition the descent of Love from God through various intermediaries to the human soul, and then retrace its ascent back again to God by several grades.

Ll. 27–28. *Carnal love,* which we share with the brutes; *intellectual love,* which we may share with the Angels; *human love,* which is a mixture of carnal and intellectual love.

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[1] [*Footnote to Stanza II*]
Cf. Spenser, "Hymne in Honour of Love," ll. 22 ff.:
Come then, O come, thou mightie God of Love, ...
Come softly, and my feeble breast inspire
With gentle furie, kindled of thy fire.

Hor infra questi dua l'inclini et fermi.	A third sustain midway 'twixt earth and heaven.
30 Stanche mie rime et voi languidi e 'nfermi	My feeble rhymes, and ye lame and uneven
Versi, hor ch'en terra sia che per voi preghi!	Verses, for you may there be some to care,
Sì che à più giusti prieghi	So that to worthier prayer
Del' infiammato cor s'inclin' Apollo;	Of kindled heart Apollo may incline;
Troppo aspro giogo el collo	Too heavy for neck of mine
35 Preme: Amor, le promesse penne hor porgi	The yoke: O Love, on my weak wings bestow
All' ale 'nferme, et il camin cieco scorgi!	The promised pinions, and the blind way show!

Stanza III[1]

Quando dal vero ciel converso, scende	When from true heaven deflected, radiance flows
Nell' angelica mente el divin sole,	To mind angelic from the highest Sun,
Che la sua prima prole	And to that first-born one

L. 33. *Apollo:* The poet has already invoked Love to be his guide: through loving he will have intelligence of Love. He invokes Apollo that he may express this intelligence with eloquence.

Stanza III: How love is awakened in the spirit of the first created Angel by contemplation of the celestial Venus, that is to say, of the Ideas emanating from the One Truth, which is God.

Ll. 37–46. The angelic mind is the first emanation from God, or perfect Unity; this mind contains implicitly the archetypal Ideas, which are made explicit to it by the illumination of God's love and the ever-growing desire for self-explication kindled and fed by that illumination.

L. 37. *True heaven:* The perfect unity of God, in and for itself.

L. 38. *Highest Sun:* God.

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[1] [*Footnote to Stanza III*]

Ll. 48–52. Cf. Spenser, "Hymne in Honour of Love," 64–65.

Ll. 52–54. Cf. *ibid.*, 50–54. The *prima prole*, or *angelica mente*, or Logos, Spenser in the "Hymn of Heavenly Love" (ll. 29–35) identifies, after St. John, with Christ, God's "eldest sonne and heire" and "firstling of his joy." The Holy Ghost, or

that third from them derived,
Most wise, most holy, most almightie Spright,

(*ibid.*, ll. 38–39)

is here the Christianized equivalent of Benivieni's *alma* (l. 75). In the "Hymne of Heavenly Beautie," "Sapience," the Wisdom of the Angelic Mind, is identified at once with the celestial Venus, and with the Holy Ghost. Ficino had already indicated the former identification. "Since," he says (*Comm. Symp. Plat.*, II, vii), "the Angelic Mind has being, life, and intelligence, they [the Platonists] call its Being, or Essence, Saturn; its Life, Jove; its Intelligence, Venus." The analogy with the Christian Trinity is obvious. The *vero ciel* (l. 37) is indicated by Spenser in the "Hymn of Heavenly Love," ll. 57–60.

40 Sotto le vive frondi illustra e 'n- forma,—	Beneath the living leaves gives light and form,—
Lei, ch'el suo primo ben ricerca et vuole	This, which its first good longs to look upon
Per innato disio che quell' accende,	By natural desire which from that glows,
In lui reflessa prende	To that, reflected, owes
Virtù, che'l ricco sen depinge et forma.	Power to define its each embosomed form.
45 Quinc'el primo disio che lei tras- forma	That first desire then which would it transform
Al vivo sol dell'increato luce,	Into living sun of uncreated light,
Mirabilmente alhor s'incende e 'n- fiamma	Marvellously enkindles and takes fire:
Quell' ardor, quell' incendio et quella fiamma,	That heat, that glow, that flaming of desire,
Che dalla oscura mente et dalle luce	Which from the dark mind and the radiant might
50 Presa dal ciel, reluce	Of heaven has now made bright
Nella angelica mente, e 'l primo et vero	The mind angelic, is the first and true
Amor, pio desidero	Love, the desire due
D'inopia nato et di richezza al- hora	Born then of Want and Wealth when of the skies
Che di se il ciel facea, chi Cypri honora.	She was conceived, whom Cyprus glori- fies.

L. 40. *The living leaves:* According to Diotima, in Plato's *Symposium*, Love was born in the Garden of Jove, on Venus' birthday, of Poros (Wealth) and Penia (Want). "The Garden of Jove," explains Ficino (*In convivium Platonis de amore commentarium, Orat.* VI, cap. vii), "signifies the fecundity of the angelic essence, in which, when there descends Poros, i.e., the radiance of God, to union with Penia, i.e., the Want which has been before in the Angel, Love is born." Following out the figure of the Garden, Benivieni means by "living leaves" the archetypal Ideas themselves, which, fostered by Love, are conceived as growing out of the angelic mind itself.

L. 42. *Natural (innato) desire:* Before the mind is illuminated—before, so to speak, it is self-conscious—the desire which is to govern its whole being is only potential; yet once this desire is called into actuality, it is recognized as natural, and no mere accident.

L. 45. *Transform:* The desire of the lover is to become one with the beloved. The ideal aspiration of the Angelic mind is to become one with God, that is, to attain to the Idea of its Ideas, the Unity behind its Diversity.

L. 48. *Dark mind . . . . radiant might of heaven:* Cf. notes above, ll. 40, 42. The dark mind, in which Ideas are still implicit only, is the Want (l. 53); the radiant might of heaven is the Wealth (l. 53), of which Love is born.

Ll. 53–54. Love and Beauty (Venus), the object of love, must be born at one and the same time, since they imply one another; yet since Beauty (Venus) occasions Love, Venus is described not only as older, but as the mother of Love.

Stanza IV [1]

55 Questi perchè nell'amorose brac- cia	This love, for that he on the amorous breast
Della bella Cyprigna in prima nac- que,	Of the fair Cyprian at the first has lain,
Sempre seguir li piacque	To follow still is fain
L'ardente sol di sua bellezza viva.	The starry splendor of her fairest face.
Quinc'el primo disio che'n noi si giacque	Hence our first stirrings of desire attain
60 Per lui di nuova canapè s'allaccia,	Through him an object newly mani- fest;
Che l'honorata traccia	And sharing his high quest,
Di lui seguendo, al primo ben n'adriva.	The way to highest good we too re- trace.
Da lui el foco, per cui da lui deriva	By him the fire through which his liv- ing grace
Ciò ch'en lui vive, in noi s'ac- cende, et dove	Distils, in us is lit; in flames whereof
65 Arde morendo el cor, ardendo cresce.	The heart consuming dies, yet dying lives.
Per lui el fonte immortal trabocca, ond'esce	Through him pours the living fountain, whence derives
Ciò che poi el ciel qua giù forman- do move.	What heaven then shaping here below does move.
Da lui converso piove	Diffused is through this Love
Quel lume in noi che sopr'à ciel ci tira.	That light in us which leads us to the skies.

Stanza IV: Properties and effects of Intellectual, or Heavenly, Love: how the Ideal Beauty (celestial Venus), emanating from God, irradiates Material Beauty (terrestrial Venus), and how each evokes a corresponding love.

Ll. 55–63. As Intellectual Love, pursuing Intelligible Beauty (of the Ideas), aspires to God, so also Human Love by rising to Intellectual Love.

Ll. 64–65. As the perfection of Intellectual Love is the extinction of Sensual Love, so to live in the spirit we die in the flesh.

Ll. 66–67. Love is the agency through which God creates and moves the physical universe.

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[1] [*Footnote to Stanza IV*]

Ll. 55–58. Cf. Spenser, "Hymne in Honour of Love," ll. 61 ff.:

> Love, that had now long time securely slept
> In Venus lap. . . . .
> . . . . wanting light to guide his wandring way,
> His owne faire mother, for all creatures sake,
> Did lend him light from her owne goodly ray:

66–67
> Then through the world his way he gan to take,
> The world, that was not till he did it make. . . . .

59–62
and
68–72
> [Man] having yet in his deducted spright
> Some sparks remaining of that heavenly fyre,
> He is enlumind with that goodly light,
> Unto like goodly semblant to aspyre.

70 In noi per lui respira	Through him within us rise
Quel increato sol tanto splendore	Splendors reflected from the sun super-
Che l'alma infiamma in noi d'eter-	nal
no amore.	Until our souls are lit with love eternal.

<center>*Stanza V* [1]</center>

Come del primo ben l'eterna mente	As from First Good the eternal Intelligence
È, vive, intende, intende, muove, et finge	Is, lives, conceives, so conceives, moves, creates
75 L'alma: spiega et depinge	The Soul: through her dilates
Per lei quel sol ch'illustra 'l divin petto:	The shaping sun that lights heaven's inmost shrine,

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Ll. 70–72. Intellectual Love illuminates our ideas, shadows of the archetypal Ideas, until, the realities taking the place of their shadows, our love becomes as the love of angels, who are illuminated directly by God.

Stanza V: How the World-Soul, by participation in the Ideas of the Intelligible World (the eternal Intelligence), creates the Sensible Universe, reflecting upon it the shadow of the divine Beauty (Earthly Venus), which is the object of Sensual Love.

Ll. 73–75. The archetypal Ideas derive from First Good (i.e., God); the Angelic Mind receives them as they are in themselves *sub specie aeternitatis;* the Rational Soul receives them *sub specie temporis* from the Angelic Mind. The Mind therefore is contemplative, or static; the Soul active, or dynamic; the Mind *is*, the Soul *becomes.* From the Soul (ὁ δημιουργός), then, proceeds that which *becomes*, that is to say, the physical universe, *endowed with motion and sense.*

Ll. 75–80. As the Rational Soul reproduces after her fashion the Ideas reflected in her by the Mind, so the Sensitive Soul expresses, as fully as Matter allows, these reflected Ideas in the physical universe.

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[1] [*Footnote to Stanza V*]

Ll. 73–90. Cf. Spenser, "Hymne in Honour of Beautie," ll. 29 ff.:

What time this worlds great workmaister did cast   [i.e., the Demiurge, or Rational Soul]

To make al things such as we now behold,
It seemes that he before his eyes had plast
A goodly paterne, &c.   [i.e., the Ideas of *l'eterna mente*]

. . . .
That wondrous paterne, wheresoere it bee,   [L' altra, che dentr'al sol, si specchia all]
  ombra
  Di quel ch'al contemplar per lei s'advezza.'

Whether in earth layd up in secret store,
Or else in heaven . . . .

. . . .
Is perfect Beautie, which all men adore, &c.

. . . .
. . . . through infusion of celestiall powre   [. . . . ciò che poi si muove et sente
  Per lei mirabilmente
  Mosso, sente, vive, opra ogni suo effetto.]

The duller earth it quickneth with delight,
And life-full spirits privily doth powre
Through all the parts, that to the lookers sight
They seeme to please. That is thy soveraine might,—   [Com' ogni sua richezza
  Prende dal vivo sol ch'en lei
  refulge,
  Così sua luce indulge, &c.]

O Cyprian queene, which, flowing from the beame
Of thy bright starre, thou into them doest streame. . . . .
Thence to the soule darts amorous desyre, etc.

As Benivieni in ll. 89–90 distinguishes between sacred and profane love according to the two kinds of Beauty, so Spenser at large in ll. 64 ff.

Quinci ciò ch'el pio sen concepe et stringe,
Diffunde; et ciò che poi si muove et sente
Per lei mirabilmente
80 Mosso, sente, vive, opra ogni suo effetto.
Da lei, come dal ciel nell'intelletto,
Nasce Vener qua giù, la cui bellezza
Splende in ciel, vive in terra, el mondo adombra.
L'altra, che dentr'al sol, si specchia all'ombra
85 Di quel ch'al contemplar per lei s'advezza,
Com'ogni sua richezza
Prende dal vivo sol ch'en lei refulge,
Così sua luce indulge
A questa; et come amor celeste in lei
90 Pende, così el volgar segue costei.

Till from her brooding deeps there emanates
That which, endowed with motion then and sense
Through her high influence,
Feels, lives, fulfils its each innate design.
From her, as eke from heaven in mind divine,
Venus is born below, whose beauty lights
The heavens, dwells upon earth, is nature's veil,
The other, who from the sun is mirrored pale
In shadow of those whose musing she incites,
As she receives her lights
Ev'n from the living sun that in her glows,
So she her light bestows
On this one; and as sacred love is hers,
So unto this one love profane defers.

Stanza VI[1]

Quando formata in pria dal divin volto,
Per descendere qua giù l'alma si parte,

When at the first in God's own image made,
Down hither to descend the soul departs,

Ll. 81–83. As divine, or intellectual, Beauty is the reflection of God, the Idea of Ideas, in the Mind; so earthly, or sensible, Beauty is the reflection in the Sensitive Soul of God also, but as refracted through the interposed mediums of Mind and Rational Soul.

Ll. 84–85. *The other*, celestial Beauty or Venus, is visible to those who in contemplation seek her, but as through the glass, darkly, of their mortality.

Ll. 86–89. Cf. note to ll. 81–83.

Ll. 89–90. *Love profane*, limited to the senses, cannot reach beyond sensible Beauty.

Stanza VI: How, descending into the human heart, the Rational Soul shapes the body, so far as the body's particular material make-up permits, in accordance with her heavenly lights, that is to say, the Ideas in which she participates, modified by the influence of the planet under which the individual was born; and how the resulting beauty of that body, seen by another person, born under a like influence of the planets, awakens love in the soul of that person, whose enamored Imagination then transfigures the image of the beloved one with new and greater beauty.

[1] [Footnote to Stanza VI]
Ll. 91–100. Cf. Spenser, "Hymne in Honour of Beautie," ll. 106–19:
For when the soule, the which derived was,
At first, out of that great immortal Spright,

Dalla più eccelsa parte	She from the highest parts
Ch'alberghi el sol nel cor human s'imprime;	That lodge the sun to man's heart takes her way,
95 Dov'esprimendo con mirabil arte	Wherein applying with her subtle arts
Quel valor poi che da sua stella ha tolto,	Virtue that from her birth-star is conveyed,
Et che nel grembo accolto	And lives in the lap laid
Vive di sua celeste spoglie prime,—	Of her erst heavenly wealth,—now as she may

Ll. 95–98. The Soul, incarnated, has still reminiscence of her *erst heavenly wealth*, the archetypal Ideas, and after their model she strives to shape the body she inhabits. At the same time she is directly influenced by the planets: thus an individual born under Jove will have a "jovial" temperament, one under Saturn, a "saturnine," one

> By whom all live to love, whilome did pas
> Downe from the top of purest heavens hight,
> To be embodied here, it then tooke light
> And lively spirits from that fairest starre,
> Which lights the world forth from his firie carre.
>
> Which powre retayning still or more or less,
> When she in fleshly seede is eft enraced,   [Benivieni : *nel seme human.*]
> Through every part she doth the same impresse,
> According as the heavens have her graced,
> And frames her house, in which she will be placed,
> Fit for her selfe, adorning it with spoyle
> Of th' heavenly riches which she robd erewhyle.   [Benivieni: *sua celeste spoglie prime.*]

100–1. Spenser, *ibid.*, ll. 124–26, 141–47:

> And the grosse matter by a soveraine might
> Tempers so trim, that it may well be seene
> A pallace fit for such a virgin queene.
>
>   .   .   .   .
> Yet oft it falles that many a gentle mynde
> Dwels in deformed tabernacle drownd,
> Either by chaunce, against the course of kynd,
> Or through unaptnesse in the substance fownd,
> Which it assumed of some stubborne grownd,
> That will not yield unto her formes direction,   [Benivieni: *repugna al divin culto.*]
> But is deform'd with some foule imperfection.

Pico begins his commentary on Stanza VI with an *excursus* (after Ficino) on the nature of Beauty, which, he argues, does not consist in "the material disposition of the body," its proportions and coloring, but in a certain spiritual quality of "grace." Spenser develops the same view in ll. 57 ff. Later in his commentary on this Stanza, Pico declaims against lust of fleshly Beauty; Spenser incorporates a similar sermon in ll. 148–74.

Ll. 102–5. Cf. Spenser, *ibid.*, 183–210 (I quote only the more relevant lines):

> Therefore, to make your beautie more appeare,
> It you behoves to love, and forth to lay
> That heavenly riches which in you ye beare,
> That men the more admyre their fountaine may;
> For else what booteth that celestiall ray,
> If it in darkness be enshrined ever,
> That it of loving eyes be vewed never?
> But in your choice of loves, this well advize,
> That likest to your selves ye them select,
> The which your forms first sourse may sympathize. . . .
>
>   .   .   .   .
> For love is a celestiall harmonie
> Of likely harts composd of starres concent.

Cf. also "Hymne in Honour of Love," ll. 120–24.

Ll. 105–8. Spenser does not, like Benivieni, go twice over the grades of the purification of love. It is more convenient, therefore, to cite the parallels to these lines in connection with the next stanza.

Quanto nel seme human posson sue lime,	With instruments like hers, in human clay
100 Forma suo albergo; in quel fabrica et stampa	She frames her house; and that must mould and form
C'hor più, hor men, repugna al divin culto.	Which thwarts now more, now less, her high designs.
Indi qual'hor dal sol ch'en lei ne sculto,	Whence sometimes from the sun that in her shines
Scende nell'altrui cor l'infusa stampa,	Into other heart sinks her imprinted form,
Se gli è conforme, advampa	There, if well-matched, to warm
105 L'alma, qual poi ch'en se l'alberga, assai	The soul that meetly lodging it, displays Grade I
Più bella à divin rai	It fairer in the rays
Di sua virtù l'effinge; et di qui nasce	Of her own potency; whence is decreed [Grade II–III
Ch' amando el cor d' un dolce error si pasce.	That loving hearts on a sweet error feed.

Stanza VII[1]

Pascesi el cor d'un dolce error, l'amato	On a sweet error the heart feeds, its dear
110 Obietto in se come in sua prol guardando,	One deeming that which of itself was born; Grade I–III
Talhor poi reformando	May this then readorn

under Mercury, a "mercurial," etc. From the planets, accordingly, proceeds the differentiation of incarnated souls by temperamental types. Further differentiation—sex, character, personal appearance, etc.—is caused by the infinite varieties in the composition of the material elements of the body itself, always therefore more or less irreducible to the ideal type registered in the formative Soul.

Ll. 103–4. *Her form imprinted from the sun that in her shines* is the form of the body she inhabits perfected by the ideal type (the sun that in her shines), so far as its material composition and the planetary influences have permitted.

Ll. 105–8. See notes to Stanza VI. In ll. 102–17 Benivieni traces rapidly and generally the reascent of the Soul guided by Love. After this general sketch, he rebegins the ascent, grade by grade, with l. 117. Stanzas VI, VII, and VIII thus overlap in idea, and form one whole. Pico suggests that the whole poem has thus six parts corresponding in number to the six grades of ascent, and further that the overlapping in idea of stanzas VI, VII, and VIII symbolizes the impropriety of stopping the Soul once on its upward way.

Stanza VII: The reascent of the Soul. After a preliminary and summary outline of the Soul's ascent (ll. 102–17), Benivieni restates the threefold source of Beauty, and then retraces grade by grade the Soul's progress, under Love's guidance, from lowest to highest Beauty.

[1] [*Footnote to Stanza VII*]
Stanzas VII and VIII are virtually telescoped by Spenser into ll. 211–38, but his plan requires a return to the human plane of love: having climbed with Benivieni the "ladder of love" to "heavenly beautie," he as a lover invests his lady with the radiance

Quell'al lume divin che'n lui n'impresso,	With light divine whereof it is possessed— Grade IV
Raro et celeste don, quinc'elevando	A rare, high gift!—and still thus upward borne,
Di grado in grado se nell'increato	May grade by grade to the uncreated sphere
115 Sol torna, ond'è formato	Return, whence fashioned were [Grade V
Ne quel che nell'amato obietto è 'spresso.	All beauties in the loved one manifest. [Grade VI
Per tre fulgidi specchi un sol da esso	One sun enkindles from that countenance blest
Volto divin raccende ogni beltate	Through three refulgent glasses every grace
Che la mente, lo spirto, e'l corpo adorna.	That mind and soul and body here adorns.

L. 113. It is a *rare, high gift* that inspires the Soul to turn aside wholly from the senses to contemplate the divinity which resides in herself.

Ll. 117–19. The one glory of God, variously reflected and refracted through the Angelic nature, or Intelligible World, the Rational nature, Spiritual World, the Corporeal nature, or Sensible World, is the source of beauty in the human mind and soul and body.

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of that, thus continuing to the end the "*dolce error*," which Benivieni's "Soul" transcends. I quote Spenser's lines, indicating the closer parallels, though the parallelism of the general argument is even more striking.

True lovers, i.e., those matched by their stars, behold each other ("Hymne in Honour of Beautie," l. 213):

Drawing out of the object of their eyes   [i.e., Grade I—Benivieni, ll. 102–5, 120]
A more refyned forme, which they present   [Grade II—spoglie ornate reformate (121–22)]
Unto their mind, voide of all blemishment; [Grade III, ll. 123–26]
Which it reducing to her first perfection,
Beholdeth free from fleshes frayle infection.

And then conforming it unto the light,   [Grade IV, ll. 111–12.—Talhor poi reformando
                            Quell'al lume divin
Which in it selfe it hath remaining still,   che'n lui n'impres-
Of that first sunne, yet sparckling in his sight, so. . .]
Thereof he fashions in his higher skill   [ll. 131–34]
An heavenly beautie to his fancies will,
And it embracing in his mind entyre,   [Grade V, ll. 138–39—Quinci mentr'el pio cor
                            l'alme vestige
                            Segue, entro alla sua
                            ment'el ved'inserto.]
The mirrour of his owne thought doth admyre.
Which seeing now so inly faire to be,   [ll. 127–28—Quinc' Amor l'alm'in quest'e'l cor
                            deletta;
                            In lui, com' in suo parto, anchor
                            vaneggia,]
As outward it appeareth to the eye,
And with his spirits proportion to agree,
He thereon fixeth all his fantasie,
Counting it fairer then it is indeede,   [ll. 129–30—Che, mentre el ver vaneggia,
                            Come raggio di sol sott'acqu'el vede.]
And yet indeede her fairnesse doth exceede.
For lovers eyes more sharply sighted bee [l. 108—. . . . amando el cor d'un dolce
Then other mens. . . .   error si pasce.]

Cf. "Hymne in Honour of Love," ll. 190 ff.

120 Quinci gli occhi, et per gli occh' ove soggiorna	Whence first the eyes, next through these whence sojourns
L'altra su' ancilla, el cor le spoglie ornate	Its other handmaid, does the heart embrace
Prend' in lei reformate,	That fairness, though less base,
Non però espresse; indi di varie et molte	Not full expressed; until from many fairs
Beltà, dal corpo sciolte,	The heart from matter tears,
125 Form' un concetto, in cui quel che natura	Is shaped a type, wherein what nature rends
Divis' ha in tutti, in un pinge e figura.	In all asunder, into one there blends.

Stanza VIII[1]

Quinc'Amor l'alm'in quest'e'l cor deletta;	Whence Love in this the heart and soul delight;
In lui, com' in suo parto, anchor vaneggia,	On this, as on their offspring, still they smile,

Ll. 120–26, Grades I–III—In the ascent of the soul, supplementing ll. 102–10. Grade I—The heart embraces the fairness conveyed to it through the eyes, or outer sense; that is, the loved object is physical and external. Grade II—The heart embraces the fairness of the loved object as represented by *its other handmaid*, viz., the Imagination, or inner sense, which renders it *though less base, not full expressed;* that is, the loved object becomes a glorified subjective image, fairer than reality and fully possessed by the lover. It is the *sweet error* of love that it thus in imagination sees the loved object fairer than it is—at least for others. Still, perfect beauty is not *full expressed* in this sensuous image, not even perfect sensuous beauty. The image, however glorified, is of a particular *fairness*, which only participates in, but does not fully *express*, its perfect type: so, as the Greek painter is said to have shaped his perfect type of beautiful woman by combining in one the beauties of a hundred women, the Soul now—Grade III—*from many fairs torn from matter*, i.e., from many subjective images of particular fairness, forms the image, still sensuous indeed, of the type. Continuing the process, the Soul may reach to a conception embracing in one image, at least symbolically, all sensible Beauty—as, to take a modern illustration, Hogarth's "curve of beauty."

Stanza VIII: As in Grade II the *sweet error* of the enamored Heart was to identify the glorified image created by the Imagination with the external object of desire, so now in Grade III the Soul rejoices in the universalized conception of sensible Beauty, still believing the principle of Beauty therein contained to be given her from the Sensible World. But reflecting on this principle, the Soul discovers that the Sensible World has given but the raw material, and that the principle itself of Beauty is of her own making, and is only the reflection of the divine Ideas as conceived by her. Her loved object therefore—Grade IV—wholly withdrawn from Sense, is manifested in her own proper Ideal, namely, Spiritual Beauty or the *Moral* Ideals of Justice, Courage, and Temperance (ll. 131–37). But these Moral Ideals, appropriate to the Soul as *active*, themselves imply standards beyond the sphere of action, namely the

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[1] [*Footnote to Stanza VIII*]
In the "Hymne in Honour of Beautie," Spenser rises only to Grade V—Intellectual Beauty as seen by the Individual Mind, i.e., Truth or Sapience *sub specie temporis* —but in the "Hymne of Heavenly Beautie" he discusses, without reverting to the lower

Che mentre el ver vagheggia,	Where long-sought truth the while
130 Come raggio di sol sott'acqu'el vede:	Is as a sun-ray under water seen:
Pur non so che divin ch'en lui lampeggia,	Yet in that imaged fairness glimmers still,
Benchè adumbrat', el cor pietoso allecta	Though darkly, a something sacred that invites
Da questa ad più perfecta	The gentle heart to heights
Beltà, ch'en cima à quel superba siede.	Where a more perfect Beauty sits serene.

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intellectual Ideals of Wisdom, Knowledge, and Judgment. Therefore—Grade V—the Soul turns now (ll. 138–39) from action to thought: the loved object is found in the Mind. But the individual Mind, thinking discursively from premise to premise, implies in the last analysis major premises that are not deduced by the Mind itself, but are axiomatic truths—truths, in other words, that the individual Mind does not reason out but intuit. Thus—Grade VI (ll. 140–44)—the Soul in her pilgrimage is led above and beyond the Individual Mind to the intuition of eternal and universal Ideas whose seat is in the Eternal and Universal, or Angelic Mind, the Intelligible World.

Ll. 129–30. The spiritual principle of Beauty is still darkened by the sensible image in which it is represented as a ray of sun is darkened by the water into which it shines.

L. 133. *heights:* The rational as opposed to the sensitive activity of the Soul.

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grades, Grade VI—Intellectual Beauty, or Sapience in itself, *sub specie eternitatis*. Above the visible heavens, he says, are others "unmoving, uncorrupt" (ll. 64 ff.), where dwell the

     . . . . pure Intelligences from God inspired,

i.e., Benivieni's "*angelica mente.*" Above these is God, who is the Unity from which they proceed, but more than their sum:

> Yet is that Highest farre beyond all telling,
> Fairer then all the rest which there appeare,
> Though all their beauties joynd together were (ll. 101–3).

God's "perfectnesse," however,

     . . . . unto all he daily doth display,   [Cf. Benivieni, ll. 117–19—Per tre fulgidi specchi un sol esso Volto divin raccende ogni beltate Che la mente, lo spirto, e'l corpo adorna.]

> And shew himselfe in th' image of his grace,
> As in a looking-glasse . . . . (ll. 113–15).

To this divine Beauty, the mind may mount "through heavenly contemplation" (ll. 136 ff.). Cf. Benivieni, ll. 141–144. And Spenser concludes by painting this divine, or Intellectual, Beauty as "Sapience," declaring of her, as Benivieni of the celestial Venus:

> Both heaven and earth obey unto her will,
> And all the creatures which they both containe (ll. 197–98).

Contemplation of her is the "Sabbath" of the Soul, as Pico calls it, when, in Spenser's words (l. 301):

> Thy straying thoughts henceforth for ever rest.

135 Ivi non l'ombra pur ch'en terra
fede
Del vero ben ne dia scorge, ma
certo
Lume et del vero sol più ver'effige.

Quinci mentr'el pio cor l'alme ves-
tige
Segue, entro alla sua ment' el ved'
inserto;
140 Indi à piu chiaro et aperto
Lum' appresso ad quel sol sospeso
vola,
Dalla cui viva et sola
Luce informat' amando si fa bello
La mente, l'alma e'l mondo et ciò
ch'è'n quello.

There not the shadow that on earth
has been
Sole witness of true good, the heart
shall find,
But clear light and the true Sun's image
true.

If gentle heart those sacred signs pur-
sue,
It finds that image planted in the mind;

Thence soars to more refined
And pure light circumfused about that
sun
By whose eternal, one
Glory illumined, loving, are made fair
The mind, the soul, the world, and all
things there.

Stanza IX

145 Canzon, io sento Amor ch'el fren
raccoglie
Al temerario ardir ch'el cor mio
sprona
Forse di là dal destinato corso:
Rafrena el van disio, restring'el
morso.
Et casti orechi à quel ch'amor rag-
iona

O song of mine, I feel Love drawing
rein
On the rash ardors that my spirit move

Beyond the path appointed to aspire:
He applies the curb; he checks the vain
desire.
And now chaste ears to all that speak
of love

Ll. 135–36. Sensible Beauty is only the *shadow* of *true good*, or Divine Beauty; but the shadow is the only earthly witness of that, as the Love it excites is the only earthly impulse which leads the Soul upward.

L. 137. *Image true:* The Soul's Moral Beauty faithfully embodies true Beauty, but in the sphere of action, or "becoming," which is lower than the sphere of con-templation, or "being."

Ll. 142–44; cf. l. 117–19.

Ll. 145–48. The Intelligible World of Ideas, to which the desirous Soul has by intuition risen, is itself not the *full expression* (cf. l. 123) of Ideal Beauty. The eternal and universal Ideas which constitute and form it, form *together* the Absolute Truth in itself; but in their self-consciousness—i.e., the Universal, or Angelic, Mind—they appear not as One, but as Many. Their Unity, or "togetherness," is God; and God, as perfect Unity, cannot be self-conscious, since self-consciousness distinguishes itself as subject and object, is *ipso facto* a violation of Unity. While there is self-consciousness, therefore, union of the Soul with God Himself is unattainable. Plotinus, indeed, and other mystics have found in *Ecstasy*, a state of the Soul in which self-consciousness is lost, a possibility of such union even during this life; but from consideration of that "Sabbath" of the Soul Benivieni abstains; enough to consider her "six day's labor."

150 Hor volgi; se persòna
    Truovi che dal tu'amor s'inform-
        'et vesta
    Non pur le frondi à questa
    Del tuo divin thesor, ma'l frutto
        spiega;
    Agli altri basti l'un, ma l'altro
        niega.

Turn thou; and if there prove
One by thy love informed and gar-
    mented,
Before him do not spread
Thy garner's frondage only, but its
    fruit;
The first alone vouchsafe to other suit.

Ll. 153–54. Cf. Dante (Canz. "Voi che intendendo," Envoy):
            O song of mine, methinks they shall be rare
            Who may thee rightly understand in all,
            So intricate and subtle is thy skill:
            Wherefore if peradventure it befall
            That thou in presence of such folk shalt fare
            As seem to understand thy meaning ill,
            I pray thee then that thou take comfort still,
                Saying, my youngest well-beloved, to them:
            "Consider, at least, how beautiful I am."

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THE ACADEMIES AND THE POPULAR ITALIAN STAGE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The influence of the academies in determining the character of the popular Italian drama in the Renaissance has been somewhat overlooked, because of the too sharp distinction usually drawn between the *commedia erudita* and the *commedia dell' arte*. It is convenient to draw such a line on the basis of the superficial difference in form between the two branches of the art, but in reality the partially improvised plays closely resemble the others in subject-matter and structure and even in some details of style. On both kinds the academies exerted a triple influence, contributing first to a general knowledge of classic models, with their excellent technique and their satiric tone; secondly to the enrichment of plots by romantic incidents from the vernacular *novelle;* and last, perhaps most important of all, rousing a wide interest in philosophic themes— platonic love and the opposition of values taken abstractly, such as love and duty, or love and friendship. We are perfectly familiar with the combination of these three elements on the English stage of that day, but are a little surprised to find that *commedie dell' arte*, far from being monotonously imitative and farcical, are quite as varied in character. Yet it is after all only natural that the actors and improvisers of these popular plays, who were usually actors and writers of *commedie sostenute* as well, and who were moreover often members of academies, should attempt to introduce their "cultured" interests into the little pieces which they affected to despise. It is equally natural that the fashion of forming literary clubs should spread from the higher ranks of society to the middle and lower, and that in the humbler circles plays should be made and given which imitate, though clumsily, the elegant productions of the nobility.

Sienese records have preserved a particularly clear and interesting account of the spread of culture and philosophy from the higher to the lower social classes. In Siena, early in the sixteenth cen-

tury,[1] "the times being troublous," a certain number of noble persons, men and women, agreed to form a "congregatione," "nelle quale, ponendo da parte tutti li spinosi, mordaci e i dannosi pensieri: e da se tutte scaciando le noiose, leggiere, vane e soverchie mondane cure, havessono solo e fermo intendimento di dare opera agl'esercizi delle più belle, delle più pulite e più ornate, e degne lettere, come Greche e Latine così volgari Toscane."[2]   They chose as their motto: "Orare. Studere. Gaudere. Neminem laedere. Non temere. Credere. De mundo non curare."   Among their exercises they gave a prominent place to "tanto appetitosa, tanto dilettevole ed ingegnosa Poesia," and did not hesitate to discuss "artificiosa Eloquentia," history, cosmography, and even astrology.[3]   They held disquisitions on Dante and Petrarch, on moral questions and on the natural sciences, all, says their panegyrist, "con legiadra prontezza e gratiosa acutezza."

Other "honest games" with which they whiled away long winter nights were debates on such subjects as: "Whether one loves by free choice or by fate," "Whether love without jealousy is possible," "Whether distance increases or diminishes love," "Whether the soldier or the scholar makes the better lover."   Growing out of these debates, sometimes as statement of a point of view, sometimes as a summary of results, plays were written by the members, modeled partly on the classics but tinged by romance as well as satire, and usually crowded with philosophic implications.[4]   We incline to call these plays more farcical than they were meant to be, and to overlook their basal themes, because the values discussed seem to us merely artificial and abstract; but that these themes furnished a real "problem" element to their first audiences is perfectly evident from the academic debates.

Alessandro Piccolomini, a bishop of a great Sienese house, known among his fellows as "Lo Stordito," was the most successful playwright of the Intronati.   His "no less honest than pleasing" comedy

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[1] About 1530. Cf. G. Fabiani, *Memoria sopra l'origine ed istuzioni delle principali Academie di Siena* (Venezia, 1757); also C. Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi* (Firenze, 1882).   There were some sixty Academies in Siena in the sixteenth century.

[2] *La Descrittione del nuovo riaprimento dell' Academia Intronata* (Siena, 1603), 459.

[3] *Ibid.*, 472.

[4] Very many of the tales in the *Decameron* and in other contemporary collections turn on *dubii* of the kind just quoted.   They were the basis of the "problem novel" as of the "problem drama" of the day.

of *Gl' Ingannati*,[1] his *Alessandro*[2] and his *Amor Costante*[3] are all built on the theme of "Love against Fortune," and all express the triumph of Cupid.   The last of the three, though a classical imitation in its observance of the unities and in the satiric exaggeration of its characters, is a lively working-out of a favorite romantic motif, the "love-chain" complication.   Piccolomini might stand as the type of lettered playwright of the day, steeped in learning and determined to make his art at once the vehicle of satire and of the Renaissance theory of love.   As truly as another academician-dramatist,[4] he might be called "huomo affiable per natura e per arte dotto," who wrote plays "inserendovi dentro un gran parte della morale Filosofia, con tanti motti argutie che questo bastava . . . . a dilettare ed insegnare."   "Teaching delightfulness and delightful teaching!" So Sidney later echoed such Italian formulations of the aim and function of comedy.[5]

Lo Stordito was not the only star of the Intronati; he stands as the example of several merely because he more than the rest was marked out for popularity by the brilliance of his social position and the power of his old name.[6]   His plays and those of other members made the Academy famous far and wide, but in Siena the club was even more noted for its gorgeous public fêtes and processions. The people looked on at these and admired, until some of the bolder among the artisans went to work to form a society of their own.[7] Under the modest name of the Rozzi, they met "solo per passare i dj festivj con quello minore otio che per noi si possi," their chief intent being "con qualche operatione virtuosa e gentile, pigliarci honestamente diletto e piacere."[8]   They admitted as members only those

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[1] Probably the source of *Twelfth Night*.   Cf. Furness' Variorum ed., introduction and appendix.

[2] Source of Chapman's *May Day*.   Cf. Stiefel, "G. Chapman u. das italienische Drama," *Shaks. Jahrbuch*, XXXV (1899).

[3] *L'Amor Costante, Commedia del Signor Stordito l'intronato, composta per la venuta del Imperatore in Siena, l'anno del XXXVI*—In Venetia, MDXL.

[4] Angelo Beolco, known as Il Ruzzante, of Padua.   Cf. printer's preface to *Commedie di M. A. Beolcho* (Vicenza, 1584).

[5] Cf. J. E. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1908; 2d ed.), 66 ff.

[6] A long list of plays by the Intronati is given in *Della Commedie degli Intronati di Siena* (Siena, 1611); cf. also *La Descrittione*, etc., 484 ff.

[7] About October, 1531; Mazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 87.

[8] Mazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 102–3.

who were "di qualche piacevole e galante virtù dotato, o di comporre o recitare o schermire o sonare o cantare o ballare o altre gentilezze simili," so that no one shall "occupi luogo in vano."[1] These so gallantly endowed persons had to be chosen from the artisan and merchant ranks, no one being taken in who "dia opera a altre lettere che a le volgari." Bottom and his mates live again in the records of this assembly, awkwardly written up in Sienese dialect, full of repetitions and of endless, involved sentences, but glowing with serious enthusiasm, piety, and "simpleness and duty." The members— among them a farrier, a painter, a paper-maker, an engraver—eagerly disclaim all political significance in their meetings and profess themselves zealous servants of the most holy Virgin and of the church.[2]

Besides enforcing mutual benefit regulations and attempting ethical legislation—as by the punishment of swearing—the Congrega devoted itself to "culture." At the meetings on Sundays after vesper service, athletic events alternated with readings from the great Italian authors or from compositions by the members themselves. The readings were followed by discussion of some theme suggested now by *dubii* from the sonnets or *novelle*, again by some practical ethical problem, as "quel fa più pecchato, quello che bastemia per ira o per accidia o per superbia o per altro simile, o quello che bastemia per piacere, ridendo sens' alcuna chagione."[3]

Enough has been said to prove the influence of the learned academies on the organization and conduct of their imitators. It remains to show that the literary productions of the Rozzi differed from those of the Intronati only as their debates differed, that is in being more loosely and clumsily conceived and consequently very much less polished in form. The Rozzi, ignorant of all literature save that in the vulgar tongue, could not be expected to learn technique directly from Latin models; their plays are in fact loose-jointed, often little more than a series of *contrasti*, undivided into acts or scenes, and written for the most part in rough verse. Folk superstitions, folk magic, and satire of the peasant mingle with mythology and half-digested philosophical notions gained from the

[1] Mazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 364 ff.   Quoted from the first *Capitoli dei Rozzi* (1531).

[2] Mazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 87 ff.

[3] *Quistioni e Dubij dei Rozzi*, MS in the Comunale of Siena, 1532–49.

academic readings.   There seems to be a perpetual struggle, similar to that we sometimes feel in the less artistic Elizabethans, a struggle on the playwright's part to subordinate his real interests, his first-hand knowledge of the life about him, to the more or less artificial themes in fashion with the upper classes.   In the May plays of the Rozzi the clash between natural and conventional interests comes out in a number of ways; the speakers are nearly always nymphs and shepherds, with a few rustics and sometimes a god or two among them; coarse, realistic satire on the peasant is interspersed with high-flown *concetti* on platonic love, on the cruelty of fortune, and the like.   In the masque-like *Trionfo d'Amore*, for instance,[1] Cupid is shown as the prisoner of a band of peasants who accuse him of all the ills which they have suffered from love, and who dispute as to what vengeance they shall take.   The god's defense is simply: "Io non son di lascivia, ma amor vero."   They do not understand him until Faith comes in, recognizes him, and carries him off to heaven, while Mercury appears in a car and sings of true love, consoling the peasants for their loss.   The little play concludes with a madrigal sung by "philosophers come from the Elysian fields," Plato, Socrates, Solomon, and Diotima.

Such celestial argument was occasionally parodied by these common-sense poets, but even when seriously meant and taken it was not considered incompatible with the roughest *lazzi* and free fights on the stage.   Sometimes a more carefully elaborated play combines crude touches of human nature with its academic elements. In *Il Romito Negromante* there is much satire at the expense of the reputed holy man who terrifies the country people with his "magic" and who thus succeeds in concealing from some his evil life.   There are three acts to this *commedia pastorale*, three acts of confused merriment and tears.   The huntress heroine, Lincia, "inimicissima degli amori," very nearly falls a victim first to the "romito disonesto," then to a peasant wandering through the wood in search of an ass; she escapes them only to meet Uranio, her shepherd lover, who is "non corisposto," of course, but who is favored by her father.   In the second act, separated from the first only by too lively a peasant song, the nymph continues to flee from love in Uranio's shape;

[1] Mazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 174–75.

calling on Diana for help, she is turned into a tree, with the mournful effect of causing the youth immediately to kill himself. The peasant clown finds the body, attempts to rob it, and is well beaten therefor by Uranio's servant, who then calls in the aid of the magician. After some conjuring the two lovers come to life and Lincia to love; so in the third act they marry with rejoicings. The peasant furnishes the proper farcical conclusion by his attempt to imitate the sorcerer's charms, an effort which brings down on him several devils whose "strepiti e ridicolezze" end the comedy.[1]

Most of these curiously hybrid pieces seem to have been acted, sung, and danced by the Rozzi themselves. The noble *academiae*, on the other hand, could afford to call in the services of professional Comici; the plays of Piccolomini, for example, were prominent in the repertory of the Gelosi, the troupe so famous at the courts of Mantua and Paris. This is one reason for the traces of academic influence on the improvised plays so frequently given by the Gelosi; another reason is that several of the actors were themselves members of learned societies and poetasters of some small repute. The leading lady, Isabella Andreini, was well known as "L'Accesa," her sobriquet in the Pavian academy of *Gl'Intenti;* her husband, Francesco, the Capitano Spavento of the cast, belonged to a Florentine academy.[2] Both utilized their privileges by absorbing a considerable amount of philosophy and classical learning which they took care to express elegantly in their plays and *concetti.*[3]

Scala's collection of the *scenari* used by the Gelosi[4] contains hardly a play without at least a passing suggestion of some philosophic theme. In *Flavio Tradito* (Giornata V) the conflict centers around a question of honor; as in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and innumerable other Elizabethan plays, love and friendship are opposed. A pair of intimate friends, Flavio degli Alidori and Oratio Belmonte, love Isabella, daughter of Dr. Gratiano Forbicione; but Oratio loves

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[1] Mazzi, *op. cit.*, I, 158 ff.

[2] L. Moland, *Molière et la Comédie italienne* (Paris, 1867), 50–51. Chiesa, *Teatro delle donne letterate* (1620), 199–200, says that Isabella Andreini was "una nuova Saffo," and had "non poca cognizione delle cose di filosofia."

[3] *Bravure del Cap. Spavento*—In Venetia, MDCXV. *Lettere della Signora I. A., padovana ed academica intenta, nominata l'Accesa*—In Venetia, MDCVII. These *concetti*, which to us are such tedious reading, must have expressed live interests at the time of their publication, for they went into several editions.

[4] *Il Teatro delle favole rappresentative . . . . da Flaminio Scala* (Venetia, 1611).

treacherously, not regarding his friend's prior claim on the lady or her long-standing devotion to him. Flavio, however, is modest and not only believes Oratio's false representations that Isabella has changed her allegiance, but even promises to quit the field by marrying another girl, Flaminia. But before this happens he learns from a servant his friend's treachery, and a violent quarrel ensues between the rivals. Flavio, mirror of gallantry, cannot forget the laws of honor, and a little later, when Oratio is set upon by an enemy, Flavio rescues him. He is rewarded by Oratio's confession and request for pardon; the faithless friend excuses himself by accusing Love and Fortune as the instigators of his treason, a plea so readily accepted by everyone that he is not only forgiven but is made happy by the hand of Flaminia, Flavio's second choice, while Isabella is allowed to marry her true love.

The struggle of Love and Fortune is the theme of the highly romantic *Fortuna di Flavio* (Giornata II). The argument, which includes more than is presented on the stage, states that Flavio, in his youth captured by pirates and sold into slavery at Constantinople, escaped after a time with his master's son, whom he had persuaded to become a Christian and to whom he had promised his sister's hand; he also brought away in his flight his master's beautiful young daughter, disguised as a page and unknown even to her brother. In a sea-fight this damsel, fearing to be killed, leaps overboard; she is soon picked up by fishers, sold to a traveling charlatan and by him taken to Rome. Flavio, who had desperately jumped into the sea after his love, had of course been unable to find her; he had been washed ashore and rescued by a Spanish captain to whom he vows eternal gratitude and whom he accompanies to Rome as valet. The young Turk meanwhile had successfully conducted his galley to the mouth of the Tiber, had at once sought the Pope, been baptized and then set about discovering Flavio's family; without declaring his relation to Flavio, he woos his friend's sister, Flaminia, and has very nearly won her when the Spaniard declares himself a rival. The play opens at this point and is a lively intrigue based on the double interest of the several disguises and of the conflict in Flavio's mind between his promise of his sister to his Turkish friend and his gratitude to the captain who claims Flaminia as his

adequate reward. The happy ending is reached by the discovery that the mountebank's page is Flavio's lost sweetheart and by the appearance of another woman, formerly betrothed to the captain; thus Flaminia is left free to marry the young Turkish convert, whom she loves.

In these two plays, fairly typical of most of the others, the themes seem to be taken largely from romantic sources, the character-types to be strongly influenced by Latin models. The stage business is very farcical and must have been in amusing contrast to the serious *concetti* in which hero or heroine so often "esagera contra amore e fortuna."

There was an especially fine chance for doleful academic speeches in the only tragedy which Scala preserves in his collection. Although but one among so many, it is bloody enough to balance in gloom all the merriment of the forty-nine comedies and pastorals. The opposition in *La Forsennata Principessa* (Giornata XLI) is again between Love and Fortune, but here envious Fortune is triumphant: hence the tragedy. Briefly the plot is as follows: Tarfé, prince of Morocco, persuades Alvira, princess of Portugal, to elope with him; they are invited to the capital of Fez by its princess, Fatima. Tarfé no sooner sees this lady than he loves her, and forgetting his promises to Alvira, resolves to marry none but the lady of Fez; accordingly he abandons (*pianta*) his first love and flees before dawn with his tutor. But Alvira's brother has by this time followed the lovers, determined to see justice done his sister; he therefore, under a "blood-spotted moon," makes after Tarfé, kills him, and brings back his head to the deserted lady. She laments and weeps over this relic till she goes mad and jumps into the sea. More misfortunes follow. The father of the murdered prince now appears, kills the heir of Portugal, and is in turn killed by the mob. Meanwhile the king of Fez discovers that Fatima, far from having encouraged Tarfé's advances, has long loved a page, Pelindo; the outraged father has the youth strangled and sends his heart in a gold cup to Fatima; she drinks the poison she has poured over it and dies just as a messenger announces her father's suicide.[1] As in

[1] The reminiscences of Tancred and Gismunda here, and of Isabella in Alvira's madness, may be evidences of the influence of the *Decameron* or they may be simply traces of popular folk motifs. Camerini thinks Boccaccio is responsible for much of the roman-

Hamlet the final gloom is slightly relieved by a concluding scene in which the Moroccan general announces, amid public rejoicing, that he has captured Fez for his master.

All this tragedy of blood is enacted on the stage, with a number of comic scenes interspersed in the usual *commedia dell' arte* manner. Some of the mad scenes were evidently regarded as comic, for Alvira's *pazzie* consist partly in beating the servants and in going through grotesque antics on the seashore.   Her ravings are not, like Ophelia's, scraps of popular songs, but the rags of her academic learning, as: "Io non mi maraviglia che l'acqua del fiume sia dolce e quella del mare salta, perche l'insalata và sempre con suo olio . . . . lo stretta di Gibilterra o vuoi di Zibilterra, che l'uno e l'altro nome li vien detto pure come piacque al suo fatal destino; quella poveretta dell' Orsa maggiore si calzò gli stivali d'Artofilace e andò à pigliar ostreghe e cappe longhe nel golfo di Laiazzo," etc. (Act II).   But if the taste of the day regarded Alvira's madness as food for mirth, there is no doubt that the sub-plot, the Tancred-Gismunda complication, was seriously tragic.   The stage directions call for a heroine of melodrama in Fatima, who is more than once signalized as "intrepida," who braves her father by praising to his face Pelindo's beauty, and who dies robed in black, "esagerando" against cruel Fortune and kissing her lover's poisoned heart.

It would take too long to quote all the *scenari* having plots from the *novelle;* hardly one is without a trace of some romantic motif as well as some philosophic theme.   The classic influence is also double; in the first forty-one plays it is noticeable mainly in the Latin character-types and in the observance of dramatic technique; in the last nine pastorals, "opere miste," etc., it is more poetic and Ovidian.   This concluding group of curious pieces deserves separate treatment; briefly it may be said to consist of spectacular plays not unlike those of the Rozzi in the mixture of folk and academic material, but far more ambitious in form.

The academic was of course not the only influence determining the character of these popular Italian plays, yet it must have been the most powerful element in their evolution.   In shaping the rough

tic material in the Italian drama, but it may as truly be said that Boccaccio drew largely on folk sources for his tales. Cf. Camerini, *Nuovi profili letterari* (Milano, 1876), III, chap. i.

folk *contrasti* into more regular dramas, in adding to their monotonous flyting and horse-play the color of romantic incident, the interest of philosophic problems, and even the poetry of classical mythology, the academies probably did much more to popularize the ideas of the Renaissance than by the printed volumes that resulted from their discussions. For in Italy and in Paris as well as in England, the vast majority of the people were theater-goers, not readers, and the stage was more powerful than any books.

<div align="right">WINIFRED SMITH</div>

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THE ANGLO–SAXON *PHYSIOLOGUS*

In the Exeter MS, folios 95*b*–98*a*, there is a group of Anglo-Saxon poems: the Panther, the Whale, a line or two of a poem on a bird, and, after a break in the MS, a religious application that is generally taken to be part of a poem on a bird.   The whole is now generally known as the Anglo-Saxon *Physiologus*.   Two problems exist in regard to the group: (1) Does it constitute a small cycle complete in itself, or is it only the remnant of a longer series?   (2) What is the bird of the fragment?   Brandl,[1] the latest to speak on the subject, evidently considers both these matters settled.   Without discussion he states that the Anglo-Saxon *Physiologus* is what is left of a great cycle, the plan of which is made clear by a comparison of our present group with a closely agreeing Latin version of the ninth century.[2]   Furthermore, without intimation that the name of the bird is not given in the text, he calls it the partridge, an identification in which he does not agree with the most recent criticism on the subject.   To neither question, however, is Brandl's answer conclusive.

To discuss one of the problems apart from the other is difficult. If we accept the great-cycle theory, the kind of bird becomes much less important.   If we find the small-cycle theory more satisfactory, the choice of bird is complicated by additional conditions.   It will be well to examine first the evidence hitherto offered as to the length of the cycle, and then to discuss the identity of the bird.

Ebert[3] was the first to take the Anglo-Saxon group as the fragment of a longer cycle.[4]   He came to this conclusion by comparing the three Anglo-Saxon poems with a Latin *Physiologus* of the ninth century[5] found in Bern MS 233, which contains very similar accounts of the panther and the whale.   On the ground of these resemblances

[1] Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* (1908), 1047.

[2] Bern MS 233, ed. Cahier, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, III, 238 ff.   Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 90, gives date as the eighth century.   Mann, *Franz. Stud.*, VI, 220, also makes it the eighth century.

[3] *Anglia*, VI (1883), 241 ff.

[4] Thorpe printed the poems as independent; Grein as allegorical; Dietrich, *De Cynewulfi aetate*, 11, thought they formed a cycle.

[5] Cf. as to date note 2, above.

he thought the two versions, the Anglo-Saxon and the Bern, must have had a common source, and that since in the Bern seven members follow the Partridge, seven probably succeeded the bird in the Anglo-Saxon. He supposed, however, that the Anglo-Saxon cycle began with the Panther, though it is No. 23 in the Bern. Wülcker[1] followed Ebert. Lauchert,[2] the next to consider the problem, remained undecided, concluding that it is possible to take the group either as part of a larger whole or as complete in itself, treating as it does land, water, and air animals.[3] He leaned to the latter view. Sokoll[4] made the Anglo-Saxon *Physiologus* an incomplete working-over of the Latin original, of which Bern 233 is the type; and expressed the belief that what remains is one-seventh out of the middle of the former Anglo-Saxon cycle. We have lost the beginning and also a portion consisting of seven animals after the Whale. He suggested that instead of one leaf, a whole quire has probably fallen out before the thirteen lines on folio 98*a*. Sarrazin,[5] reviewing this study, found it wholly convincing as to the length of the Anglo-Saxon series. Mann[6] with the warmest enthusiasm later discussed these conclusions, saying that Sokoll, without even seeing the MS, has given, nevertheless, a treatment of the matter that is full of light. Excepting, then, Lauchert, critics since Ebert and including Brandl have accepted the longer-cycle theory.

This theory depends on the resemblance of the Anglo-Saxon group to the Bern version. A correspondence just as definite, though hitherto unnoticed, exists between the Anglo-Saxon poems and the *Physiologus* found in Royal MS 2. C. XII, British Museum.[7] The Royal and Bern versions are alike in order and content, with the exception that the Royal series contains thirty-seven members,

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[1] *Angelsächsischen Litteratur* (1885), 202 ff.

[2] *Geschichte des Physiologus* (1889), 111, 112.

[3] Cf. Ebert, *Angl.*, VI, 241.

[4] I have been unable to obtain Sokoll's "Zum Angelsächsischen Physiologus" (XXVII. *Jahresbericht d. K. K. Staats-Oberrealschule in Marburg*, 1896–97) either in this country, or in the British Museum, or the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library. My study is based entirely on the reviews, which state fully Sokoll's conclusions, by Sarrazin, *Eng. Stud.*, XXVII, 135 ff.; and by Mann, *Angl. Beibl.*, XI, 332 ff.

[5] *Eng. Stud.*, XXVII, 135.

[6] *Angl. Beibl.*, XI (1900), 332 ff.

[7] Printed by Mann in his study of "Guillaume le Clerc's Bestiaire," *Franz. Stud.*, VI (1888), 37–73. He places it in the thirteenth century.

instead of the thirty-two of the Bern, and that Simia, No. 22 in the Royal, stands last in the Bern.[1] This similarity in arrangement is the more significant because in *Physiologus* cycles such agreement is most unusual. Mann tabulates the contents of fifteen series— Latin, German, French, English; and it is to be observed that the Royal and Bern parallel each other closely, but not at all any other. Both Ebert and Sokoll base their mathematical calculations on the numbers found in the Bern MS, but who shall say whether the original followed by the Anglo-Saxon writer corresponded in number with the thirty-seven of the Royal or with the thirty-two of the Bern? It may be added that in what Lauchert gives as the Greek type of *Physiologus*, Pitra's Cod. A, Panther, Whale, Partridge form the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth members of the series.[2] Ebert thought the Anglo-Saxon probably more closely related to the Greek than to the known Latin text.[3] But the Greek list of animals differs from the Bern and Royal in order, in content, and greatly in number, consisting as it does of forty-nine members. If the Anglo-Saxon prototype depended on some such version as the Greek, the bird, if it be the partridge, might have been followed, instead of by the seven of Ebert and Sokoll, by no fewer than thirty-one other poems. It is manifest, then, from the examination of these related versions, that little dependence can be placed on arguments from numbers. Consequently, even if Sokoll's main contention— that we have here a fragment of a larger group—be accepted, it is obviously quite impossible to settle the matter to the extent of saying we have one-seventh of the original left, or to agree with him in the view that seven members preceded what is now the last poem of the group, or, as Ebert believes, followed.

Have Ebert and Sokoll any more convincing evidence to support their large assumption that the Anglo-Saxon *Physiologus* is part of a greater cycle than for their statements as to the number that appeared in the original series? Before examining further their views, it will be well to turn again to the arguments that have been advanced in favor of the small cycle.

[1] It is singular that Mann, when he accepted Sokoll's suggestions, did not recall this Royal MS version and note its resemblance to the Bern.

[2] *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 108.

[3] *Angl.*, VI, 244.

In spite of his allegiance to the longer-cycle theory, Ebert himself called attention to the fact that the three poems deal with three types, representatives of land, water, and air animals. And furthermore he pointed out that the opening lines of the Panther might well serve as an introduction to the series:[1]

> Monᵹe sindon ᵹeond middan ᵹeard
> unrimu cynn, þe we æþelu maᵹon
> ryhte areccan ne rim witan:
> þæs wide sind ᵹeond world innan
> fuᵹla ond deora foldhrerendra
> wornas widsceope, swa wæter bibuᵹeð
> þisne beorhtan bosm, brim ᵹrymetende
> Sealtyþa ᵹeswing. We bi sumum hyrdon
> Wrætlice ᵹecynd wildra secᵹan.[2]

Lauchert, the latest to speak for the small cycle, presents the same reasons. He, too, is convinced that this introduction is general, and says it at least shows clearly that nothing preceded it.[3] He adds, moreover, that the opening lines of the other two poems give the impression that the fish and the bird likewise are taken as representatives of their respective classes. Wülcker expresses the belief that the present must have been the original conclusion. He bases his opinion on the fact that such endings as *Finit*, which appears at the close of the last poem, are not common in the Exeter MS. Consequently its occurrence here would indicate that it stood in the text of which the Exeter is a copy.[4]

How have the objectors opposed these arguments? It is interesting to note that their difficulties are not the same. Ebert was not certain that he could disregard the general introduction prefixed to the Panther; he was inclined to make his additions at the end of the present group.[5] Sokoll, on the other hand, had no such hesitation about the opening of the series. His obstacle came at the end. He was unable to disregard the *Finit* which stands in the MS, and so would insert his seven extra members before fol. 98a.[6] If we, then, must keep the Panther as the first member and the fragment as the last of the original *Physiologus*, the question narrows itself to how

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[1] *Angl.*, VI, 247.

[2] Grein-Wülcker, *Angelsächsischen Poesie*, III, 164.

[3] *Geschichte des Phys.*, 111.

[4] *Angels. Litt.*, 203.   [5] *Angl.*, VI, 247.   [6] *Angl. Beibl.*, XI, 334.

much has dropped out where the MS breaks.   Are the two bits, the first about a bird and the second a religious application, parts of one bird poem, a few lines of which have been lost?   Or are they fragments of two poems which were, to begin with, separated from each other by a series of poems?

It would give us some help in deciding the complex question of the cycle to know whether the writer selected the bird that succeeds the Whale, or whether he merely followed a row and took the bird that came next in his source.   If he chose, then obviously no argument remains for the longer-cycle theory.

The fragment itself offers too little positively to identify the bird.   Unfortunately it gives us only a line about the bird itself— the statement that it is wonderful, and the religious application, which turns on the figure of parental relationship.

> Hyrde ic secʒan ʒen bi sumum fuʒle
> wundorlicne . . . .
> (98a) fæʒer,
> þæt word, þe ʒecwæð wuldres ealdor:
> "In swa hwylce tiid swa ʒe mid treowe to me
> on hyʒe hweorfað ond ʒe hellfirena
> sweartra ʒeswicað, swa ic symle to eow
> mid siblufan sona ʒecyrre
> þurh milde mod: ʒe beoð me siþþan
> torhte tireadʒe talade ond rimde
> beorhte ʒebroþor on bearna stæl.
> Uton we þy ʒeornor ʒode oliccan,
> firene feoʒan, friþes earnian
> duʒuðe to dryhtne, þenden us dæʒ scine,
> þæt swa æþelne eardwica cyst
> in wuldres wlite wunian motan! Finit.[1]

Grein,[2] Ebert,[3] Wülcker,[4] Stopford Brooke,[5] Brandl,[6] taking it that the two parts both deal with the same bird, have accepted the partridge as the bird of the fragment.   Sokoll, who is of the opinion that the two parts do not belong to the same poem, argues for the

[1] Grein-Wülcker, *Angelsächsischen Poesie*, III, 170.
[2] *Bibliothek*, 237.   [3] *Angl.*, VI, 245 f.
[4] *Angelsächsischen Litteratur*, 202.
[5] *Early English Literature*, 431.
[6] Paul's *Grundriss*, 1047.

charadrius;[1] Sarrazin and Mann agree with this conjecture.[2] Lauchert, who almost commits himself to the small-cycle theory, leaves the matter undecided, but implies that since each animal represents its class, and since prominent examples of land and water animals are selected, so also an impressive bird would be chosen.[3]

The strongest argument for the partridge is that urged first by Ebert—the fact that it follows the Panther and the Whale in the Bern *Physiologus*.[4] But it is to be noticed that in the other versions where the Panther and Whale stand together the Partridge does not always make the third in the sequence. In Bern MS 318, which Lauchert considers nearer the Greek than Bern 233, Panther, Whale, and Unicorn stand in succession.[5] In an Armenian version, placed by Lauchert in group with Bern 233, Panther, Whale, Vulture, Partridge appear together.[6] Lauchert discusses also a Paris version of the fourteenth or fifteenth century of a twelfth-century Greek *Physiologus*, in which Panther, Whale, Fox occur as twenty-first twenty-second, and twenty-third in the cycle.[7] Another, disagreeing still more but also significant, is the French of Pierre le Picard, in which Panther, Partridge, Whale, Ostrich appear in sequence.[8] From this evidence it will not be too large an inference, I think, to say that order even in closely related versions frequently differed, and that Ebert took as too significant the fact that the Partridge followed the Whale and Panther in Bern 233.

If order does not force the selection of the partridge, does the word of description given in the poem, or does the religious application, favor such a choice? Mann, in discussing the claim of the partridge, found it entirely unsatisfactory. He thought, and it is difficult to disagree with him, the despised partridge, the nest stealer, too mean a representative of its class to be called "wonderful."[9] However, the religious lesson in the poem is not altogether unlike the application that usually accompanies the partridge. The

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[1] *Eng. Stud.*, XXVII, 135; *Angl. Beibl.*, XI, 334.

[2] *Eng. Stud., loc. cit.; Angl. Beibl.*, XI, 335.

[3] *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 111, 112.

[4] *Angl.*, VI, 245, 246.

[5] *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 109; *Lat. C.*, cf. p. 90.

[6] *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 109.   [7] *Ibid.*, 100.   [8] *Ibid.*, 139.

[9] *Angl. Beibl.*, XI, 334, 335.

partridge typifies the devil, who, just as the bird steals the eggs of other birds and seeks to make their young her own, robs the church of the children of God. Like the birds, the sinners, too, turn away from the false to the true parent.[1] But notwithstanding the readily seen likeness, the difference is more important. There is too little of the devil in the Anglo-Saxon poem. Compare the whale application.[2] There the idea of the devil's wiles, their similarity to those of the whale, is emphasized. If the Anglo-Saxon *Physiologus* be taken as a small cycle complete in itself, another objection urged by Mann against the partridge is of weight. He suggested that the poet would probably have considered his types as representing land, water, and air, but he would moreover, and this would have been of far greater importance to him, have made them stand for God, man, and the devil. The nature-story description is only a means to an end—to place before the faithful, in their transcendent conception, God, man, and the devil. But panther, whale, partridge would typify God, devil, devil![3] The partridge fails in any case to satisfy conditions. If the series is long, the "wonderful" of the description makes the partridge impossible; if it is short the same objection holds, and there is the added difficulty that it typifies the devil.

Is the charadrius, suggested by Sokoll, the most recent to find favor, more suitable? Sokoll's main argument in support of his choice is likewise that of position. As has been noted, he holds that the last poem now was the last in the original Anglo-Saxon *Physiologus*. He takes it that after the Whale and the line about the bird, before fol. 98*a*, seven poems corresponding to those in the Latin original have dropped out, and that the Charadrius closes the cycle, the part remaining being the religious application belonging to the Charadrius. The Latin original referred to by Sokoll is that represented by Bern 233. But in the Bern and in the closely related version, the Royal, the Charadrius, far from coming last, appears fifth in the series.[4] The last number in the Bern cycle is the Simia;[5]

[1] *Geschichte des Physiologus*, 20.
[2] *Angels. Poesie*, III, 169.
[3] *Angl. Beibl.*, XI, 335.
[4] *Franz. Stud.*, VI, 33, 36.
[5] *Franz. Stud.*, XI, 34; *Geschichte des Phys.*, *Lat. B.*, 109.

the last in the Royal MS is the Mermicolion, the pearl-oyster.[1]
Obviously the Bern was impossible for Sokoll. The Royal would
have served no better, had he known it. Sokoll, then, finding no
support for his theory in the Bern—to his mind the type of the Latin
source—goes to entirely different, unrelated series, the German—
series in which the Whale does not appear at all—and sees there the
Charadrius not last, but next to last.[2] This difficulty he meets
unhappily. Put to it to explain why, the Phoenix being last, the poet
refused it for the bird preceding it in the series, the Charadrius, he
turns to the question of authorship. He makes the mistake of assign-
ing both the *Phoenix* and the *Physiologus* to Cynewulf. He then
dismisses the phoenix on the ground that Cynewulf had already
treated its legend in an independent poem and so would not care to
do so again here. Mann and Sarrazin, who do not apparently
object to Sokoll's appeal to an unrelated version for confirmation
of his theory, are brought to a decided halt by the ascription to
Cynewulf. It draws from Mann the grieved statement that he can
go no farther with Sokoll,[3] and from Sarrazin, "Alas! the writer had
not the most recent Cynewulf investigation in mind."[4]

The charadrius, then, derives small support from its position
in any series, related or unrelated. Its being "wonderful" is of
no avail, as Sokoll uses only the end of the fragment. The applica-
tion like that of the partridge has some points in its favor. In
Physiologus literature, the charadrius, brought into the presence
of a man who is ill, shows whether or not the man will die. If the
bird turns toward him, he will live; if not, he will die. The applica-
tion is: so turned the Savior from the Jews, because of their unbelief,
to the heathen. He took their weakness on him and bore their
diseases, and made them sound.[5] The Latin version gives the added
reference to John 1:11 ff., to which Sokoll calls attention. There is
then this one suggestion of the relation between parent and child.
Generally speaking, however, the charadrius is not one of the birds—
and there are several—that in *Physiologus* literature typify the rela-
tionship between parent and child. There is still to consider Mann's

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[1] *Franz. Stud.*, XI, 37.

[2] *Ibid.*, 136.

[3] *Angl. Beibl.*, XI, 335.

[4] *Eng. Stud.*, XXVII, 136.

[5] *Gesch. des Phys.*, 7; *Franz. Stud.*, XI, 40.

requirement, if the poems form in themselves a cycle, that the bird should represent "man," as the panther and whale typify God and the devil. This difficulty is as insurmountable in the case of the charadrius as it was in that of the partridge, for the charadrius always stands for Christ, and so the cycle would become: God, devil, God—as unsatisfactory on the score of unity as God, devil, devil.

Order, then, cannot be used to justify either the number which went to make up the Anglo-Saxon *Physiologus* in the beginning or the choice of the bird. The Partridge, from the evidence furnished by related versions, does not necessarily follow the Whale, nor in any version can the Charadrius be found last. Since the whole theory of the long cycle was based on the resemblance of the Anglo-Saxon group to the Bern 233 version, and since such correspondence has been shown to be less important than Ebert and Sokoll thought it, there is nothing to prevent the acceptance of Lauchert's half-expressed belief that the Anglo-Saxon is a small *Physiologus* of three members. That we are forced, if we accept the small-cycle theory, to the conclusion that the poet chose his bird is no difficulty, as he manifestly had to choose in any case. In no known related version is there a "wonderful" bird in sequence with the Panther and the Whale.

The writer regrets that the study must at present be left incomplete, since no bird that satisfies all the conditions imposed by the fragments and the small-cycle theory can be suggested. Until such a bird can be found it is impossible to show beyond question that the three Anglo-Saxon poems form a small *Physiologus* complete in itself. It may be affirmed, however, that the group has not yet been proved a part of a greater cycle. Based as they have been hitherto entirely on order, the arguments for such a conclusion are not convincing.

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THE CUSTOM OF SITTING ON THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

Professor C. W. Wallace in his recent book, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars, 1597–1603*, advances many novel theories in regard to the stage history of the time, based, he claims, on documents which he has discovered. "So new," says Mr. Wallace, "are the views given by the present materials that not a single opinion or conclusion of my predecessors has served as a basis for restatement" (p. ix). Unfortunately this is true. For, when he begins to draw conclusions, he is, to my mind, a very unsafe guide, and it is often difficult to disentangle from its setting of theory what Mr. Wallace has contributed to our knowledge of fact. As an example of his lack of critical judgment, I should like to call attention to some of the unsound reasoning in his chapter on the custom of sitting on the stage. It seems to me that in most points the material which he himself presents should have led him to very different conclusions.

Mr. Wallace's general thesis in this chapter is: "The fad of sitting on the stage came into vogue with the Blackfriars in 1597. The earliest known allusion to it dates from 1598. It was a custom in no other theatre in Elizabeth's reign" (p. 130).

The statement that the fad originated at Blackfriars, and in 1597, Mr. Wallace rests entirely upon his proof of the other points. The chapter assumes that the fall of 1597 is the time at which the Children of the Chapel began their career at Blackfriars, for the author has previously given much space to proving that such is the case—though his argument is far from convincing.[1] Fundamental to his whole position, then, is the second assertion, that the earliest known allusion to the custom of sitting on the stage dates from 1598.

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[1] Since Mr. Wallace's volume appeared, Mr. Chambers, who has probably as sound a knowledge of the history of the Elizabethan stage as any man living, has stated emphatically that there is no convincing evidence for the occupation of Blackfriars by the Children of the Chapel before 1600. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 155, 156, and 161. Mr. Chambers' statement, however, is probably too strong; Mr. Wallace's evidence (p. 57) leaves little room for doubt that Blackfriars had been occupied by Evans with a company of some sort at some time prior to the lease of September 2, 1600. But it has not yet been shown conclusively that this occupation went back to 1597, that it was long or continuous, or that it was certainly by the Children of the Chapel.

"About 1598," says Mr. Wallace, "Sir John Davies in a satirizing sonnet-epigram gives the first evidence" (p. 132). "About 1598" must mean for Mr. Wallace not earlier than the end of 1597. And yet there is clear evidence that Davies' epigrams were in circulation by 1596, for epigram 29 is plainly referred to in Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* of 1596.[1] The same epigram is referred to in Bastard's *Chrestoleros*, published in 1598;[2] and Guilpin in that year evidently writes with another of Davies' epigrams in mind. Moreover, matters of apparently recent interest that are treated in several of the epigrams fall within the years 1594 and 1595. Epigram 47 refers to Tyrone's rebellion and the war between France and Spain, both of which began in 1595. The reference in the same epigram to the Austro-Turkish war is doubtless to the renewed activities of 1595 and 1596 rather than to the campaigns in the earlier years of the decade, and the lines—

> . . . . Nor
> Whether the Empire can itselfe maintaine
> Against the Turkish power encroaching still—

may indicate that the epigram was written while news of the Turkish successes of 1596 was still reaching England. This epigram, which is next to the last, is the only one that contains a probable reference to an event occurring later than 1595. Two epigrams speak of matters as new. Doubtless the "new water-worke" of epigram 6 alludes to the "forcier" erected in 1594;[3] and "the new garden of the Old Temple" mentioned in 22 suggests the event that Stow records in the words, "A great part of this old Temple was pulled downe but of late in the yeare 1595."[4] One epigram (25) is written on a sonnet of Drayton's *Idea* (1594); another (40) speaks of the capture of Groningen in 1594, seemingly as "the newest newes," and various others

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[1] This Mr. Wallace could have learned by consulting the notes of Grosart's edition of Davies' poems, or those of Dyce's or Bullen's reprint of Davies' epigrams in their editions of Marlowe.

[2] A passage in *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, Act II, mentions "Kinsader's *Satyrs*, Lodge's *Fig for Momus*, Bastard's *Epigrams*, Leichfild's *Trimming of Nash*." As the play was apparently acted in December, 1597, there is a probability, in spite of possible changes in the manuscript, that Bastard's epigrams as well as Marston's first group of satires were in circulation during 1597. For Bastard this is also indicated by a discussion of his epigrams in a letter of Carleton dated September 13, 1597 (cf. *D.N.B.*, III, 388).

[3] Cf. *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., XIV, 825.

[4] *Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, II, 87.

refer to older events. There is nothing to indicate the date of epigrams 3 and 28, which refer to the practice of sitting on the stage, unless it be their early place in the series. But though all the extant editions of the epigrams are supposed by some to have been printed after the restrictive measures of 1599, there is no evidence that any of the epigrams were written after 1596.

There is also a somewhat obscure passage in Hall's *Virgidemiarum* (Book I, satire III), entered on the Stationers' Register March 31, 1597, in which "gazing scaffolders," the "synod" of poets, and "leave the naked stage" seem to refer to the custom of sitting on the stage, especially as "scaffold" is used in the satire for stage, and the satire on the poets is similar to that on gallants in later writers.

It is practically certain, then, that the fad originated before 1597. The scarcity of references to the custom before 1600 may be due to its late origin or to the fact that Davies is one of the first of the new satirists who turn from the conventional modes of mediaeval satire with their generalized treatment of social types or their specific attacks practically on women and rogues only, to a realistic treatment of social types or of particular follies, especially those of the gallants. Only Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*, Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, both in prose, and Donne's satires are very notable in the new satire before Davies.

Even without the argument from dates, Mr. Wallace's conclusions can be overthrown. Indeed, the worst examples of his absurdities occur in his attempt to uphold the theory that Blackfriars was the only Elizabethan theater in which the custom existed. In disposing of the usual theory that the practice prevailed in other private theaters also, he very characteristically remarks, "There is no evidence for or against the custom at Whitefriars. I must conclude that it was unknown there" (p. 130). In regard to Paul's, he uses the words of Atticus in *What You Will*, "Let's place ourselves within the curtains, for good faith the stage is so very little, we shall wrong the general eye else very much," as definite evidence that Paul's, where the play was acted, never admitted the custom. But Marston was possibly merely attempting to break up an obnoxious custom through advice in the induction preceding the play; there

is little point to the remark if the custom never prevailed. The stage direction of Percy's *Faery Pastorall*, which is usually regarded as written for Paul's, to the effect that certain properties might be omitted if there was lack of space "by reason of concurse of the People on the Stage," Mr. Wallace rejects because there is no evidence that the play was acted (p. 131, n. 3). But how did it ever enter Percy's head that such conditions as he prepares for could arise?

Then, on the ground that "no public theatre of this period had the custom," a statement which he is to prove later, Mr. Wallace accepts every contemporary allusion to the practice as applying to the remaining private theater, the Blackfriars. Seven works, he finds, contain such allusions. The reference which he cites from Davies' *Epigrams* (3),[1] however, and the two from *Every Man out of His Humour* have in themselves no detail that would connect them with any specific theater. Moreover, in spite of its probable allusion to the stage quarrel with Jonson, a passage in Dekker's *Guls Horne-booke* which advises a gallant how he should act in 1609, gives no necessary indication of what gallants did in 1601. Consequently, Mr. Wallace's use of it as evidence for the custom at Blackfriars during an early period is not convincing. It is not entirely clear to me what Mr. Wallace means by his remarks on *Hamlet*, but the passage cited (III, 2, ll. 286–89) evidently has no connection with the custom of sitting on the stage. The references in the prologue and epilogue of *All Fools*, Mr. Wallace puts after the plague of 1603. Similarly, the reference to "the private house" in the 1604 Induction of *The Malcontent* comes late for the period involved. The allusions of both these plays, though evidently to Blackfriars, would only imply the existence of the custom at Blackfriars during Elizabeth's reign through its existence later. If they are to be accepted as evidence for the period, Middleton's *Black Book* of 1604 (mentioned below) must also be accepted for the public theaters. A second passage in the Induction of *The Malcontent* is interpreted to mean that when the play was acted at Blackfriars, it contained thrusts at the habit of wearing feathers on the stage; but a reading of the whole passage would convince one that the

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[1] Epigram 28 of Davies, which specifically says "on the stage," Mr. Wallace uses in connection with the custom of sitting over the stage (p. 135).

satire was directed against the wearing of feathers in general.[1] The remaining passage, which comes from the Induction of *Cynthia's Revels* (acted in 1600 and at Blackfriars), is appropriate enough here, but Mr. Wallace quotes too little of it, and he misinterprets it in several points. Indeed, the whole passage, instead of flattering "the well-wishing stage-patron of the house," as Mr. Wallace argues (p. 132), satirizes unmercifully the gallants who occupy the stage; and, if the custom existed at Blackfriars at this time, Jonson was obviously, like Marston, trying to break it up. Since, however, *Cynthia's Revels* is the first play which the Children are known to have acted at Blackfriars after Burbage secured control of the house,[2] and since Mr. Wallace's argument for an unbroken occupation of the house by the Children very much earlier than the lease of 1600 is theoretical, it is at least possible that Jonson was protesting against the establishment at Blackfriars of a custom found objectionable elsewhere. In fact, a passage of *Cynthia's Revels* itself—not mentioned by Mr. Wallace—gives evidence that the custom of sitting on the stage was not confined to one theater, and might be interpreted to mean that it was not even confined to private theaters. In one of the riddling games of the play Philautia gives this explanation of why breeches may be called "popular": "Marry, that is, when they are not content to be generally noted in court, but will press forth on common stages and brokers' stalls, to the public view of the world" (IV, 1). Jonson would scarcely have used the plural "stages" if the custom prevailed only at Blackfriars. Furthermore, the whole passage reads like a reference to the public theaters, though it is possible, of course, that the wording "common stages" and "public view of the world" might be applied to the stages of the private theaters in contradistinction to the exclusiveness of the court, which is in the mind of the speaker here.

"These," Mr. Wallace declares, "are the known references to the

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[1] Mr. Wallace apparently was misled here and in the discussion of *Hamlet* by a belief that gallants wore their feathers only when sitting on the stage (cf. p. 134, n. 3). It is strange that he should express such an idea in connection with the passage in *The Malcontent* that speaks of one's wearing a feather "up and down the Strand."

[2] In the Induction of *Cynthia's Revels*, however, there is the following remark: "They say, the *umbræ* or ghosts of some three or four plays departed a dozen years since have been seen walking on your stage here." Doubtless a few old plays were produced before the company secured the new *Cynthia's Revels*.

custom of sitting on the stage up to 1604.[1] They establish its origin
in the Blackfriars" (p. 134). On the contrary, they only lead us
to infer that the custom prevailed there before 1603–4. Indeed,
so far as I am aware, Blackfriars is not named in connection with
the custom—for *The Malcontent* merely refers to "the private house"
—before a passage in *The Devil Is an Ass*, I, 3, which Mr. Wallace
does not mention, though he refers to later instances.

So much for the private theaters. Mr. Wallace's argument that
no public theater of the time had the custom deals almost entirely
with a later period. In fact, he speaks of the Rose as negligible
because it "went out of the reckoning about 1603–4" (p. 138). For
the period of Elizabeth's reign he argues, indeed, that the custom
of sitting on the stage "is not to be confused with a certain practice
originating in the public theatres . . . . of sitting 'above' or 'over'
the stage at the rear" (p. 134).[2] He bases his conclusion on a sup-
posed distinction between the two customs on the part of those who
allude to gallants at the theater and on the representation in extant
sketches and pictures of people in the upper room of the stage.
Though Mr. Wallace's evidence that spectators sat above the stage
in some public theaters may be convincing, this itself does not prove
that others did not often sit on the stage in public theaters, while
the passages which are used to show that the two customs are kept
distinct by writers are of doubtful interpretation. Thus on the
following passage from epigram 3 of Davies,

> Rufus the Courtier at the theater,
> Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
> Doth either to the stage himselfe transferre,
> Or through a grate doth shew his double face:
> For that the clamorous fry of Innes of Court,
> Fills up the priuate roomes of greater price:
> And such a place where all may haue resort,
> He in his singularity doth dispise,[3]

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[1] A reference to the custom which Mr. Wallace does not include in his list is to be
found no doubt in the words of Act II, 1. 308, of *Histriomastix*, "Give your play-gull a
stool," which were probably written before 1600, though the play was not published
until 1610.

[2] The structure of the Globe and Fortune Mr. Wallace thinks did not allow either
custom. Cf. pp. 136, 137.

[3] Quoted from Grosart's edition of *The Poems of Davies*.

Mr. Wallace remarks: "Here the gallant is conceived as at the Blackfriars, on the stage (l. 3); or at the public theatre, over the stage (l. 4)" (p. 132). Yet Davies certainly seems to be picturing one character at one theater; if Mr. Wallace's interpretation of "through a grate" is correct,[1] the natural interpretation of the whole passage seems to me to be, in the absence of convincing evidence of a difference between the customs of gallants at the private and public theaters, that spectators sat on the stage and above it at the same time. Furthermore, even the words "over the stage," in epigram 53 of Guilpin's *Skialetheia* and in Dekker and Wilkins' *Jests to Make You Merry*,[2] which Mr. Wallace uses to support his position, may not refer to the custom of sitting in the upper room of the stage, if the lords' rooms were at the side of the stage in all theaters, for in *Every Man out of His Humour* (II, 1, ll. 421–23) Carlo satirizes Brisk for speaking of great lords "as familiarly as if he had . . . . ta'en tobacco with them over the stage, in the lords' room."[3]

According to Mr. Wallace's theory, the fad of the Blackfriars was not even adopted later by the public theaters, though it "may be that occasionally a gallant intruded his presence on the public stage" (p. 141). One of his best points is that owing to the structure of several important public theaters, notably the Globe and the Fortune, gallants sitting at the side on the stage "would have cut off the view from the gentlemen's rooms" (p. 138). But we cannot speak with certainty as to the structure of all the public theaters. Nor do fads go by rules of logic. Moreover, a passage in Dekker's *Guls Horne-booke*, chap. vi, which deals explicitly with both public

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[1] Malone thought this phrase referred to the boxes in the gallery next to the balcony.

[2] Dekker's *Works*, II, 292.

[3] The use of "lords' room" in the singular here and in the passage from Dekker quoted later and the use of "over" here suggest the possibility that in some theaters the choice place may have been the upper room of the stage. Still the contract for building the Fortune theater after the model of the Globe shows that there were four "gentlemens roomes" in the galleries, probably the lower galleries, in each of these theaters; and the contract for the Hope states that the builder "shall also make two boxes in the lower most storie, fitt and decent for gentlemen to sitt in; And shall make the partitions betweene the roomes as they are at . . . . the Swan" (Baker, *Dev. of Sh. as a Dram.*, 316, 322). Moreover, the words Dekker uses in describing the eclipse of the lords' room—"the Stages Suburbs," "thrust into the reare," and "in darknesse"—suit better a picture of the side boxes overshadowed by the audience on the stage than of the upper room merely passing out of fashion. The passage from *Ev. M. out* Mr. Wallace does not seem to have known.

and private playhouses, speaks unequivocally of the boxes as "contemptibly thrust into the reare," while the stage is crowded. The whole passage may be quoted, because, as I interpret the passage, it stresses strongly the fact that the structure of the theater and the inconvenience caused even the highest classes by the custom of sitting on the stage did not check the custom, while the last lines indicate that the opposition of the audiences had no effect, and consequently that the passage quoted below from *The Malcontent* has not necessarily the meaning which Mr. Wallace gives it.

Whether therefore the gatherers of the publique or priuate Play-house stand to receiue the afternoones rent, let our Gallant (hauing paid it) presently aduance himselfe vp to the Throne of the Stage. I meane not into the Lords roome (which is now but the Stages Suburbs): No, those boxes, by the iniquity of custome, conspiracy of waiting-women and Gentlemen-Ushers, that there sweat together, and the couetousness of Sharers, are contemptibly thrust into the reare, and much new Satten is there dambd, by being smothred to death in darknesse. But on the very Rushes where the Commedy is to daunce, yea, and vnder the state of *Cambises* himselfe must our feathered *Estridge*, like a piece of Ordnance, be planted valiantly (because impudently) beating downe the mewes and hisses of the opposed rascality.

This passage Mr. Wallace considers and rejects, as also one in Middleton's *Black Book* concerning "Barnaby Burning-glass, arch tobacco-taker of England . . . . upon stages both public and private" (*Works*, ed. Bullen, VIII, 42, 43). "Both," Mr. Wallace says, "are in satires—not reliable repositories of fact" (p. 138). Of a later passage, in Hutton's *Follie's Anatomie* (1619), which advises a gallant to grace "the crowded stage" at the Globe specifically, he says, "But as it is merely a hypothetical case, in a satire at that, I doubt its value" (pp. 136, 137). These are excellent examples of the fashion in which Mr. Wallace rejects material at variance with his theory, for he has already accepted the evidence of the satirists Davies and Guilpin, and of one passage from *The Guls Horne-booke*.

No one, I suppose, questions the fact that the custom of sitting on the stage was more in vogue at Blackfriars than at the public theaters and that the audiences at some of the theaters stood stoutly against it. More than this it does not seem to me necessary to infer even from the passage in the Induction to *The Malcontent* which

Mr. Wallace says (p. 134) denies explicitly the privilege of sitting on the stage at the Globe:

Tire-man.—Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit here.

Sly.—Why, we may sit upon the stage at the private house . . . . dost think I fear hissing?

Mr. Wallace certainly deserves the highest honor for the important information that he has been able to gather in regard to Shakespeare and his time, and every student of the Elizabethan drama will regret that he should lessen even in the slightest degree the value of his work by hasty conclusions and fallacious reasoning in his efforts to proclaim startling and revolutionary theories.

<div align="right">C. R. BASKERVILL</div>

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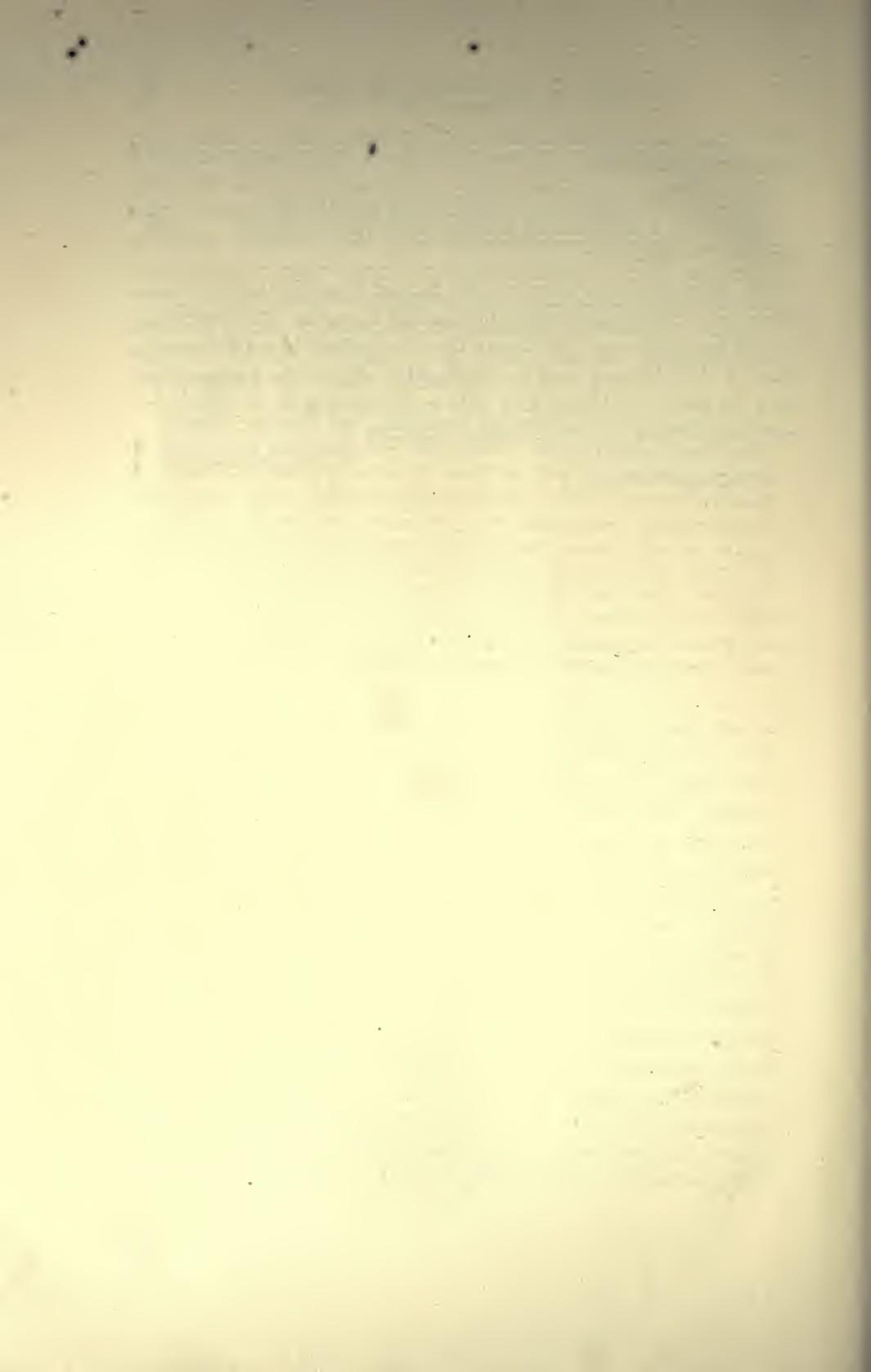
NOTES ON THE SPANISH PALATALS

OLD SPANISH *j*

Modern Spanish has two slightly different *y*-sounds. The more vowel-like one, resembling French *y* in *yeux*, stands next to a consonant or at the end of a word: *bien, deis, ley*. The stronger form is used only at the beginning of a syllable: *hierro, yerro*. In ordinary speech the latter sound is a palatal fricative, the voiced counterpart of German *ch* after *e*. In emphatic utterance it often becomes a palatal *d* (Bohemian *d'*), or even the prepalatal affricate *dž* (English *j*), thus repeating a development found in nearly all Romance-speaking lands. Direct evidence of the formation of *dž* from *y*, under varying circumstances, is furnished by the literary language or by certain dialects in Rumanian, Italian, French, Provençal, and Catalan. Asturian and Galician have *š* (written *x*) corresponding to Castilian initial *j*, which is a voiceless velar fricative like German *ch* after *o*. Portuguese *j* is *ž*, and we know that this voiced sound was formerly used in Spain.

Several sixteenth-century writers, quoted by Cuervo in the *Revue hispanique*, II, 55, give to Spanish *j* the sound of French *j* or Italian palatal *g*. From Wiener's "Songs of the Spanish Jews in the Balkan Peninsula," published in the first volume of *Modern Philology*, we learn that the Judeo-Spanish of Slavonic countries distinguishes *dž* and *ž*. After a consonant, and at the beginning of a word, *dž* is used; *ž* stands between vowels: *andžel, dženti, džentil, džudería, džustu, džuzgar, endžuntu, eskožer, espežu, ižu, manožu, mensažeru, mužer, ožu*. Whether this difference was made by Spaniards, in the fifteenth century or earlier, may be questioned; if it was, it agrees with the distinction of strong *r* in *honra, rico*, and weak *r* in *veras*. Turkish Jews use *dž* not only initially but between vowels also, according to Foulché-Delbosc (*Revue hispanique*, I, 28). Since Spanish *j* corresponds to Arabic *dž* in borrowed words, in Spanish transcriptions of Arabic, and in Arabic transcriptions of Spanish (*Revue hispanique*, II, 54, 62, 66), it is not likely that there was any

great difference between the two in mediaeval times. We may then assume that Spanish *j* was once *dž;* later *ž* was formed from *dž* as in French and Portuguese. When voiced *s* and *z* became voiceless in the sixteenth century, *ž* was likewise shifted to *š* in Asturian and Galician as well as Castilian. The change of *š* to a velar sound in Castilian, and almost to *h* in Andalusian, seems rather strange, but it is not without parallels in Romance. Northern Walloon has *baht* for southern *bašé,* and *bȧhî* for *bāžé,* equivalent to O.F. *baissier* and *baisier* (Feller, *Orthographe wallonne,* p. 28).

INITIAL *y*

Late Latin *y* comes from earlier palatalized *d,* palatalized *g,* hiatus *e,* hiatus *i,* as well as consonant *i.* Castilian has *j* for initial *y* before velar vowels: *jornal, joven, juego, juez, junco, junto.* In *yuso,* initial *y* was kept or restored by the influence of *ayuso,* which has regular medial *y.* The rustic words *yugo* and *yunto,* with their derivatives, must have come from a Spanish dialect which, like Gascon and Sicilian, kept *y* unchanged. The formation of *u* from open *u,* in *yugo<iŭgu,* also agrees with the regular Sicilian development. In *uñir<*yunyére<iungere, y* was lost by dissimilation, just as *r* was in *arado<aratru, criba<cribra.* The *u* of *yunque* was transposed too late for *y* to make *j.*

Initial *y* makes *j* before stressless *a: jacilla, jamás.* A third example, if its *j* does not come from *x,* may be found in *jalbegar< *dyalbicare<de+albicare.* The apparent disagreement with *dorado< de+auratu* is no stranger than in French *jusque<de+usque* beside *dont<de+unde.* By a curious coincidence, Italian *albeggiare* and Portuguese *alvejar* show medial *dy* in a form without the prefix. The popular origin of *jacilla<*iacilia* is proved by the lack of a classic Latin equivalent, and by its meaning, "señal ó huella que deja una cosa sobre la tierra en que ha estado por algún tiempo." The *ll<ly* does not indicate a learned word, as in *maravilla;* it must be due to negative dissimilation, like *pl* in *plañir<plangere* beside *ll* in *llanto< planctu,* and *c* for *ch* in French *cage.* In the variant *yacija,* meaning "lecho," the connection with *yacer* was not forgotten; therefore its *y* was kept, and *ly* became *j.* The word **iacilia* was a neuter plural, standing for classic *cubile, cubilia;* its existence is assured by Italian

giaciglio, a remade singular like *orecchio* for *orecchia* < *auricula*. If *ayuno* comes from early *iaiunu*, *y* was lost by dissimilation as in Rumanian *ajun*. It may, however, represent classic *ad ieiunu;* this would have lost both *y*'s, like *hermano* < *germanu*, *peor* < *peiore*, and then made a new *y* from the hiatus vowel, like *haya* < *habeat* or *yunque* < *incude*.

Initial *y* is kept before stressed *a*, and before stressless *a* where the analogy of a strong verb-form hindered the change to *j: ya, yace, yacer, yacija, yanta, yantar*. The loss of *m* in *iam*, contrary to *quien* < *quem*, may show that stressless *ya* was restressed before the change of *y* to *j;* or it may have come from misdivision of *iam-magis* into **ia+magis*, corresponding to Italian *dammi* = *da+mi*. If *j* was developed in *joven* before *au* became *o*, the *y* of *yogue* < *iacui* is regular; otherwise it is analogic like that of *yacer*.

Initial *y* has been lost before stressless *e* and *i*, the *h* sometimes written having no historic value: *encía* < *gingiva*, *helar* < *gelare*. The same development is found before secondary *e: echar, enero, enebro* = Italian *gettare, gennaio, ginepro*, for Latin *iactare, ianuariu, iuniperu*. From the regular loss of medial *y* next to *e* and *i*, it seems probable that initial *y* was lost before stressed *e*. As *ye* comes from *ĕ* alone in *yedra, yegua, yerba, yesca*, it may have done so in *yerno* < *gĕneru* and other words of the kind. Italian has *gèsso* with open *e*, so that Spanish *yeso* hardly proves that *y* was kept before *e*. In *jera* < *diaria*, corresponding to Portuguese *geira*, the *j* may be of rustic origin; Asturian has *š* in *xera* and *xenru* = *yerno*. If it is Castilian, it could have come from the related word *jornal;* or perhaps *di* was preserved by the influence of *día* and afterward passed directly to *dž*, as in *medža* < *media*, *remedžu* < *remedio* (*Modern Philology*, I, 263).

PALATAL *l* BETWEEN VOWELS

Medial *g* and *k* disappear before *l*. Menéndez Pidal assumes that they become *y*, *Manual*, §57, 2d ed. If this were so we should find *e* in *cuajo* < *coagulu*, *navaja* < *nouacula* as in *beso* < *basiu*, *eje* < *axe*, *era* < *area*, *hecho* < *factu*. Evidently *k* (including *k* < *t* as in *uetulu*) became voiced; *l* then changed *g* to a palatal sound like Bohemian *d'* or Hungarian *gy*. This *g* seems to have become *dž* in *arondžar*

(*Modern Philology*, I, 270), derived from *arroldžar < *arrotulare*, with interchange of *n* and *l* as in *alma* < *anima*, *Huelva* < *Onuba*, *rondar* < *rotulare* (Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 54). Usually palatal *g* made the *l* palatal, and was then assimilated like *d* in *cañado* < *cadnado < *catenatu*, *seroño* < *serodno < *serotinu*, variants of *candado* and *serondo* (Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 58). The resulting palatal *l* was treated like *ly*: *hoja* < *folia*, *ojo* < *oculu*, *teja* < *tilia*, *teja* < *tegula*. In Asturian former palatal *l* has become *y*: *fueya*, *güeyu*, *teya*. It seems to be generally held that the same thing happened in Castilian: so Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 64; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, I, § 514. But this theory does not harmonize with the retention of medial *y* for some twenty centuries in the word *cuyo*. If *j* came from *y* in *aguja*, *ojo*, *ajeno*, *ajo*, *paja*, we should find *j* in *huya*, *poyo*, *ma(y)estro*, *mayo*, *haya*, and many other such words.

The history of medial *j* can be inferred from that of *ll*. Dental *ll* was altered to its present palatal sound, and likewise *nn* to *ñ*, by raising the front of the tongue to the *y*-position. Before this process was ended, there was felt the need of keeping older palatal *l* (the derivative of *gl* and *ly*) distinct from the new one. So the old sound was strengthened by raising the tongue as much as possible; that is, palatal *l* became palatal *d*. Before a vowel this palatal *d* was later changed to *dž*, just as palatal *t* was to *tš* in *ocho* < *octo*. From *buitre*, *fresno*, *petral*, *prenda* < *pendra* < *peñra < *pignora*, beside *cuchillo*, *eje*, *pecho*, *seña*, we know that Spanish does not allow a palatal consonant before a consonant. Hence palatal *l* became *d* in *medrar*, a variant of *mejorar* < *meliorare* like *honrar* and *honorar* < *honorare*. A similar treatment of dental *l* took place in late *ld* < *ll* of book-Latin or Italian words: *bulda*, *celda*, *píldora*, *rebelde*. The change of *ll* to *dd* is a regular feature of southern Italian, which also has palatal *dd* (written *ggh*) for palatal *l*: Otrantine *cueddu* < *collu*, *fuegghiu* < *foliu* (Stoppato *Fonologia italiana*, § 171).

OLD SPANISH *z*

Latin *z* was like English *dz* in *adze*. Italian *z* means *dz* in some words, *ts* in others. Old French *z* was *dz* in the numbers *onze*, *seze;* at the end of a word it had the sound *ts*, which we still keep in Eng. *assets* < *assez* < *adsatis*, *Fitz* < *fiz* < *filius*. It cannot be reason-

ably doubted that Spanish *z* was once *dz* before a voiced sound and *ts* elsewhere. A bit of neglected evidence is the *dz* of Italian *azienda* < Sp. *hazienda*. Jewish speech has *dz* for *z* < *d* + *z*: *dodzi, tredzi, katordzi, kindzi* (*Modern Philology*, I, 206). Early grammarians compare Spanish *z* with Italian voiced *z*, and even transcribe it *ds* (*Revue hispanique*, II, 35). The development of *açor* < *aztor* < *acceptore*, *plazo* < *plazdo* < *placitu*, shows plainly *z* = *ts* and *z* = *dz*. The final elements of *tst* and *dzd* were lost by dissimilation, like the initial ones of *stš* and *sts* in *macho* < *masculu*, *mecer* < *miscere*, O.F. *oz* < *hostis*, Catalan *aquets* < *aquests* (Fabra, *Gramatica de la llengua catalana*, p. 108).

z after a consonant

Palatalized *d* and *g* became *y* after a posttonic nasal and were absorbed: *lueñe* < *longe*, *tañe* < *tangit*, *uña* < *ungula*, *vergüeña* < *verecundia*. Otherwise a stronger sound was generally developed after a consonant. As initial *dž* comes from *dy*, we might expect the same strengthening medially. Instead we find *dz*, written *z* (now *θ*, written *c* or *z*). But this appearance of *dz*, where *dž* would seem more natural, is not a peculiarity of Spanish. Italian has *dž* from *dy* initially and after vowels, as in *giorno, giuso, poggio, raggio* (*mezzo* for older *meggio* being due to dissimilation in *mezzogiorno*); but *dz* after *r* and *n:* *orzo* < *hordeu*, *pranzo* < *prandiu*. Likewise Spanish formed *dz* after *r*, pretonic *n* and *w:* *arzen* < *argere* (classic *aggere*), *arzilla* < *argilla*, *enzía* < *gingiva*, *gozoso* < *gaudiosu*. The *u* of Latin *au* was a semivowel or consonant, like English *w* in *wood*. Its protective effect is seen in *coto* < *cautu*, *hoto* < *fautu*, *oca* < *auca*, *poco* < *paucu*. Between syllabic vowels, *t* and *k* became voiced; after *w*, as after *l, n, r, s*, they remained voiceless. The word *arzen* must be the same as Italian *àrgine;* the stress of modern *arcén* seems to be due to *andén*, which has a related meaning. The final *n* may have come, like the ending of the Italian word, from nearly synonymous *margine;* but more probably it was formed by dissimilation, like *l* and *r* for *n* in *español* < *españon*, *nombre* < *nomne*, *sangre* < *sangne*, Galician *lembrar* < *nembrar* < *membrar*.

Exceptions to this development of *dz* are due to the working of analogy. In *quinientos* < *quingentos*, *g* was treated as if initial, because the word was felt to be a compound. Modern *sendos*, for

earlier *seños* < *singulos*, must have been formed by dissimilation from
*senzos, pronounced *sendzos;* the latter owed its *dz* to the related
word *senziello* < *singellu. In verbs the strong stem spread to weak
forms, as *tañer* for *tanzer like *yacer* for **jacer;* in *unzir* and *uñir* are
seen both developments. As *vergüença* had original *ç*, it must have
borrowed this sound from the ending *-nça*, which is so common in
abstract nouns. *Gozo* and *oya* have the variants *goyo*, *ozga* (Ford,
Old Spanish Sibilants, 24); *goyo* and *oya* seem to be the historic
forms. Pretonic *dz* was developed in *gozoso*, *ozamos, as in *ren-
ziella*, *senziello*, *unzir;* and posttonic *y* in *goyo*, *oya*, as in *riñe*, *seños*,
uñe. Modern *gozo* and old *oza are due to the analogy of *gozar*,
gozoso, *ozamos, *ozades. *Ozga* < *oza shows the influence of one of
the commonest verbs, *haga*, *hago*, just as do later *oiga*, *oigo*, for *oya*,
oyo. Portuguese likewise has *ouça*, *ouço*, with the endings of *faça*,
faço; and *goivo* = Sp. *goyo* beside *gozo* = *gozo*.

PALATALIZED *c*

We know that in Spanish, as in Provençal and French, *ç* was for-
merly sounded *ts* (Ford, *Old Spanish Sibilants*, 89). Where *ç* is a
derivative of Latin *c*, we should expect it to have passed through *tš;*
and there is some evidence indicating that it did so in western
Romance. In Castilian *mancha*, *uña*, and Galician *mancha* (pro-
nounced *mãša* in modern Portuguese), *uña* (written *unha* in Portu-
guese), corresponding to Italian *macchia* < *macula*, *unghia* < *ungula*,
we find secondary palatalized *c* and *g* treated like the primary ones
of Italian *dieci* < *dece*, *dito* < *digitu*, Portuguese *faia* and Spanish
faya, *haya* < *fagea*. From this general agreement it seems probable
that the *ts* of *braço* and *cinco* came from older *tš*, which is still kept
in Italian *braccio* and *cinque*. The development of *dulce* shows even
more plainly that *ç* was once *tš*. Spanish *dulce* is apparently a com-
bination of *duce* and *dolce = Catalan *dols*. Old *duce* and *duz*,
derived from *doice, owe their *u* to the lost *i*, like *mucho* = Galician
moito < *multu*. The *o* of *doice is seen in Galician *doce* and Portuguese
doce. The latter form does not stand for **douce;* for Galician does
not confuse *ou* with *oi*, nor reduce *ou* to *o* as Portuguese does.

The *c* of *doce* and *duce* seems to have absorbed *i* without being
altered. If *ç* had been *ts* when this happened, it would have been

changed to *tš*, just as *s* was to *š* in Portuguese and Spanish *puxar* <
pulsare. The retention of *ç* shows that it was at that time *tš* or
some similar palatal sound that could not be further palatalized.
When this palatal *ç* absorbed *i*, the dental *t* of Spanish **muito* must
have become palatal *t* (Bohemian *t'*, Hungarian *ty*). Before palatal
t became prepalatal *tš* in *mucho*, older *tš* (*ç*) was changed to alveolar
ts and thus kept distinct in word-pairs like *caça* and *cacha*, *maço*
and *macho*. Later *ts* lost its *t*, and the remaining fricative was in
Castilian moved forward to dental *θ*. This development kept *ç*
from confusion with *s*, which was probably then as now a post-
alveolar sound, somewhat resembling English *sh*. The antiquity of
Hispanic *ş* is shown by its prevalence in Catalan, Galician, and
northern Portuguese (Vianna, *Pronuncia normal portuguesa*, § 42;
Revue hispanique, I, 9). Southern Portuguese and Andalusian have
alveolar *s* instead of *ş*, so that *ç* and *ss* are confused. This loss of the
former distinction is perhaps due to Moorish influence; for Arabic
has no *ş*, and most of the modern dialects confuse old *θ* (*θâ*) with
s (*sîn*).

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LYLY'S *ENDIMION:* AN ADDENDUM

M. Albert Feuillerat in his notable volume on John Lyly[1] has offered one more version of the personal allegory long since suspected to lie concealed in *Endimion.* Building on the fact that Cynthia in several passages is to be thought of primarily as Queen Elizabeth,[2] he contends, as does R. W. Bond, that Tellus represents Mary Queen of Scots; the Castle in the Desert, her prison at Tutbury Castle; and Corsites, her jailor, Sir Amyas Paulet. Differentiating here, he interprets Dipsas as her ally, the papacy; Endimion, as her son, James VI of Scotland; and Eumenides, as Patrick Gray, an emissary from James to Elizabeth. On this basis, the story of the play is the negotiation of the treaty by which James abandoned his mother for Elizabeth, and Mary's unavailing plots with papal agencies to regain ascendency over her son.

In common with all previous explanations of the play, this rests on no positive external or internal evidence. It is an attempt to explain a play which appears enigmatic. Therefore M. Feuillerat proposes the laudable method: "Mettons-nous à la place d'un spectateur de l'époque; écoutons ce que dit la pièce . . . . nous partirons de la pièce pour arriver à l'histoire" (p. 157). But why "l'histoire"? This is a priori. M. Feuillerat does not question the existence of a political allegory. Having published without noticing a recent monograph in the *Amer. Mod. Lang. Assn. Publ.,*[3] he failed to reckon with the explanation of the play therein as an impersonal allegory of courtly love. With that explanation uncontroverted, the reason for seeking a personal allegory is removed. Nevertheless, since this has been proposed with some confidence

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[1] *John Lyly.* Contribution à l'histoire de la renaissance en Angleterre. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.

[2] The *Oxford English Dictionary* under "Cynthia" overlooks this use for Elizabeth, though it occurs in Spenser, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Raleigh, and a dozen others.
To cite Milton 1632 as its earliest occurrence as a name for the moon is the less pardonable since the second citation (from Otway) is reminiscent of famous lines from *Romeo and Juliet.*

[3] XXIV, No. 1 (March, 1909): Percy W. Long, "The Purport of Lyly's *Endimion.*" The paper was read before the Conference at Princeton University, December, 1908.

(pp. 187–90), the inquiry is inevitable: Does this latest version serve to explain the data of the play?

M. Feuillerat's "méthode logique" (p. 157) is to decide first that there is a personal allegory;[1] second, that Cynthia represents Elizabeth; third, that Tellus must therefore represent Mary; fourth, that Endimion must therefore represent James, etc., etc.[2] The first step is assumed; the second, universally conceded. As to the third, however—the cornerstone of the personal allegory—both Mr. Bond and M. Feuillerat express such confidence that they agree in dating the play 1586 on no other definitive ground.[3] The latter avows (p. 163): "S'il subsistait un doute sur l'identification de Tellus avec Marie, ce serait à désespérer de pouvoir jamais expliquer une allégorie."

The strength of this position is that Tellus represents a beautiful, vindictive, much-courted lady, in love with the lover of Cynthia, and later imprisoned at her command. This befits the personality of Mary and her imprisonment by Elizabeth. True, the rivalry between Elizabeth and Mary was not in love affairs, except with reference to Leicester, and Leicester by previous discussions has been eliminated. But Lyly might represent other rivalry, and still recognizably to the audience, under this form. True again, Cynthia is unconscious of any rivalry with Tellus, not knowing of the latter's love for Endimion till the end of the play (V, iii, 57–94). But Lyly in this way might flatter the hauteur of the queen, and the courtly audience might understand. Then too, the place of confinement is called "The Castle in the Desert" (III, i, 41–42), and at least twice Mary wrote of herself as "captive en un deserte" (p. 161). True, the phrase occurs but once in the play; later, where opportunity offers (III, ii; IV, i; V, iii, 252), nothing is made of it as a topical hit. No definiteness is attached to the scene, except where the "Deserte"

[1] He urges only that the myth is transferred to scenes resembling court life (p. 143), and that the play is not intelligible without such an allegory (p. 156). But see "Purport," pp. 173–75.

[2] Since M. Feuillerat remarks (p. 159, n. 4) that his identification of Tellus preceded the appearance of R. W. Bond's edition of Lyly in 1903, it is beside the point to remark that historically his method is the elimination of Leicester and substitution of James VI on the lines attributed to Halpin (p. 156).

[3] See Bond, II, 289; Feuillerat, p. 577. The euphuism in *Galathea* is not widely different from that in *Endimion*. See C. G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism* (Erlangen, 1894), p. 99.

(V, iii, 66–68) is shown to be infested with "Lyons, Tygars, Bores, and Beares," fauna which do not suggest the environs of Tutbury Castle. Still, the phrase might be caught by an attentive audience.

Other circumstances urged in favor of this identification do not appear to have equal force. It is vain to urge that both Tellus and Mary embroider during captivity. The conventional pastime would befit any two captive ladies of that period. Moreover, the solitary picture of Endimion wrought by lovelorn Tellus (V, iii, 253) for her own contemplation, in slack disregard of Cynthia's commands, corresponds ill with Mary's "petits travaux à l'aiguille qu'elle envoyait à sa bonne sœur d'Angleterre" (p. 162). Again, the fact that Mary "ne cessa d'intriguer contre sa cousine" (p. 160) cannot be seen shadowed in the plots of Tellus; for Tellus nowhere plots against Cynthia. Mary was imprisoned for such plots; but Tellus is imprisoned only for her carping "long tongue" (III, i, 34–42, 45).

These discrepancies do not interfere with the identification: they merely remove the allegations in its favor. Though M. Feuillerat alludes (p. 162) to numerous striking details of correspondence · between Tellus and Mary, I have found none that are individual;[1] certainly there is no overt allusion to things Scottish, French, or papal; to the problem of the succession;[2] to the many love affairs of Mary, or her otherwise checkered history. To grasp securely an allegory lacking in these respects Lyly's audience must have been singularly alert. Yet M. Feuillerat (p. 188) will not concede to the dramatist a right to any obscurity: "Toute incertitude, toute obscurité sont fatales aux intentions de l'auteur" (p. 189). He considers (p. 190) that "l'auteur dramatique doit présenter son allégorie avec une netteté et une clarté parfaites"; and that "Lyly s'est conformé à ces lois de la bonne allégorie dramatique." What, then, are the decisive signs which impress on Lyly's hearers the identity of Tellus with Mary?

That Tellus is treated as "une femme d'un rang égal à celui

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[1] M. Feuillerat notes (p. 162, n. 7) the words of Tellus (V, iii, 73): "Cynthia, by whom I receive my life," as alluding to Elizabeth's clemency toward Mary. But they are explained by the physical allegory, in which (see I, ii, 27–30) earth cannot bloom without the influence of the moon.

[2] Where Cynthia styles Endimion "the hope of succeeding time" (V, iii, 36–37), M. Feuillerat sees an "allusion au titre d'héritier que Jacques avait enfin obtenu" (p. 181). But, unless for cogent reasons, *succeeding* must here bear the sense of *ensuing*.

d'Elizabeth" (p. 159) has been urged as pointing uniquely to Mary. But is not her conspicuousness accounted for sufficiently by the physical allegory and the absence of any third major female character? I do not find in her "une attitude indépendante et hautaine" (p. 158). On the contrary she says: "In maiestie, beautie, vertue, and dignitie, I alwaies humbled and yeelded my selfe to Cynthia" (V, iii, 145–47). She does not class herself with Cynthia among the "Goddesses" (V, iii, 149);[1] and avers that from Cynthia she receives her life (V, iii, 73). Cynthia she esteems "the myracle of Nature, of tyme, of Fortune." She contends only for equality "in affections" (V, iii, 147), for some "comparison" in "beauty" (I, ii, 16, 19), and that her thoughts are free (III, ii, 6–8). M. Feuillerat abandons the caution of R. W. Bond (III, p. 91) in saying: "on l'appelle 'Madame,' titre qui, dans la pièce, n'est attribué qu' à elle et à Cinthia" (p. 159). Floscula, her confidante, once addresses her as "Madame" (I, ii, 1); no one does so again. Customarily she is addressed as *faire lady* (I, ii, 27; I, iv, 18), as *faire Tellus* (II, i, 57; III, ii, 1; IV, i, 28), as *lady* (III, ii, 23), or less ceremoniously. Tellus, however, repeatedly addresses Cynthia as "Madame" (III, i, 36; V, iii, 92, 118, 130, 151, 245) and in her presence is markedly deferential. Cynthia uses no ceremony toward her, and once calls her "presumptuous" (III, i, 40). Floscula, even while styling Tellus "Madame" (I, ii, 13), bids her: "Compare the state [rank] of Cynthia with your owne, and the height of Endimion his thoughts, with the meanenesse [mediocrity] of your fortune . . . . being betweene you and her no comparison." Even at this point the audience could not fail to sense their marked disparity.

Again, the fact that Tellus in the physical allegory represents Earth enables M. Feuillerat, from a single passage, to infer that she also personifies maternity. Tellus says (I, ii, 25–26): "Infinite are my creatures, without which neyther thou, nor Endimion, nor any could loue, or liue."[2] But the creatures mentioned, corn, vines, grass, etc., indicate that Tellus is thought of as the goddess of culti-

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[1] She regards princely rank as "higher fortune" than her own (III, ii, 13–15). See Feuillerat, p. 159, n. 4.

[2] M. Feuillerat (p. 167) understands *which* to mean *who* (read *whom*). This forces the construction without reason. The allusion in *loue* is to the proverb, "Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus"; cf. *Love's Metamorphosis*, V, i, 46.

vated fields, as source of nutriment,[1] rather than universal mother. Maternity to be sure accords well enough with Mary. But Tellus terms herself "a poore credulous virgin" (I, ii, 8) and "an unspotted virgin" (IV, ii, 57), terms which, in a personification of maternity, must prove misleading to an audience, however prone to Mariolatry. Furthermore, Tellus calls herself "accursed gyrle" (IV, i, 13), and Cynthia addresses her as "presumptuous gyrle" (III, i, 40). At the end of the play she is described (V, iii, 57) as of "so few yeres." Tellus, therefore, is clearly not a matron but a maid.

The data in brief describe Tellus (if a historic personage) as a fair young virgin of Queen Elizabeth's court, vainly loving a lover of the Queen; imprisoned for slandering him; thwarted in revengefully attempting to estrange them; pardoned after the confession of her love, and given in marriage[2] to the martial but susceptible courtier who was first her gaoler and later her accomplice.

In 1586, by contrast, Mary had been for nineteen years a mother, for seventeen a prisoner; dangerous from her plots against the Queen, but not against the Queen's lovers, with none of whom she seems to have been in love; and innocent of all design to marry her Puritanical and inflexible gaoler.

"Mettons-nous à la place d'un spectateur de l'époque." In hearing the single phrase "The Castle in the Deserte," Elizabeth might recall Mary's letter of not quite a year before, styling herself "captive en un deserte." Must we assume that Lyly and his audience had heard it bruited about the court? If so, the exploitation is singularly meager. And would the Virgin Queen have been pleased to recognize Mary in a virgin?

[M. Feuillerat seeks to identify Endimion as James VI of Scotland. But Endimion contrasts with James in personality, place of residence, and social station. M. Feuillerat describes (p. 169, n.) the retired youth of James, "timide, de santé délicate." He overlooks the lines (V, i, 60–62): "Am I that Endimion who was wont in Iustes, turneys, and armes to exercise my

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[1] Such again is the significance where Dipsas (II, iii, 38–39) speaks of culling from Tellus her "simples."

[2] R. W. Bond (II, 91) accounts for the ultimate marriage of Tellus and Corsites, though Mary did not marry her gaoler, by averring that "concluding marriages are a necessity of comedy." M. Feuillerat would have it (p. 188, n. 2) that thus "Lyly laissait entendre que Marie Stuart allait être plus que jamais la prisonnière de Sir Amyas Paulet." But Cynthia grants Tellus "pardon for all that is past" (V, iii, 244).

youth?" James indeed avoided ladies, but from distaste; Endimion urges his solitary life as a proof of his great love. Tellus is imprisoned after the enchantment of Endimion. As Mary was imprisoned before James was three years old, this would make Endimion a surprisingly precocious lover, and the more so as he had then led a solitary life for "almost these seven yeeres" (II, i, 14) and had previously taken part in tournaments. Small wonder M. Feuillerat observes (p. 151, n. 1): "Il est même dit qu'il était 'almost but newlie come forth of the cradle'" (III, iv, 20). But M. Feuillerat will perhaps date Mary's imprisonment from her transfer to Tutbury Castle. At any rate, no nursling is represented in the lines (II, i, 21–22): "Have I not spent my golden yeeres in hopes, waxing old with wishing?" Again, James dwelt in Scotland. Cynthia, however, styles Endimion "the flowre of my Courte" (V, iii, 36). She sees him sleeping with Corsites (IV, iii) and has a guard set over him. The lunary bank is therefore near her court. Finally, though James negotiated officially for a marriage with Elizabeth, Endimion repeatedly avows (II, i, 92–100; V, iii, 162–75) that he dare not term his affection love, because: "Such a difference hath the Gods sette between our states [stations] that all must be dutie, loyaltie, and reverence."

M. Feuillerat recognizes that the relations of Tellus and Endimion are prima facie not those of mother and son. He credits Lyly with wishing to gloss over their relationship, making them appear as sexual lovers in order to dull the Queen's sense of her greater age—"faire oublier à la reine cette gênante supériorité que lui donnait la fuite du temps." But Elizabeth could lose none of her nine years' seniority by this transfer of Mary from the elder generation to the younger. Again he observes (p. 169): "Montrer la triomphe de la reine sur une mère n'eût pas été très flatteur." Then Lyly had best not written: for this the audience must see if they saw the allegory.

To support his unprecedented conception, M. Feuillerat suggests a personification of the youthful virgin Tellus as maternity, and (pp. 164–65) certain alleged inconsistencies in the behavior of Endimion and Tellus. Two passages only are offered as direct proof of a maternal relation. "Et comme Tellus lui posait cette embarrassante question: 'Alors, vous m'aimez, Endimion?' il répond par cette phrase amphibologique, ou est très habilement rappelé le lien qui unissait Jacques à Marie: 'Sans cela, je ne vivrais pas'" (p. 173). To be sure, if one to live must love, the person loved perforce need not necessarily be one's mother. But did Lyly mean *if it were not for that, I should not be living*. The passage reads (II, i, 58):

> "*Tellus.*—Then you loue me *Endimion*.
> *End.*—Or els I liue not Tellus."

The argument is no less a mistranslation than a nonsequitur.

Finally, when Tellus yielded to love, she felt (in her nature as Earth) "a continuall burning in all my bowels, and a bursting almost in euerie vaine" (V, iii, 98–99), words which, in M. Feuillerat's judgment (p. 168),

"eussent dû suffire pour déterminer les relations entre Endimion et Tellus, car ils peignent avec une précision remarquable le genre d'affection que peut éprouver une mère pour l'être auquel elle a donné le jour au milieu de la souffrance." But the pregnant connotation of these "burnings" and "bursting" [varicose?] veins is hardly borne out by the "smoke" and "sparkes" of Earth's volcanic emotions, which Endimion "sware . . . . in respect of his were as fumes to Aetna" (V, iii, 107). The physical allegory accounts for Lyly's language here " avec une netteté et une clarté parfaites."]

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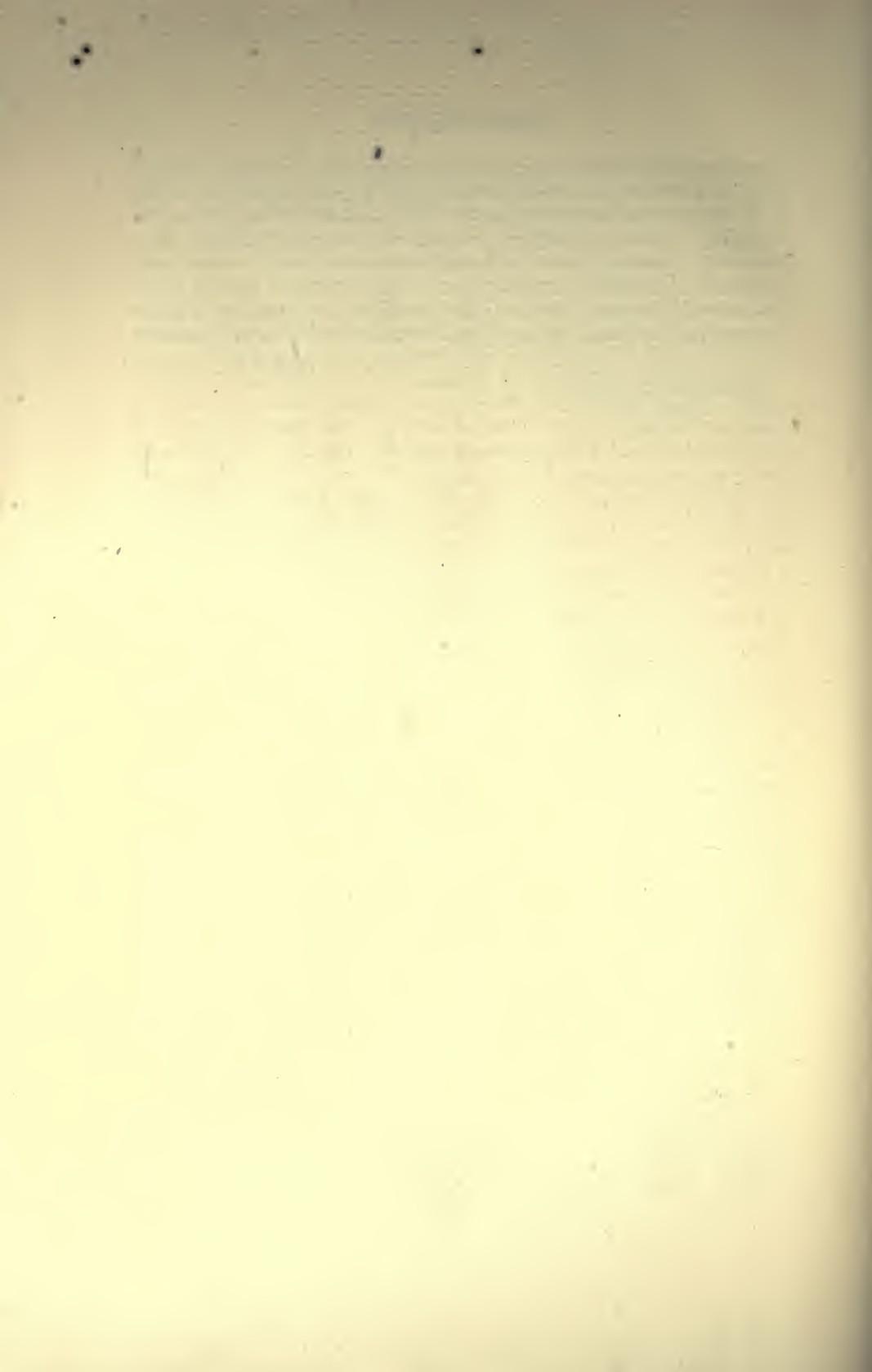
"DE LIBELLO MERLINI"

Some years ago, Professor R. H. Fletcher[1] presented evidence confirming Geoffrey of Monmouth's own statement that he published Merlin's *Prophecies* separately, before the complete edition of his *History*. Professor Fletcher shows that Ordericus Vitalis used the *Prophecies* in 1135, probably before the appearance of Geoffrey's *History*, and, in introducing them, Ordericus says that he is drawing "*de libello Merlini*."

Iceland furnishes further proof of a separate edition: the *Prophecies* apparently came to Iceland, and were translated there, before the *History* was known.

There are two vellum manuscripts of the Icelandic translation of Geoffrey's *History*—*Breta sögur*—one made by the lawman Hawk, who died in 1334, and the other a somewhat later fourteenth-century text.[2] The translation was probably made in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Now, the saga omits the framework with which Geoffrey introduces the prophecies, telling how he had gone thus far in his history when he was obliged, at the request of his acquaintances, especially Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, to publish Merlin's prophecy and the letter which he sent to Alexander, disparaging his own ability to phrase in Latin (VII, 1, 2). Hawk's copy continues the narrative through the short description of the fight of the red dragon and the white (Geoffrey, VII, 3). Then it adds: "Guðlaugr,[3] the monk, has composed a poem therefrom [i.e., Merlin's words] which is called 'Merlin's Prophecy'" (*Merlínús Spá*). The poem follows. The later MS, however, omits the prophecies and the poem on the ground that they are so well known; merely alluding to Merlin's utterance "on which is based the most of the poem called *Merlin's Prophecy*,

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[1] "Two Notes on the History, etc.," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.* (1901), 461.

[2] Hawk's MS of the saga was edited separately in *Annales for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1848 and 1849); and by F. Jónsson in *Hauksbók* (Copen., 1892-96), pp. 231-302; variants in the later MSS are given by Sigurdsson in his footnotes.

[3] Spelled both Guðlaugr and Gunnlaugr in the *Icelandic Annals*.

which the monk Gunnlaugr Leiffson composed, *and many men know that poem by heart.*"[1]

Gunnlaugr, who turned Geoffrey's Latin prose into Icelandic verse, was a well-known historian and monk of Thingøre in the north of Iceland. His other works, as far as we know them, were prose histories in Latin. He died in 1218,[2] apparently at least eighty years old.[3] While we do not know the date of his vernacular poem, the temptation is to put it back into greener years, some time before 1200.

Merlínús Spá[4] is written in the form of two poems corresponding to the two chapters of Geoffrey's edition. In Hawk's book, curiously, the order of the poems is reversed. Each composition has its separate introduction and conclusion. The translation, which follows for the most part the prophecies as they appear in the *Historia*, is closer than the *Breta sögur*. It is about as close, indeed, as the laws of meter, alliteration, and kenning would allow.

The body of the work, when compared with our Latin original, omits several passages in the *Prophecies* and adds a few verses of descriptive embellishment.[5] The introductions and conclusions contain the most striking additions.

Gunnlaugr says nothing about Geoffrey or the bishop of Lincoln, that is, he ignores Geoffrey's framework. To the short introduction to the prophecies as found in the *Historia* (VII, 3), the second poem prefaces thirteen strophes of historical setting. "Now I shall make known what happened of old—Listen all wise men!—how a king sat on Britain's throne, a princely one named Vortigern." A brief outline of the Saxon invasion follows. Vortigern sought to build a tower for protection and summoned many smiths. But what they built one day had disappeared the next morning. The king called his wise men for advice. "There was a man present who could explain the dark enigma before the king. The king's friend was

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[1] Wace likewise omitted the prophecies in his *Brut*, and testified to their popularity (vss. 7722–23). A Welsh translation of Geoffrey also omits them (San-Marte's *Geoffrey*, 334).

[2] *Icelandic Annals.*

[3] See Vigfusson, *Prolegomena to Sturlunga Saga*, lxiii.

[4] Printed also in *C(orpus) P(oeticum) B(oreale)*, II, 372–79.

[5] *Hauksbók*, cxii.

named Ambrosius, but this man was called by another name, the noble Merlínús." The wise man declared that underneath was a large body of water. The king commanded men to dig, and so it was proved. Then Merlin described the two dragons, one red, one white, which were also discovered, and proceeded to fight, as in the *Historia*. When the king asked for an explanation "the friend of man" wept and uttered the prophecies.[1]

The most significant feature of this introduction is its complete ignorance of the true character of Merlin. The assertion of the magi that the work could not be done unless Vortigern should find a child without a father, kill him, and sprinkle the ground about the tower with his blood; the finding of Merlin; his refutation of the magi—all this is omitted in *Merlínús Spá*. Instead, Merlin appears among the wise men as one wiser than the rest, "the king's friend," "the friend of man."

The other ornamental verses support Gunnlaugr's misconception of Merlin, that is, the concluding strophes of the second poem and the introduction and conclusion of the first. Merlin is compared to Daniel. Those who read will see how the prophet's words come true; if they read Scripture they will find that Merlin prophesied like the saint of old. He turns a moral lesson, and ends with a blessing upon the readers.

It seems evident, then, that Gunnlaugr did not have before him the whole *Historia* of Geoffrey when he composed his *Merlínús Spá*, but that he used a separate work which introduced the prophecies by a brief "historical" setting.

That the *Libellus Merlini* came into Gunnlaugr's hands is no marvel. Lincoln makes a convenient point of exchange. The sagas tell us that Thorlac, bishop of Skalholt in Iceland, studied at Lincoln[2] (about 1160). There is no saga of Gunnlaugr, so we hear nothing of his student days, but he, like Thorlac, was "the most book-wise man in Iceland"; he too may have studied at Lincoln. Now it was the Bishop of Lincoln at whose solicitation Geoffrey published the *Prophecies* and to whom he sent his first copy. Therefore, at Lincoln, of all places, the book would be in circulation and accessible

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[1] Beginning with strophe 21.

[2] *Thorláks Saga*, chap. iv (*Biskupa Sögur*, Copenhagen, 1858, I, 92).

to foreign students. This, however, is but one instance of the many ways the *Libellus* could have traveled. Its vogue was too wide and rapid to be localized. It is sufficient to surmise that the *Prophecies* were brought to Iceland by some student returning home.

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THEODULUS IN FRANCE

Since the publication of my article on "Theodulus: A Mediaeval Textbook,"[1] I have found a number of instances of its use on French territory which had escaped my notice, and are worth while being collected together as a supplementary note. The earliest work for which the *Ecloga* was the model and the chief authority was the *Messias*, a Latin poem in hexameters,[2] written in the eleventh or twelfth century[3] under the pseudonym of Eupolemius,[4] an inhabitant of Caudebec, a northern French town.[5] Divided into two books of respectively 684 and 776 lines, it introduces Old Testament stories which the author considers the source of the similar classical myths to which he refers. Of these parallel stories he has three more than Theodulus, but these may well be regarded as independent additions, instead of being due to a source common to both writers.[6]

Tobler suggested twelve years ago[7] that there was an allusion to our author in the Provençal *Lays d'Amors* (III, 316). In the discussion of the three similar figures of speech, *prozopopeia, fantazia,* and *somethopeya,* we are told:

> fan se aquestas figuras, quant om fenh que una cauza inanimada o muda parla, coma si hom fenhia que la terra parles e que disshes per aquesta maniera: 'Yeu governs e noyrimens D'erbas, de plantas e de gens, Per que deg esser mot amada E terra mayres apelada,' o si hom fenhia que'l solelhs parles e que disshes per aquesta maniera: 'yeu fau el mon fructificar E'ls aybres florir e granar: A tot lo mon doni clartat, Per que deg haver princiipat De terra, de mar e de l'ayre, E tug de mi devon far payre.' D'aquestas figuras usec aquel que fe l'Isop e'l Tandoret, quar fenhic que las bestias et autras cauzas a las quals non es donatz parlars parlesso entre lor. E podon se reduire a methafora.

Tobler found in the *Ecloga* the only work, with the exception of various fable collections, in which appears a personification of abstract conceptions. That "Tandoret" should read "Taudoret," that

[1] *Modern Philology*, VII, 169–85.

[2] Ed. M. Manitius, *Romanische Forschungen*, VI, 509–56.

[3] The manuscript from which the poem was printed was written in the thirteenth century (*ibid.*, VI, 509, 511); but Traube noted a manuscript of the twelfth century in which it is found (*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXVI, 174 ff.).

[4] Manitius, *op. cit.*, 511; *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, N.F., XV, 154. Both of these articles were kindly called to my attention by the author.

[5] Manitius, *Mitteilungen des Instituts f. österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXIII, 10 ff.

[6] As suggested by Manitius, *Zeit. f. vgl. Litteraturges.*, XV, 158.

[7] *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXII, 92–94.

the regular phonetic development of Latin tonic *eo* is *au* in Provençal, that the name of the author appears in manuscripts of the Latin work as "Theodorius" and "Theodorus," are the successive steps by which he proves his case. For the diminutive *-et* he points out the similar phenomenon in the names of other schoolbook authors in Old French, citing from the *Bataille des VII ars* of Henri d'Andeli,[1] and the *Department des livres*, which contains an allusion to Theodulus not noted by me. In this work of the fourteenth century, the author, in explaining the cause of his downfall, says he has lost all his books at gambling:

> Et Donès est a Orliens
> Et mes Chatonès a Amiens,
> A Chartres mes Theodelès
> A Roën mes Avionès.[2]

He has also noted the passage in Rabelais[3] in which are given the names of the schoolbooks of Gargantua, read by children from five to thirteen years of age;

> puis luy leut le Donat, le Facet, Theodolet, et Alanus in Parabolis;

evidently those included in the *Auctores octo*.

Gaston Paris believed Tobler's conjecture not very probable, "l'auteur des *Leis d'amors* semblant bien indiquer un livre où parlaient des animaux ou des êtres inanimés, et non des personnages symboliques."[4]

How the popular French name of the *Ecloga*, as well as the book itself, became wide-spread in territory politically dependent on France is shown by the entry in an early Breton-French-Latin dictionary, the *Catholicon* of Jean Lagadeuc, first published in 1499;[5] "*thedolet, theoudolet* g. idem, cest ung libure, l. theodolus."[6]

<div align="right">GEORGE L. HAMILTON</div>
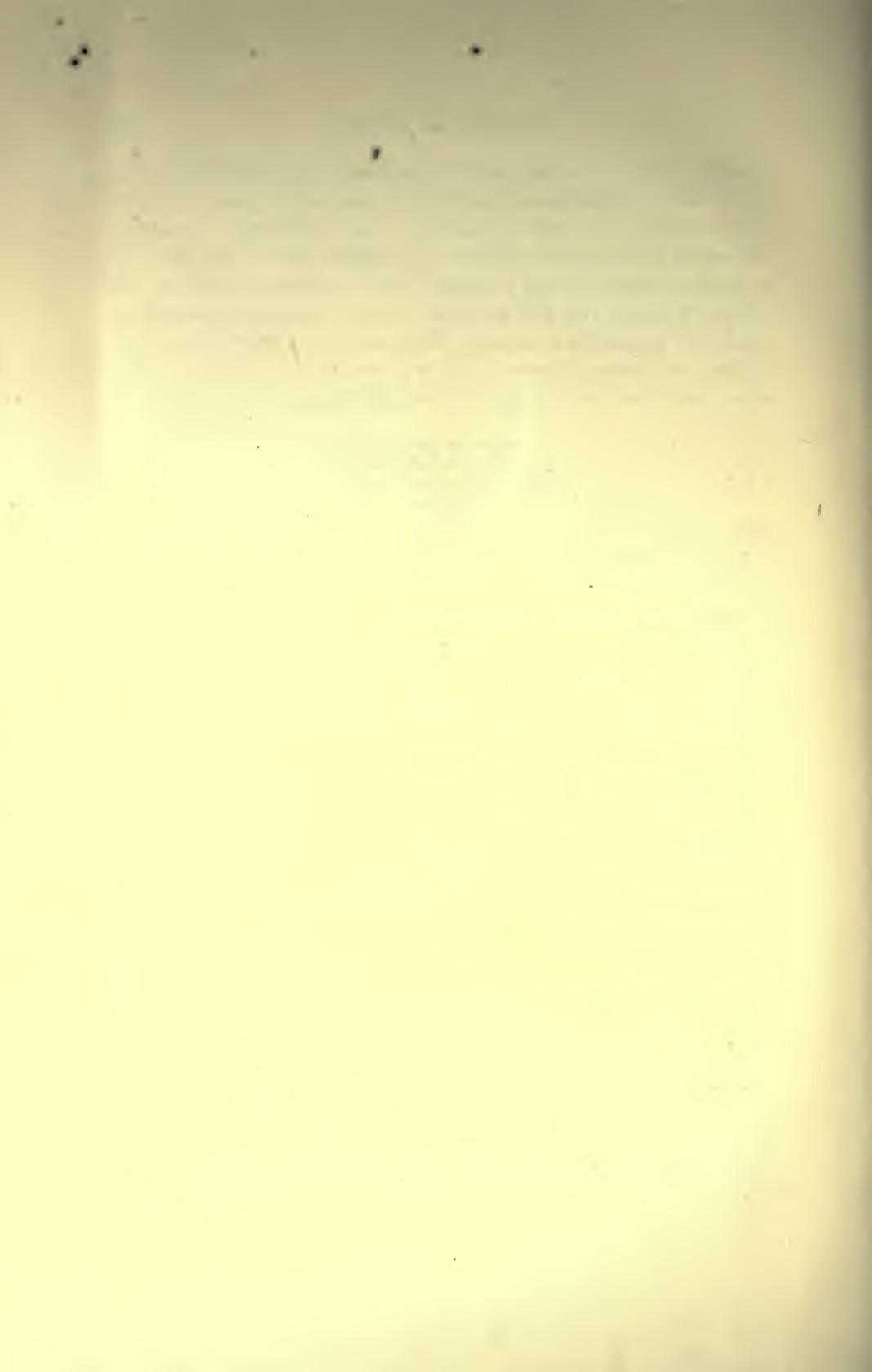
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[1] Cf. *MP*, VII, 182.

[2] Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux, etc.*, I, 464; cf. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIII, 99. I have adopted Tobler's emendations of the text.
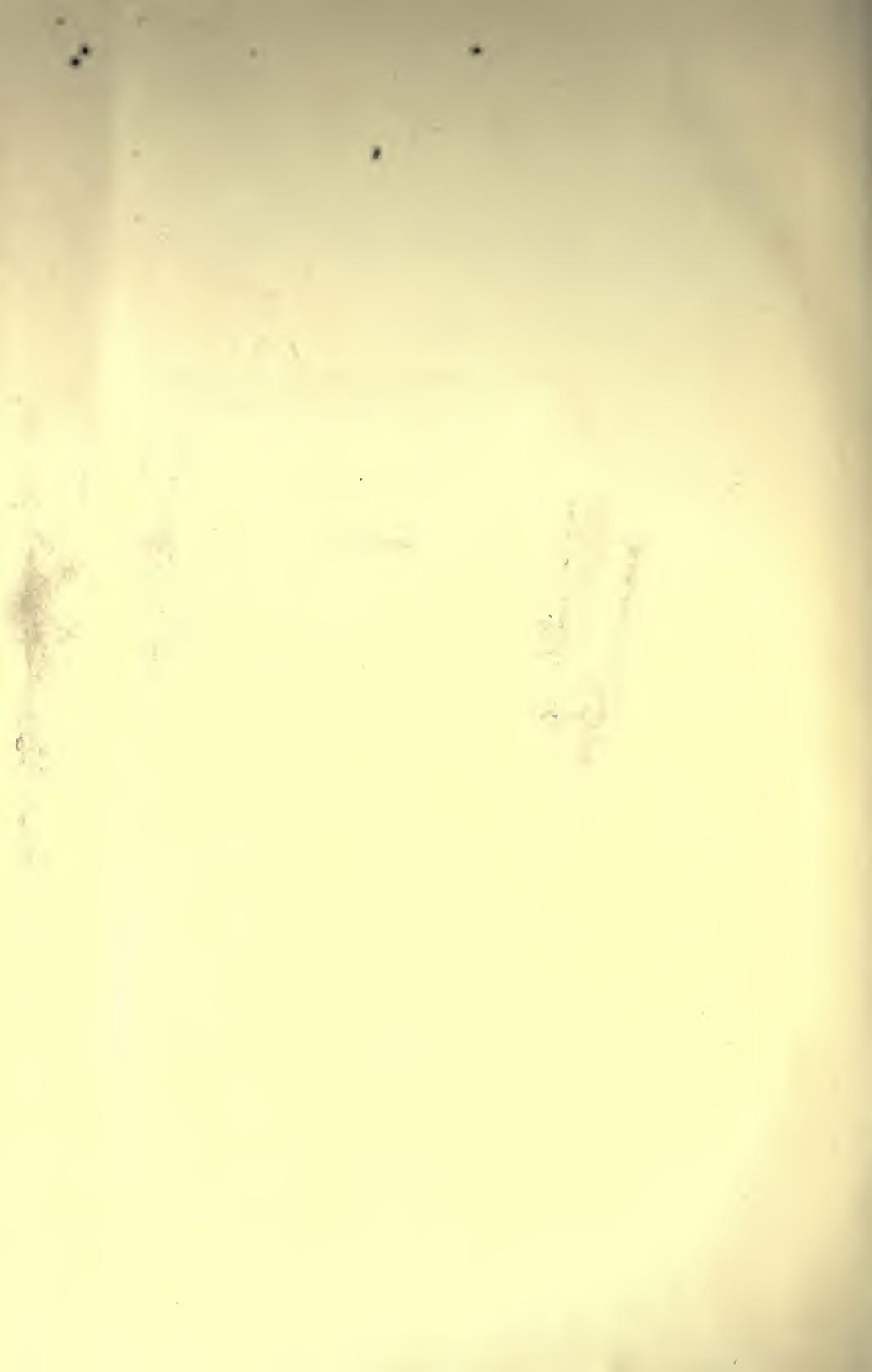
[3] I, 14. [4] *Romania*, XXVII, 163-64. [5] Cf. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, 5th ed., I, 154-55.

[6] Cited by E. Ernault, *Mélanges H. d'Arbois de Jubainville*, 56. A. Thomas in a review of this work called attention to the source of the word (*Rom.*, XXXV, 495). Corrections and additions: *MP*, VII, 179, n. 8, add Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, I, 308; Petrus, *Chron. Mon. Cass.*, *MGH*, IX, 746, l. 69; J. Diemer, *Wiener Sitzungsber. Phil. Hist. Klasse*, XVIII, 268; cf. 256, XXVIII, 127 ff.; *ibid.*, 183, *for* in English manuscripts *read* in two English manuscripts (cf. G. Gröber, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, II, 494; Paris, *Rom.*, VIII, 136; *ibid.*, 183, n. 6; *for Rom.*, XXIX, *read* XXIV; *ibid.*, n. 7; *add* P. Meyer has noted that the work *De scholastica disciplina* cannot be older than the second half of the twelfth or more recent than the commencement of the thirteenth century (*Rom.*, XIV, 383; 581; XXXVI, 501; cf. B. Hauréau, *Not. et Extr.*, XXXV, 1, 211).